



GEORGE R.



GEORGE the Second, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. to all to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting: Whereas Edward Symon, Thomas Osborne, John Wood, and James Crockatt, of Our City of London, Booksellers, have by their Petition humbly represented unto Us, that they have spent many Tears, and expended several thousand Pounds in procuring, buying of Books, and employing a Number of learned Gentlemen in the compiling, writing, and publishing, AN UNIVERSAL HISTORY, FROM THE EARLIEST ACCOUNT OF TIME TO THE PRESENT; collected from the best Authors both Ancient and Modern; in drawing of Maps, making Chronological and other Tables, for the better illustrating the same, to be comprised in Eight Volumes in Folio; a Work hitherto attempted in vain by other Nations; which the Petitioners, with the utmost Submission, apprehend may be of great Service to the Publick, as it will be reducing a very extensive but very useful Science to a regular System or Digest, at an easy Rate to the Purchaser, and thereby much encourage and promote a necessary Branch of Learning: And as this Undertaking is near finished, they are desirous of reaping the Fruits of their Labour, and of enjoying the full Profit and Benefit that may arise from Printing, Publishing and Vending the same, without any other Person interfering in their just Property; which they cannot prevent without applying to Us for Our Royal Licence and Protection: Therefore they have humbly prayed Us to grant them Our Royal Licence and Protection for the sole Printing, Publishing and Vending the said Work, in as ample Manner and Form as has been done in Cases of the same Nature. We being willing to give all due Encouragement to such a useful Work, are graciously pleased to condescend to their Request: And do therefore by these Presents, so far as may be agreeable to the Statute in that Behalf made and provided, grant unto the said Edward Symon, Thomas Osborne, John Wood, and James Crockatt, their Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, Our Royal Privilege and Licence for the sole Printing, Publishing and Vending the said Work for and during the Term of Fourteen Years to be computed from the Date hereof; strictly forbidding and prohibiting all Our Subjects within Our Kingdoms and Dominions to Reprint or ABRIDGE the same, either in the like, or any other Volume or Volumes whatsoever, or to import, buy, vend, utter, or distribute any Copies thereof reprinted beyond the Seas, during the aforesaid Term of Fourteen Years, without the Consent or Approbation of the said Edward Symon, Thomas Osborne, John Wood, and James Crockatt, their Heirs, Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, under their Hands and Seals first had and obtained, as they and every of them offending therein will answer the contrary at their Peril. Whereof the Commissioners, and other Officers of Our Customs, the Master, Wardens, and Company of Stationers, of Our City of London, and all other Our Officers and Ministers, whom it may concern, are to take Notice, that due Obedience be given to Our Pleasure herein signified.

Given at Our Court at St. James's, the 24th Day of March 1738-9, in the Twelfth Year of Our Reign.

By His MAJESTY's Command.

Holles Newcastle.

A N
Universal HISTORY,
FROM THE

Earliest Account of Time to the Present:

COMPILED from
ORIGINAL AUTHORS;

And ILLUSTRATED with
Maps, Cuts, Notes, *Chronological* and Other Tables.

V O L. IV.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεται μὴ κατανόει, ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ εὐρήσεις ἀκόπως, ὥστε ἴτεροι συνῆξαν
ἐγκόπως.
Bafil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.



L O N D O N:

Printed for E. SYMON, in *Cornhill*; T. OSBORNE, in *Gray's-Inn*;
J. WOOD, in *Pater-noster Row*; and J. CROKATT.

M. DCC. XXXIX.

THE SECRETARY OF THE
TREASURY
WASHINGTON, D. C.

TO THE HONORABLE
MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th inst.

relative to the proposed amendment to the bill for the relief of the
estate of the late John D. Rockefeller, deceased.

The bill is now pending in the Senate, and it is my duty to report thereon to the Senate.

I am, Sir, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
J. M. McKIM

Very truly yours,
J. M. McKIM

Enclosed for the House of Representatives is a copy of the bill for the relief of the estate of the late John D. Rockefeller, deceased.

I am, Sir, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
J. M. McKIM

Very truly yours,
J. M. McKIM

TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
WILLIAM
LORD TALBOT,
BARON of HENSOL.

My LORD,

WE presume to lay before Your Lordship the Fourth Volume of the *Universal History*; a Work which has hitherto received a favourable Applause, and is at present read by most Nations of *Europe* in their several Dialects, and by the Learned of all Nations in that Language which is peculiar to Men of Letters. The Names of the Noble Personages who have given Countenance and Protection to the foregoing Volumes, have, no doubt, greatly contributed to the uncommon Approbation they have met with, and heightened their Reputation among our own Countrymen, as well as Foreigners. That this Volume might, at its first Appearance in the World, be attended with the same Advantages as the former, is the Motive that has induced us to take the Liberty of inscribing it to Your Lordship: For who can be so little conversant in the Histories of the present and past Ages, as not to be greatly influenced in favour of a Performance, which displays the Illustrious Name of TALBOT? The Name of a Family from which your Lordship is lineally derived, near as ancient as our Monarchy, and ever revered by this Nation, as it has eminently adorned the
a highest

DEDICATION.

highest Offices both in Church and State : For whoever turns over the *English Annals*, must find the TALBOTS exerting their great Talents for the Service of their Country, Commanding Armies in the Field, Presiding in the Senate, or at the Head of a glorious Administration. And here, my Lord, we must ask Pardon for reviving Your's and the Kingdom's deplorable Loss, when we reflect upon that Great and Good Man Your Father, who, to his immortal Honour, was the Darling of the present, as he will be the Admiration of all future Times. My Lord, a Subject so copious as the CHARACTER of the last Lord Chancellor, we are sensible, cannot be confined to the narrow Limits of a Dedication ; and we shall the rather decline it, because we hope to see THAT become one of the most amiable Parts of some future Volume : Besides, my Lord, as You are universally allowed to inherit his extraordinary Virtues, we will not dare to offend that remarkable Modesty, which, with his other valuable Qualities, hath descended to Your Lordship. Therefore we shall not presume further, but only, with Your Lordship's Permission, to acquaint the World, that the sole Aim of this Address is to pay a Reverence to such exalted Merit, and to have the Honour of declaring ourselves to be, with the utmost Duty and Respect,

My LORD,

Your LORDSHIP's most Obedient, and

Devoted Humble Servants,

The Authors.

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PART OF
EGYPT

Desert of
Ethan -

ARABIA PETRÆA

South

43-

433

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4.3

4.3.

AN UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

FROM THE
Earliest Account of Time to the Present.

CHAP. XI.

The History of the Jews from their return from the Babylonish captivity to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus Vespasian, with an account of their dispersion and condition to this present time.

THIS chapter, long and extensive as it is, it containing an epocha of five hundred and thirty-six years from their return into *Judæa* to the birth of Christ, and seventy-three more from that time to the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and total dispersion of the *Jewish* nation, may be conveniently enough divided into seven sections or eras, according to the following chronological order.

	Years of the flood.	Total of years.
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THE account of their dispersion and condition to this present time we shall give in an appendix.

BUT before we pass to the first section, it will be convenient to premise some few things concerning the state of the *Jews* during this new epoch; for from this time they are no more to be looked upon as that free, rich and glorious people, which they had before.

had been, either under their former theocracy, as *Josephus* rightly terms it ^a, or under their opulent and warlike monarchs, and the direction of their prophets. Their condition, government, manners, their very name, and every thing but their religion, is now intirely changed ! And indeed, it could hardly be expected otherwise, when we consider that those that had been carried away into *Babylon*, were sold for slaves, and dispersed far and wide through that vast empire, according to the custom of those conquerors ; and though some of them we find to have attained to very considerable posts ^b, or grown exceeding rich in the land of their captivity, yet these are but few in comparison of those who groaned under the heavy hand of their oppressors ^c. Neither was it the former, but the latter, that is, the poorer sort, that came back into *Judæa* ; and even of these, the whole amount of all that came, either with *Zerubbabel*, *Ezra*, or *Nebemiab*, did scarcely come up to seventy thousand ; among whom a multitude of strangers was likewise intermixed, either by marriages, or otherwise, most of them so indigent, that they were forced to be supported in their journey by the charitable contributions of those that stayed behind.

THEY were indeed to be governed by their own laws ; but as they still continued in subjection to other nations, to the *Persians*, *Egyptians*, *Syrians* and *Romans*, that privilege, as well as the exercise of their religion, did very much depend on the arbitrary will of their conquerors, and was often curtailed, and sometimes wholly taken away. Even whilst they were under the *Persians*, the lives and estates of the whole nation were on the brink of being sacrificed to the ambition of a favourite *Haman*, had not *Esther's* interest miraculously prevented the execution of that bloody edict ^d ; and so weak did they continue under them, that they were a long time exposed to the injuries of even the neighbouring *Samaritans*. They seem however to have recovered themselves by degrees, and to have lived in more peace and plenty during the two following centuries ; and that is perhaps the reason of that vast chasm of near two hundred and fifty years in their history, between the death of *Nebemiab*, and the times of the *Maccabees*, when those glorious heroes not only shook off the foreign yoke, but raised the glory of their nation by their victories and conquests, and by obliging other nations to embrace the *Jewish* religion. But this epocha was but short-lived, and eighty years were hardly expired, before the ungovernable ambition of some of their unworthy successors introduced a general apostasy, and brought them under such subjection to the *Romans*, as they could never more shake off. *Herod* indeed, whom these raised to the royal dignity, did greatly increase the glory and opulence of the *Jewish* nation ; but as he was an *Idumean*, who had gained the crown by the destruction of the *Asmonean* race, as he was a vassal to the *Romans*, and a tyrant of the *Jews*, they could neither be said to be free or happy during his hateful reign, much less under those of his successors, when the government of *Judæa* was split into so many toparchies ; so that the nation went from thenceforward from bad to worse, till their total destruction. We observed that they were changed in their very name ; that of *Israelites* was quite lost, as well as those of all the other tribes, which were absorbed into that of *Judab*. So that from their return they were chiefly known by the name of *Jews*, in opposition to the *Samaritans*, who were a mongrel mixture, partly of the ten tribes, partly of revolted *Jews*, and of other nations, as the sequel will soon shew. Religion was the only thing that received the least change since their re-establishment, and if we except some apostasies occasioned by persecutions, or the ambition of some of their high-priests, we shall find them in the sequel more averse to idolatry, and all heathenish superstitions, than ever their fore-fathers had been prone to them before the captivity ; such strict observers of the sabbath, as to suffer themselves to be murdered by whole armies, rather than violate it by standing on their defence ; in a word, so zealous for their religion, and such strict observers of their oaths, whether of allegiance or confederacy, as to suffer the most bloody persecutions, and horrid butcheries, with utmost courage and constancy, rather than to violate their laws or fidelity. This is indeed a virtue, which, as *Josephus* rightly observes, was peculiar to the *Jews* ^e, and which no other nation or religion could ever lay any claim to, till the sufferings, number, and constancy of the christian martyrs, did in a great measure eclipse the glory of the *Jewish* ones. We have already seen several instances of these last in a former volume, but shall find them still more frequent in this sequel of their history.

^a CONT. APION. l. ii. c. 6.
cxxxvii.

^d ESTHER iii. & seq.

^b Vid. NEHEM. i. ESTH. i. TOBIT pass.
^e CONT. APION ubi supra.

^c Vid. int. al. Psalm

S E C T. I.

The history of the Jews from their return out of Babylon to their being governed by their high-priests, where the canonical books end.

- ^a **A**S soon as the seventy years captivity pronounced by *Jeremiah* against this rebellious people ² were fully accomplished (A), God was pleased to raise up the great *Cyrus* to the throne; who upon the very first year of his reign, issued out that decree in favour of them, of which an account has been given in a former volume ³. By this edict they were not only permitted to return to their own land, which that prince had doubtless beheld in some late expedition, lying desolate and barren, though naturally fertile (B); but also to rebuild their temple at *Jerusalem*, renew the divine worship, and transport thither all the sacred utensils which *Nebuchadnezzar* had brought away from thence. These last he ordered to be delivered by *Mithridath*, his high treasurer, to *Seshbazzar*, whom we take to be the same with *Zerubbabel* (C), who, being the grandson of *Jeboiakim*, or *Jeconiab*, king of *Judah*, was then the

*Cyrus's decree
Year of the
flood 2463.
Year before
Christ 536.*

² JEREM. XXIV. 11. XXIX. 10. See before, Vol. I. p. 847, 2. ³ Vol. II. p. 94. b. & not.

(A) These seventy years are differently computed; some begin them from the fourth of *Jeboiakim*, when the first Jewish captives were carried away by *Nebuchadnezzar* (1), and end them at the first issuing of *Cyrus's* decree. Others from the words of *Zechariah* (2) place the beginning of it at the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and its conclusion at the publication of *Darius's* decree for the building of the temple, and restoring liberty to the Jews.

Both computations may be justly maintained, and may have even been designed by *Jeremiah*, since between either of the two epochs there are just seventy years, and the latter begins and ends just eighteen years after the former.

For as the captivity which began in the fourth of *Jeboiakim*, could not be said to be completed till the total destruction of the city, and Jewish monarchy; so neither could their deliverance, begun at the first decree of *Cyrus*, be said to be completed till the fourth year of *Darius*, which confirmed and put it in full vigour and execution.

We may still reckon a third method or stage of computing these seventy years, which answers in the same exactness with the two former; namely, from the twenty-third year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, when *Nebuzaradan* carried off all the remainder of the conquered Jews; at which time the captivity was completed to all intents; and the full restoration of their temple worship, at the solemn dedication of the new temple, and their celebrating the first passover immediately after it in the seventh year of *Darius's* reign; when, and not till then, was fully completed the end of their thralldom, and the Jewish religion restored to its ancient splendour and regularity. All these the reader may see fully demonstrated by the learned *Prideaux* in the place last quoted.

However the words of the prophecy before us, we own, seem to fix the epocha according to the first of these stages; though those of *Zechariah* do more plainly belong to the last, as will be shewn in its due time.

(B) We have shewn in a former volume †, that

the Jews were obliged by the Mosaic law to let their lands lie fallow every seventh year (4); but this had been neglected for a considerable time; for which God caused it to lie desolate and uncultivated, till it had recovered that full respite, of which that rebellious nation had deprived it (5).

It therefore we reckon the whole seventy sabbatic years to be here implied, it will follow, that the omission of this law began even before the time of *David*, or even of *Samuel*; but it is scarce credible, that it should have been suffered under the government of two such pious persons; whereas, if we date the desolation of the land from the murder of *Gedaliah*, at which time those few Jews that were left there fled into *Egypt*; to this first year of *Cyrus*, the number of sabbatic years will be just fifty-two, and will carry us back three hundred and sixty-four years, that is, to about the beginning of *Abra's* reign, from which time the people began to be very remiss in this and many other particulars of the Mosaic law (6).

(C) It is likely, that the first was his Babylonish name (7), it being customary for those conquerors to change the names of their captives, as we find they did those of some of the later kings of *Judah* (8), as well as those of *Daniel* and his three companions (9). As to the title of *Tirshatha*, or *Hatirshatha*, though some derive it from the Chaldee, חַתִּיר שְׂרָתָא dispenser potus, or a cup-bearer, such as *Nehemiah* seems to have been to *Artaxerxes*; yet it is most likely, that the word implied some high dignity, such as a governor, lord lieutenant, a deputy, and the like; for such was here our *Seshbazzar* or *Zerubbabel*.

The vessels that were delivered to him by the king's order, were, according to *Ezra* (10), thirty chargers of gold, a thousand chargers of silver, thirty batons of gold, four hundred and ten of silver, twenty-nine knives, besides many others, amounting in all to five hundred and forty; but these were not all that had been carried out of *Jerusalem*; the rest were afterwards brought thither by *Nehemiah*.

(1) 2 Kings xxiv. 10. & seq.

† See before, Vol. I. p. 612, 2.

2 Chron. cap. ult. vers. 23.

(7) Conf. *Ezra* iii. 8, 10. & v. 16.

alii. (10) *Ezra* i. 9. & seq.

(2) Ch. vii. 1. & seq.

(4) *Leviticus* xxv. 1. & seq.

(6) *Vid. Prid. ubi supra. Tremell. Munst. & al. in loc. sup. citat.*

(8) *Vid. 2 King. xxiv. 17. & alib. pass.*

(9) *Dan. i. 7. & seq.*

first prince of the royal blood, and was therefore appointed head governor of *Judæa*,^a under the title of *Tirshata*^b. He likewise gave directions concerning the dimensions of the temple, which was to be *sixty cubits in height and breadth, built upon a strong foundation, with three rows of great stones, and a row of timber*; the expence of the whole to be furnished out of the king's house^c; to all these the king added a full permission to all the *Jews* that were so disposed to return into *Judæa*, and to those who preferred staying behind, free liberty to contribute, as liberally as they pleased, gold, silver, or any other precious stuffs, towards the building and adorning that sacred edifice, and the renewing and carrying on the worship of God there^d.

The heads of
those that re-
turned.

The total of
them.

IMMEDIATELY upon the publishing of this edict, the chiefs of the tribes of *Judab* and *Benjamin*, together with the priests and *Levites*, assembled themselves; and as many^b as retained still a love for their country, and a zeal for the God of *Israel*, disposed themselves to return to that once happy land. As for the rest, which were the far greater number, who preferred the land of *Babylon* to it, they contented themselves with furnishing their returning brethren with gold, silver, cattle, and other conveniences, either for their journey, or for the building of the temple and city. At the head of these were *Zerubbabel* mentioned above, and *Jesua*, the high-priest (D). The next in rank were *Nebemias* and *Mordecai* (E), *Serajab*, *Reelajab*, *Bilsham*, *Mispar*, *Bigvai*, *Rebum*, and *Baanab*, who were all heads of families, and assistants to *Zerubbabel* in the re-establishment of the *Jewish* affairs both in church and state^c. The rest amounted to about forty-two thousand three hundred and sixty, including those that came afterwards with *Nebemias*, besides their servants and slaves of both sexes, which were in all seven thousand three hundred and thirty-seven^d. Neither were they all of the tribes of *Levi*, *Judab*, and *Benjamin*, though from that time they were all blended together under the name of *Jebudim*, or *Jews*; for many of those of the other ten tribes, which had been formerly carried away by *Tiglath-pilezer*, *Shalmanezzer*, and *Ezra-baddon*, and had still preserved the true worship of God, took the advantage of the king's edict to return into the land of their forefathers. To these we may add a great number, who had formerly gone from the idolatrous ten tribes to put themselves under the protection of the kings of *Judab*; and this may be the reason why the whole number of those mentioned in *Ezra's* list, amounts but to twenty-nine thousand eight hundred and eighteen, and to thirty-one thousand and thirty-one in that of *Nebemias*; whereas both these historians make the sum total to be forty-two thousand three hundred and sixty; so that the overplus seems to be added from those of the other ten tribes which returned with those of *Judab* and *Benjamin* (F). We find likewise mention made of two hundred men and women singers, whom they brought with them, four hundred and thirty-five camels, seven hundred and thirty-six horses, two hundred and forty-five mules, and six thousand seven hundred asses^e.

ONE may see by this list, how small the number was of those who returned, in comparison of those who stayed behind; neither must we be much surprized at it;

^a Conf. *Ezra* i. 8, ii. 2. iii. 8, so. v. 16.

^b *Ezra* ii. 2. *Nehem.* vii. 7.

^c *Ezra* ii. 65, & seq.

^d *Ibidem* *ibid.*

^e See *Ezra* vi. 3, 4.

^f *Ibid.* i. 3, 4.

^g Vide 2 *Chron.* xi. 16. xv. 9, & alib.

(D) This office belonged to him by a lineal descent, he being the son of *Jozadach* (11), whose father *Seraiah*, high-priest at the taking of *Jerusalem*, had been put to death at *Riblah* (12). As for *Jozadach*, he was carried captive into *Babylon*, and had been dead some time before the publishing of this decree, so that *Jesua* was then the head of the pontifical family.

(E) Some think these two to be the same with those so often mentioned in the books of *Esdras* and *Nehemiah*, and that finding the work of the temple obstructed by their enemies, they returned again to *Shushan* (13); but it is generally believed, that they were quite different persons of the same name (14).

As for the other seven, the *Jewish* writers affirm them to have been the chiefs of the *Jewish* synagogue, or grand council of the *Jews*, which they

say did sit at *Jerusalem* after their return from *Babylon*. We shall have occasion to speak more largely of this synagogue in the sequel of this chapter.

(F) Accordingly we find the decree of *Cyrus's*, and afterwards that of *Artaxerxes*, extended not to those two tribes only, but to all the people of the God of *Israel*, and to all those that worshipped God at *Jerusalem*, which could not but include all the other ten (16).

In consequence of which *Ezra* concludes the chapter in which the above-mentioned list is, with these remarkable words; *So the priests, levites, people, singers, porters, and nethinims, dwelt in their cities, and all Israel in their cities*. And when he speaks of the expiatory sacrifices which were offered at *Jerusalem*, he mentions expressly *twelve he-goats according to the twelve tribes of Israel* (17).

(11) Conf. *Ezra* iii. 1. & 1 *Chron.* vi. 14, 15.

(12) 1 *Kings* xxv. 18 ad 21.

(13) *Abenezr.*

Corn. à Lap. & al. in *Ezra* ii. 2.

(14) Vide *Prod. conn.* & al. *supra.* citat.

(15) Vide *Abenezr.* in loc

Kimch. in rad. & al. *Manf.* & *Jun.* in loc.

(16) *Ezra* i. 3. vii. 13.

(17) *Ibid.* vi. 16, 17.

a for if even their forefathers, who were brought with so many wonders out of the furnace of *Egypt* were almost continually plotting to return thither, what could be expected from their sordid offspring, but that the far greater part of them would prefer the place of their captivity, where they were possessed of lands, houses, and money, to that of *Palestine*, which had lain so long desolate? And accordingly the *Jews* themselves tell us ¹, that only the bran came out of *Babylon*, but that the flour staid behind; even of the priests, who, as we observed in the former part of their history ², were divided into twenty-four classes, only four of these returned, namely those of *Jedajab*, *Immer*, *Pashur*, and *Harim*. These however soon after their arrival, subdivided themselves each into six, that they might again make up the old number, and called themselves by their names accordingly (G) ³. Some of these there were, who not being able to make out their lineal descent from the priesthood, were deprived of the office and privileges of it until some high-priest should arise who could decide their title by the urim and thummim ⁴. The same dispute happened also concerning some others, who being come from *Telmela*, *Telbarja* (H), and other places, could not prove themselves to belong to any tribe ⁵. These were about six hundred and fifty in number, besides upwards of three hundred and ninety nethinims, the posterity of those *Gibeonites* whom *Solomon* did afterwards dedicate to the service of the temple ⁶; so small was the number of those of unquestionable descent, who returned either with *Zerubbabel* or *Nebemiab*. And hence it is, that ever since this time the number of *Jews* that dwelt in *Palestine* was always vastly inferior to those that were dispersed in *Chaldea*, *Persia*, &c. The priests, levites, singers, nethinims, and other officers of the temple settled themselves as well as they could in or near *Jerusalem*, that they might more readily vacate on the service of God, by rearing up his altar, and preparing all other things against the next grand solemnity; as for the rest, the greater part of them dispersed themselves in the neighbouring cities and country, where some of them had formerly dwelt, and where they probably found also some of their brethren whom *Nebuchadnezzar* had left there.

By this time the month *Tisbri*, which, as we have elsewhere shewn ⁷, was the first of the civil, and seventh of the ecclesiastical year, was at hand. The first day of it was the feast of the trumpets, because the new year was to be proclaimed by the sound of that instrument ⁸. It ushered in moreover two other great solemnities, namely the expiation day, or grand fast, which was to be kept on the tenth ⁹, and the feast of tabernacles, which begun on the fifteenth, and ended on the twenty-second of the month ¹⁰ inclusive. The greatest part of that of expiation, such as the high-priest entering on that day into the most holy place, &c. they were forced to set aside for want of a temple; however they failed not to come from all parts to the solemnity, and to fast, pray, &c. and to offer the proper sacrifices on the altar, which they had by this time repaired, so that from this day they ceased not to offer the morning and evening, and all other sacrifices prescribed by the law of *Moses*. The feast of tabernacles coming five days after that of expiation, they erected them booths at *Jerusalem*, and celebrated that festival with the usual solemnities, and so set about in good earnest to restore the worship of God in that metropolis.

In this solemn assembly, it was resolved to set about the rebuilding of the temple, towards which every one cheerfully contributed according to their power; the whole amounted to sixty-one thousand drachms of gold, and five thousand minas of silver (I), besides an hundred vestments for the priests to officiate in. This was

VOL. IV. N^o 1.

C

indeed

¹ Taimud. Babyl. in Kedushim. * See before, Vol. I. p. 643. a. b. * Sedar. Holam. Rabb. c. 29. Talmud. Hieros. in Taanith. Vid. Prid. ubi supra. ² Ezra ii. 62, 63. = Ibid. 58. & seq. † See before, Vol. I. p. 650. †† Ibid. 607. & 609. = ibid. * Ibid. 617. * Ibid. 606.

(G) Hence it is that *Zechariah* the father of *John the Baptist* is said (18) to have been of the course of *Abiah*, and *Matthias* the *Maccabees* to have been of that of *Josabab* (19), though 'tis plain neither of them, nor any other but the four above-mentioned, returned into *Judea*.

(H) Perhaps the same with *Telassar*, a province of *Assyria*; if not, we own we are in the dark about the situation of those places.

(I) Every drachm of gold being computed to be

worth about ten shillings of our money, and every mina of silver, about nine pounds sterling, the whole amounted to seventy-five thousand five hundred pounds. This was indeed a great sum, if we suppose it to have been all contributed by that small number of poor people just returned from a long captivity; and therefore it is generally thought, that it included likewise the offerings of those who staid behind, and who, as we have seen above, did all contribute largely towards it; but then this

(18) Conf. Luke i. 5. 1 Maccab. ii. 1. (19) Vid. Prid. ubi supra.

indeed a small sum toward such a vast and expensive undertaking; and therefore we do suppose it to have been a free-will addition of their own, to a much greater one which had been contributed by their brethren, who chose to stay in the places of their dispersion. This money was put into the hands of proper officers, who were to oversee the work, who immediately hired workmen, sent to *Tyre* and *Sydon* for cedars from *Libanus*, pursuant to *Cyrus's* decree, and employed the first year in preparing the materials for the building ^a.

Year of the
flood 2465.
Before Christ
534.

The foundation
of the temple
laid.

In the second month of the following year, which was the third of *Cyrus's* reign, and the second from their return, they began to lay the foundation of the temple with great solemnity, in the presence of *Zerubbabel* their governor, of *Jesua* the high-priest, and of the whole congregation. It was accompanied with the sound of their trumpets, and other musical instruments, the priests and musicians singing some psalms proper to the occasion, and all the people shouting for joy at the laying of the first stones. But whilst the younger sort were thus expressing their joyful zeal upon this occasion, many of the priests, levites, and heads of families, who had seen that famous building in its splendor fifty-three years before, could not forbear sending the loudest cries of grief at the sight of that which they were now going to build; insomuch that the acclamations of the one, and the sighs and groans of the other, were so intermixed, that it was not easy to distinguish them from each other (K) ^b.

WHILST the work was carrying on, the *Samaritans* (L) came to *Zerubbabel*, and the *Jewish* congregation, and expressed an earnest desire to join their assistance in it, ^c seeing

^a EZRA iii. 5. & seq.

^b EZRA iii. 12.

this sum will appear vastly too short, considering the vast number, richness, and usual munificence of those that stayed; besides, it is scarcely to be supposed, that had this been the whole that had been collected both in and out of *Palestine*, they would have so readily set about so magnificent a building; for which several millions would scarcely have sufficed.

It seems therefore more probable to us, that this collection was raised among them who returned, and were then at *Jerusalem*; and consequently, that though the bulk of them might be as poor as the *Jewish* writers make them, yet there were some considerable ones, who were both opulent and liberal enough, to add this offering of seventy-five thousand five hundred pounds to that which had been contributed by their brethren abroad, and which was thought sufficient to set about that noble edifice.

(K) That there was a real and even considerable disparity between the old and new temple, is very certain, since God is pleased to comfort them for it, and to promise to raise the glory of the latter above that of the former by the presence of the Messiah (10).

This difference however cannot be understood of its largeness, since the new was built upon the foundation of the old. Of the two the decree of *Cyrus* seems to allow this new one three times the breadth of that of *Solomon*; this being but twenty, and that sixty cubits broad (21); but our learned *Prideaux* has sufficiently proved that the dimensions were the same, only differently taken, viz. the one from in to in, and the other from out to out.

The *Jews* indeed tell us, that the second temple wanted five considerable things, which were the chief glory of the first (22); and these were, 1st, the ark or mercy-seat: 2. the divine presence, called by them the *Shekinah*: 3. the holy fire upon the altar: 4. the urim and thummin: and lastly, the spirit of prophecy. And they are certainly in the right; but then it doth not appear from the sacred historian, that these were the things which the *Jewish* elders bewailed, at the foundation of this second temple (23).

It seems therefore probable, that their grief did arise from the unlikelihood that it would ever be raised to the grandeur and magnificence of the old one, seeing the one had been built by the wisest and richest king, and constantly adorned by some one or other of his posterity; the other was now begun by some few exiles just returned from their captivity: the one in the time of profound peace, and greatest opulence; the other in time of adversity and oppression from their enemies round about: the former was built of the most curious and costly stones, and timber, and other materials wrought with the most exquisite art, and overlaid with a prodigious quantity of gold; insomuch that the overlayings of the most holy place, which was but thirty foot square every way, is said to have amounted to six hundred talents of gold (24), that is, to four millions three hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling. What likelihood therefore was there, that this, which was mostly built of the materials that were dug up out of the ruins of the former would ever come up to it? Lastly, there were in the old one many sumptuous galleries, buildings, gates, and other ornaments, which were not in this, nor were added to it till *Herod's* time, that is, about five hundred years after, as shall be seen in its proper place.

(L) These were not of the seed of *Israel*, but the posterity of that mixed multitude, whom *Shalmanezzer*, king of *Assyria*, sent from *Cuthah*, *Ava*, *Hamath*, *Sepharvaim*, and other provinces, to inhabit those parts, out of which he had carried the ten *Israelitish* tribes, as we have seen in a former volume †; they therefore took the name of *Samaritans* from *Samaria* the capital of that kingdom, but by the *Jews* they were called *Cuthim* from *Cuthah*, one of the provinces out of which they came (25).

These had, soon after their settlement in and about *Samaria*, been taught the worship of the true God, but they likewise retained, each of them, the worship of their own Gods, so that their religion was a mixture of judaism and heathenism. *Samaria* having been then totally destroyed by *Shalmanezzer* according to the prophecy (26), they did not think fit to rebuild

(20) Haggai ii. 3. & seq. (21) Conf. 1 Kings vi. & Appen. to Vol. I. cum Ezra vi. 3. (22) Talm. Jerusol. in Taanith, c. 2. & Babyl. in Joma. c. 1. Vid. Frid. Part I. lib. iii. (23) Ezra iii. 12. (24) 2 Chron. iii. 8. † Vol. I. p. 835. & nos. (25) 2 Kings xvii. 23. & seq. (26) Mic. i. 6

- a seeing they had worshipped the same God ever since the time of *Esfarbaddon* king of *Assyria*, who had settled them there. But whether the *Jews* suspected the sincerity of their offer, or out of contempt to a people, who were not of the seed of *Israel*, but only imperfect worshippers of God; *Jeshua*, *Zerubbabel*, and the whole congregation, refused to let them bear any part in the undertaking, alledging, that the decree of *Cyrus* being only directed to those who were of *Israelitish* descent, it would be a dishonour to their nation to admit any strangers to be partners in the work. Whether this refusal was really justifiable or not, we will not pretend to determine, since the *scripture* doth no where either praise or discommend it (M). Sure it is, that it proved ^{Why obstructed by the Samaritans.} the

* Ibid. Chap. iv. 1. & seq.

it, but went and dwelt at *Shichem*, near mount *Gerizzim*, and made it their capital (27).

However they seem to have rebuilt and re-peopled the old city, at least in some degree, by that time the *Jews* were returned from *Babylon*, since both *Ezra* (28) and *Nehemiah* (29) make mention of the inhabitants of *Samarina*, and in this situation they were when they came to offer their assistance to *Zerubbabel*.

(M) The *Jews*, out of their innate hatred to the *Samaritans*, do one and all commend the zeal of that assembly, in refusing to admit them to the work; and they think that the resentment which that people shewed immediately after, is a sufficient token of the insincerity of their offer, especially seeing they are said no-where to have forsaken the old worship of their country gods. We do not know of one christian commentator that hath not given into this *Jewish* notion, or has been at the pains to examine this refusal in a different light, notwithstanding its having proved so fatal to them, and so detrimental to their religion.

We shall therefore for once take the liberty to inquire how far they may be justly blamed for this refusal, and so be answerable for all that long train of mischiefs it brought after it.

First, then, the sacred historian doth no-where intimate that they came to offer their assistance out of any hostile design, which he would scarcely have omitted, had that been the case; but plainly tells us, that they came and offered their assistance to the *Jews*. It is true, he calls them the adversaries of the *Jews*, for such they became when rejected by them; but it proves not that they were so before; besides, we have shewn heretofore, that the word *Ἄλλοι* *Tzār*, here used, doth often signify a rival or competitor*, and may be as capable of a good sense as of a bad one, and why not in this case?

For the *Samaritans* had been long since instructed and initiated in the law of *Moses*, and been worshippers of the God of *Israel*; and as for the idolatries which their forefathers had intermixed with it, we think it more than probable, that they had long since forsaken them upon reading the severe prohibitions that are interspersed in the pentateuch, which they had in their hands. This seems beyond dispute, not only from the confession they made before the *Jewish* congregation (30), but also from their constant behaviour, even after their rupture with the *Jews*, since we do not find them any-where taxed with idolatry, nor find the least monument or relic of it, though in every thing else diametrically opposite to the *Jewish* nation; though, if this had been the case, the admitting of them into their commonwealth, and partnership in the work, might probably have proved an effectual means of curing them of it; and it was indeed their duty to endeavour it, because

adly, The law of *Moses* obliged them to incor-

porate into their church and state all, except two or three nations therein excepted, that would become circumcised, and observers of the law (31). And might it not be in right of this law, that the converted *Samaritans* claimed their admittance into the work? especially since,

3dly, As servants of the God of *Israel*, they knew that after the temple was once rebuilt, they would be equally obliged with the *Jews* to come and worship there, and there only; and if they were thus equally intitled to, and desirous of enjoying the benefit of the temple, why might they not be equally zealous to contribute towards the rebuilding of it? There could be then no just pretence for excluding them, since even heathens were allowed to send their offerings both to the temple, and for maintaining the divine worship there. Now is it not more than probable, that if the stiff *Jews* had admitted them to any share in the undertaking, though it had been only to contribute towards the charges of rebuilding, they might have found them as hearty friends to them, as their haughty refusal made them enemies?

We have seen in a former volume how *Josiah*, one of the best kings that ever reigned in *Judah*, thought these nations worthy to be invited to the solemnities which were celebrated at *Jerusalem*, and with what zeal he destroyed all the idolatrous monuments that were in that kingdom (32); and was not his example very well worth imitating, especially at this juncture?

If it be asked how this zeal of the *Samaritans*, if it had been sincere, came to be so soon turned into the bitterest rancour, we need not now go far to seek for an answer. It is plain, first, they thought themselves unjustly used by their refusal, since even the law of *Moses* condemned it; and in the next place, the *Jews* answer was couched in such haughty and contemptuous terms, as plainly gave them to understand, that if ever they came to be again masters of themselves, instead of being looked upon as brethren, and servants of the same God, they must expect to be used with the same heavy hand as the *Canaanites*, and other conquered nations had been by the former kings of *Judah* and *Israel*. It was natural therefore for them to use all proper endeavours to prevent it, which they did by opposing all their measures to the utmost of their power; and their first step was to obstruct the rebuilding of the temple, which the *Jews* relenting and retaliating, the enmity improved to such a degree, that no two nations ever hated, or were more cruel to each other upon all occasions, than the *Jews* and the *Samaritans*. All which might in all probability have been prevented, had the former complied at least in some measure with the request of the latter.

Upon the whole then we think, that instead of commending them for their zeal, we may much more reasonably look upon all the misfortunes which the

(27) *Joseph. antiq. lib. xi. c. 8.*

(28) *Chap. iv. 17.*

(29) *Chap. iv. 2. & al.*

* See before,

p. 634. *sub fin. not. & conf. 1 Sam. i. 6. & ii. 32.*

(30) *Ezra iv. 2.*

(32) *Exod. xii. 48. &*

alio pass. (32) Vid. 2 Kings xxiii. pass. 2 Chron. xxxiv. vs. xxxv. pass. Vid. & sup. Vol. I. p. 842. & seq.

the source of a bitter and irreconcilable hatred between these two nations, the sad effects of which the *Jews* soon felt in the immediate obstruction of their undertaking, and by numberless ill offices, which the incensed *Samaritans* did to them, and of which we shall give a further account in the sequel of this chapter.

THE first step the repulsed *Samaritans* took to obstruct the work, since they knew they could not procure a reversion of the king's decree, was to bribe underhand some of his head ministers and officers, to represent the *Jews* as a rebellious nation, and their rebuilding of the temple as dangerous, and tending to shake off their obedience to him. They failed not to carry their point, and the work was accordingly stopped, in a great measure, not only during the remaining five years of *Cyrus's* life, but also during the reign of his successor (N); however, while *Cyrus* lived, the *Jews* did still keep on gathering materials for the work, in hopes of better times; they were still assisted in it by the *Tyrians* and *Sydonians*, who furnished them with cedars from *Libanus*, with masons, carpenters, and other workmen; and these being as it were pent up in their maritime cities, received in return a proportionable quantity of corn, wine, and oyl from the *Jews*, as their ancestors had formerly done from king *Solomon*. But *Cyrus* was no sooner dead, than the *Samaritans*, encouraged by the ill disposition of his successor *Cambyfes*, called in scripture *Abasbuerus*, instead of their former seditious practices, declared themselves openly against the *Jews*, and against their undertaking; and writ in the most pressing terms to that monarch to put an immediate stop to it. *Cambyfes* however, probably out of respect to his father's decree, would not seem to revoke it, but privately gave them leave to obstruct the execution of it, so that the work, tho' it was not wholly suppressed, went at least very heavily on during his whole reign, which lasted but seven years and five months.

† Conf. 1 KINGS v. 8. & seq. & EZRA iii. 7.

▪ EZRA iv. 6. See also, Vol. II. p. 92. c.

the *Samaritans* made them suffer, to have been sent them as a punishment for their uncharitableness.

The only thing we can see may be objected against what has been said is, that the *Jewish* congregation had some inspired persons among them, such as the prophets *Haggai* and *Zechariah* (33), whom they probably consulted before they gave a definitive answer to the *Samaritans*; and if so, their refusal must have been conformable to the will of God. But the text doth no-where say they did consult them; and they might indeed do as *Joshua* had formerly done with respect to the *Gibeonites* (34), think the case too plain to require it; and so forgetting that charity which the *Mosaic* law commands towards its proselytes **, they might only listen to their natural contempt for all that were not of the seed of *Israel*; however that be, the event shews this their refusal to have been the unhappy source of endless evils, in which the *Jews* did almost constantly bear the bigger share, as the sequel will soon shew.

(N) This suppression of the work is supposed to have given occasion to *Daniel's* three weeks fasting and praying, which we read of (35) in the third year of *Cyrus's* reign, and which began on the third day of the first month (36), and at the end of which he saw the famous vision of the *Persian*, *Macedonian*, and *Roman* empires, contained in the three last chapters of that prophet, and which seem to have been the last he ever had.

And indeed, if we compare what he says in the close of them, with his great age, it is reasonable to believe he did not outlive it long, since he was then in the seventy-third year of his captivity, to which, if we add but fifteen, the age he was of when carried into *Babylon*, and less than that he cannot be supposed to have been, he must then have been near ninety years old; however, whether he died when we suppose

him, or lived any time longer, we hear no more of him, except in the talmudic writings.

What the *Jews* opinion is concerning him and his writings, has been seen in a former volume †. But *Ezekiel*, and even *Josephus*, give him much the preference to the other prophets (37); and what is of more weight than all, our Saviour himself (38) acknowledges him to have been a prophet; and if the *Jews* since then had not been fatally blinded, they must have been forced to own that they had found him a very true one to their cost. But this will best be seen in the sequel of their history.

In the mean time we cannot forbear observing concerning his prophecies, whether those that relate to the Messiah, or to those foreign empires above-mentioned, that they are the clearest and most circumstantiated of any; inasmuch that *Josephus*, in the place above quoted, rightly observes that he did not only foretell future events, as the rest of the prophets did, but did also determine the time in which they should come to pass.

And this wonderful agreement between the facts when accomplished, and the prophecies that foretold them, appeared so exact and irrefragable, that *Porphyrus* could no other way elude the force of it, than by supposing the latter to have been written after the former (39).

Besides those prophecies of his, which were originally written, partly in *Hebrew*, and partly in *Chaldee*; the *Latin* version has some other pretended pieces of his, which were however never admitted by the *Jews* into their canon, and are therefore thrown out by the protestants among the apocrypha; of this kind are the history of *Susanna*, of *Bel* and the dragon, &c. concerning which the reader may see all that is worth knowing in the authors quoted in the margin (40).

(33) EZRA v. 1.

(34) Josh. ix. 14.

** See before, Vol. I. p. 664.

(35) DAN. x. 1.

& seq.

(36) Vid. int. al. Usser, sub A. M. 3470.

† Supr. Vol. I. p. 732. note O.

(37) Ezek.

xiv. pass. Joseph. lib. x. c. 12.

(38) Matth. xxiv. 15.

(39) Vid. Hieron. prefat. in Daniel.

(40) Id. ibid. & in Dan. xiii. Calmet. prefat. in evan. Prideaux Connect. Pars I. lib. iii.

- a *Cambyfes* being dead, and one of the magi having mounted the throne (O), as has been eliewhere related *, the *Samaritans* failed not to renew their accusation against the *Jews* to that usurper ; they represented to him that that nation had been always famed for rebellion, for the truth of which they appealed to ancient records ; and added, that if they were suffered to go on in the rebuilding of their city and temple, which they were then about, they would not belong ere they shook off the yoke, and refused to pay him either tribute or obedience, and that their example might soon be followed by other provinces on that side the *Euphrates*, and occasion a general revolt. The usurper, who had been one of the chiefs of the sect of the magi, against whom the *Jews* were known to be diametrically opposite in point of religion, did not want any great arguments to induce him to suppress them, but sent an immediate decree to them to desist from their enterprize, and charged the *Samaritans* to see it executed. These therefore having received the order, went straitway with it to *Jerusalem*, and by virtue of it, caused a total stop to be put to it, till the *Jews* obtained a fresh decree in the second year of *Darius* his successor's reign, that is, about two years after.
- THE *Jews* by that time had been so disheartened, partly by the constant opposition of the *Samaritans*, and partly by this last decree, that though this last ceased with the discovery and death of the usurper, yet did they not shew the least readiness to resume their enterprize, till God had punished their indolence with a great dearth, and let them know by his prophet *Haggai*, that it was upon that account that both their harvest and vintage had failed them †. This was indeed an effectual argument to awake the zeal of that selfish people, who had by this time took care to seat themselves in commodious and sumptuous houses, without giving themselves any further thought about the house of God. The prophet was therefore sent to the governor, to the high-priest, and to the rest of the heads of *Judah*, to upbraid them with their ingratitude ‡, and at the same time to assure them, that if they would now set about the work in good earnest, God would not only make it prosper in their hands, but that he would make the glory of this second temple to exceed by far that of the first §. This reproof had at length the desired effect, and the people, roused up by these promises and threats, resumed and pursued the work under the eye and guidance of *Haggai* and *Zechariab* ¶.
- IN the mean time the *Samaritans*, who kept a watchful eye over them, being surprized that they should dare to go to work again, in spite of the decree they had obtained against them, went and applied themselves to *Tatnai*, whom *Darius* had made governor of *Syria* and *Palestine*, and acquainted him that this enterprize was resumed, not only against the king's order, but to the manifest detriment of his realm ; they expected probably that this new governor would have immediately suppressed that work ; but he being a man of more temper and moderation, came directly to *Jerusalem* accompanied with some of his counsellors, and with one *Shetbarboznai*, who is supposed to have been governor of *Samaria*, and inquired of the *Jews* by what authority they ventured upon that work. *Zerubabel* and *Joshua* undertook to answer for the rest, and acquainted him with the decree they had formerly obtained from *Cyrus*, and at the same time produced the sacred vessels which that monarch had ordered to be restored to them in order to renew the worship of God in *Jerusalem*. *Tatnai* having received this answer, thought the matter of too great consequence to interfere with, till he had sent a full account of it to *Darius*, and desired that search might be made concerning that decree. It was accordingly found among the records that were kept in the place of *Ecbatan* †, where *Cyrus* was at the time of his granting it, and *Darius* out of respect to that great monarch, two of whose daughters he had then married, readily confirmed it by a new one, in which all the grants of the old were repeated and ratified, with this severe penalty annexed, that whosoever should presume to contravene or obstruct it, his house should be pulled

Year of the flood 2477. Before Christ 522.

The building obstructed by the Samaritans.

The Jews punished with dearth.

The work resumed.

Tatnai comes to Jerusalem.

Darius's decree.

* Vol. II. p. 100. c. † Haggai i. 6. & seq. ‡ Ibid. vers. 4. § Ibid. ch. ii. 4. & seq.
 † EZRA v. 1. & seq. ZACHAR. i. 1. & seq. ‡ De hac vid. Vol. II. p. 2. a. p. 94. b. c. & 104. c.
 Vol. & EZRA v. 3. & seq.

(O) This is he whom EZRA calls *Artaxerxes* or rather *Artasthastis* (41); he is differently named by profane historians, as *Smerdis* by *Herodotus*; *Mar-*
dy by *Æschylus*; *Spendadates* by *Ctesias*; and *Oro-*
pastes by *Justin* †.

Year of the
flood 2481.
Year before
Christ 518.

The temple
finished.

Samaritans re-
fuse to pay to
it.

down, and a gallows made of the timber of it, and the offender hanged upon it. ^a The execution of the decree was committed to *Tatnai* and *Shetbarboznai*, and was brought to them accordingly much about the beginning of the fourth year of *Darius's* reign (P), and by them communicated to the *Jews* ^a.

It was then that the building began to rise apace, since they were now not only free from any obstructions from their enemies, but were supplied by the king's order, with all necessaries towards the expence of it, out of the treasury of that province; and this addition of the king's bounty, joined to the offerings which both they of *Palestine* and their brethren abroad paid towards it, caused such a dispatch in the work, that it was completely finished in three years, that is, in the sixth year of *Darius*, and in the month *Adar*, which is the last of the *Jewish* year, answering in ^b part to our *February* ^a. The dedication of that sacred building was celebrated with suitable solemnity and joy, and with abundance of sacrifices; after which they prepared themselves likewise for the approaching festival of the passover ^b, to which many of their brethren from other provinces assisted, having heard of the success which that long-wished-for enterprize had met with; and from this time we reckon the complete restoration of the *Jews* mentioned in the first note of this chapter. Accordingly, when those that dwelt in *Babylon* sent about this time to *Jerusalem* to inquire of the prophets whether they might not thenceforward desist from keeping the fasts of the fifth and seventh months (Q), *Zachariab* among other things contained in the seventh and eighth chapters of his prophecies, tells them, that they had now kept those fasts ^c seventy years ^c. In memory of this decree, which, we observed, was given from *Shushan*, or *Susa*, the *Jews* gave the name of *Shushan* to the eastern gate of the outward temple wall, and caused a bas-relief of that metropolis to be set up over it, which continued there till its total destruction by the *Romans* ^d.

In the mean time, the mortification which the envious *Samaritans* received from the king's decree in favour of the *Jews*, and the wonderful dispatch with which they had finished their temple, did but serve to augment their rancour against them; their being obliged to pay, not only towards the rebuilding of that edifice, but towards the sacrifices and oblations that were daily to be offered up there for the prosperity of the king and the whole realm, and towards the maintenance of the priests who officiated ^d there ^e, was what they seemed to resent above all the rest; and therefore, as soon as the temple was finished, though the outbuildings were still unrepaired, and continued so for many years, they made it a pretence for with-holding the usual tribute, pretending that it was to cease as soon as the building was finished. This obliged the *Jews* to send a deputation to *Darius*, at the head of whom were *Zerubbabel*, *Mordecai*, and *Ananias*, to complain to the king of it. *Darius* received them with his usual benevolence, and after a full hearing issued out a fresh decree, commanding his officers at *Samaria* to cause the usual tribute to be paid to the temple, and for the future on no pretence whatever to give the *Jews* any cause of complaint upon that article ^f. After this they met with no further obstacle during the rest of that monarch's ^e reign, which lasted twenty-eight years longer, nor during the twelve years of his successor; but enjoyed a perfect peace, being governed by their high-priests in matters of religion, and in those of state, by the heads of the tribe of *Judab*, though still in subjection to the kings of *Persia*, and subordinate to his governors on this side the

^a EZRA vi. 6, & seq. Vide & JOSEPH. antiq. l. xi. c. 4.

^a See before, Vol. I. 612, & note.

^b Ibid. vers. 15. ch. vii. 6. EZRA vi. 16, ad fin.

^d See LIGHTFOOT's prospect of the temple, ch. 3.

^c EZRA vi. 8. & seq.

^f Vide JOSEPH. antiq. ubi supra, c. 4.

(P) The learned *Usher* seems to place this decree one year sooner; but if we consider that it was about the beginning of the third year of that monarch that *Tatnai* sent to the king about it, one may reasonably allow six months for the messenger's going and coming from *Jerusalem* to *Shushan* in *Persia*, since, as we have seen a little higher, *Ezra* was four months in coming from *Babylon*; and less than another six months can hardly be allowed, before they could obtain, in so great a court, an order for searching the records, going from *Shushan* to *Ecbat-*

an, procuring an authentic copy of the decree, bringing it back to *Darius*, and obtaining a confirmation of it (42).

(Q) These were fasts which the captive *Jews* kept in those two months in memory of, first, *Jerusalem* being first besieged by *Nebuchadnezzar*: Secondly, Of its being taken by him: Thirdly, Of its being burnt with the temple: And, Fourthly, For the murder of *Gedaliah*: All which fasts they still keep to this day, though they have somewhat changed their place in their calendar.

- a *Euphrates* (R). *Xerxes* had so soon succeeded his father, than he confirmed all the privileges formerly granted to the *Jews*. This was not without a singular mark of the divine providence, since the temple of *Jerusalem* was the only one that obtained this particular regard from that prince, whilst he was plundering and destroying all the rest that came in his way. But he was in both cases fulfilling the prophecies of *Isaiah* & *Jeremiah* ^b, which had long since foretold both the downfall of the heathen idols and temples, and the restoration of the *Jewish* one, under the protection and favour of *Cyrus* and his successors. *Josephus* adds from a passage out of an ancient poet (S), that the *Jews* assisted *Xerxes* in his wars, and that he had a band of them in his army ^c. It is true, the meaning of the poet has been much canvassed by very great critics; but whether or no he intended the *Jews* by it, it is hardly to be supposed, that they, who were so well known for their valour, fidelity, and attachment to that prince, should be the only people excused from the war, when his army was composed of all the other nations of the *Persian* empire. In the third year of his reign, according to the *Alexandrian* chronicle, died the *Jewish* high-priest *Jeshua* in the fifty-third year of his high-priesthood, and was succeeded by his son *Joiakim* ^k; and *Xerxes* being murdered in the twenty-first year of his reign, was succeeded by his third son *Artaxerxes*, whom we have elsewhere shewn to have been the *Ahasuerus* of scripture, the husband of *Ester* [†], and consequently the greatest friend the *Jews* ever had, either before or since their restoration.
- c How he came to be so above all his predecessors, we chiefly learn from the book of *Ester*, whose history there related is so well known, that we shall content ourselves with giving our readers as short a summary of it as is necessary for the thread of our history. *Ester* or *Hadaßab* was an orphan of the tribe of *Benjamin*, brought up and adopted by her uncle *Mordecai*; this last was a descendant of those who had been brought captives into *Babylon*, with *Jeconiah* king of *Judah*, and by his constant attendance at the palace-gate, seems to have been one of the king's porters. He had had interest enough to introduce his niece into the palace, among other beauties who were to be candidates to succeed the repudiated *Vashti*; and she had already so captivated the *Persian* monarch, even before he had set the diadem on her head, that she could obtain any thing from him, which her uncle bid her ask of him; it being a peculiar privilege of those virgins whenever their turn came to appear before the king, to obtain whatever they asked of him ^l. It is therefore reasonably supposed, that it was by her interest that *Ezra*, a very learned and zealous *Jew*, of the house of *Aaron* (T), obtained an ample commission from *Artaxerxes* to return to *Jerusalem*, with

Xerxes.
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Artaxerxes or
Ahasuerus
favourites the
Jews.

Ezra sent into
Judaea.

^a Ch. xxi. 9. ^b Ch. x. 11. li. 44. 47. & alib. pass. ^c Cont. Apion. l. i. ^k NEHEM. xii. 10. JOSEPH. ubi supra. c. 5. [†] Vol. II. p. 130. & seq. & note. ^l ESTHER ii. 18. & seq.

(R) These particulars we have from *Josephus*, who adds, that *Zerubbabel* was the person who answered the wise question proposed by the king, which we have in the apocryphal book of *Baruc*. But we scarce think it worth inserting here, though the same author tells us, the rebuilding of the temple, and the restoration of the *Jews*, were granted him as a reward for his merit and judgment. The canonical books are silent as to all those particulars, and we shall stick close to them as far as they go.

(S) The passage is out of *Charius*, and is to this purpose: That a strange people, who used the *Phœnician* dialect, and dwelt in the high and hilly grounds of *Solyma*, near to a great lake, marched under his (*Xerxes*) standards. The *Jews* speaking then the *Syriac* language, *Solyma* being one of the names of *Jerusalem*, and its being situate upon hills, and near the famous lake *Asphathites*, it was natural for *Josephus* to understand the people here mentioned to have been the *Jews*. Some great critics however (43) have pretended to apply it to the *Solymi* of *Ptolema*, against whom *Salmafius* has undertaken to vindicate the *Jewish* historian (44), who seems indeed to be most in the right.

(T) He calls himself here, according to the *Hebrew*

idiom, the son of *Seraiah* (45), who was the high priest, whom *Nebuchadnezzar* caused to be slain at the taking of *Jerusalem* (46); but had he been his real son, he must then have been at least a hundred and thirty-two years old, supposing him to have been an infant when his father died (47), and so wholly unfit for such a journey and employ; whereas we find him capable of reading the scriptures to the people from morning to noon, one whole week, and of assisting *Nehemiah* in his office thirteen years after (48), when he must have been at least a hundred and forty-five years old.

But since he there also calls *Azariah* the son of *Meraioth*, though it appears from the book of the *Chronicles* (49), that there were six descendants between them, what should hinder, but he may himself have been some descents off *Seraiah*, though it doth not appear how many?

What reputation he was in at the *Persian* court, may be gathered from the commission itself, which is so extensive in favour of the *Jewish* nation, as well as of *Ezra* himself, that a less interest than that of *Ester* can hardly be supposed to have procured it to him; it was to this effect (50):

“*Artax-*

(43) Scalig. not. ad fragm. Bochart. Phaleg. part ii. l. i. c. 2. Cuneus de repub. Hebr. (44) Ossileg. Ling. Hellen. Vid. Frid. ubi supra. (45) Ezra vii. 1. (46) 2 Kings xxv. 18. & seq. (47) Comp. the Marg. Chronol. in both places. (48) Nehem. viii. 2. & seq. (49) 1 Chron. vi. 7. & seq. (50) Ezra vii. 12. & seq.

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flood 2541.
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458.

with as many of his nation as were willing to go with him, and there to regulate or a reform all matters, whether of church or state, as he should see fit. This commission was granted to him in the seventh year of that monarch's reign, in virtue of which he began his journey from *Babylon* on the first day of the month *Nisan*, answering to the middle of *March*; he staid some days near the river *Abava* for the rest of his company, and during that time, being willing to take some nethinims with him to *Jerusalem* to serve there as formerly in the temple, he sent some of his retinue to *Iddo*, who was chief of those that dwelt near the place *Casipbia* (U), from whence he gathered about two hundred and twenty of them, besides some priests and levites; after which having proclaimed a solemn fast, to implore the divine protection, they set forward, and arrived at *Jerusalem* on the first day of the fifth month, or the middle of *July*, that is, after a journey of four months. b

His commission.

At his arrival he opened his commission before the whole *Jewish* assembly, and there delivered to the priests the offerings which had been made by the king, nobles, and by the *Babylonish Jews* (W); after which having sent to acquaint the governor of *Syria* and *Palestine* with the power he had received from the king, he set about putting it in execution; he began with appointing judges and magistrates, to reform every thing that was contrary to the law of *Moses*, and pursuant to his commission, impowered them to punish offenders, not only with fines, imprisonment, and other lesser punishments, but even with banishment and death, according to the nature of the crime. *Ezra* continued in the faithful discharge of his authority thirteen years, that is, till he was c succeeded by *Nebemiah*, who was sent thither with a fresh commission from the same monarch. But before that, the *Jews* having received fresh tokens of the king's favour upon his raising *Esther* to the diadem, *Ezra* relying upon the protection of two such powerful friends as the new queen and *Mordecai*, who now engrossed the king's favour, gave himself up wholly to the care of the *Jewish* affairs, and to reform some crying abuses which had crept in among those, who were returned from *Babylon* under *Zerubbabel*.

Reforms the
church and
state.

Abolishes mixt
marriages.

ONE of these was the intermarriages, which not only the common people, but even priests, levites, and heads of families, had made with some of their idolatrous neighbours, by which they had introduced a mixed mongrel breed of *Egyptians*, d *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Samaritans*, and other strange nations among the true *Israelites*; to rectify this, *Ezra* issued out a proclamation, and ordered all that were returned

■ EZRA vii. 6. & seq.
1. & seq.

■ Ibid. ch. viii. 15. & seq.

• Ibid. vii. 25, 26.

■ EZRA ix.

"*Artaxerxes*, king of kings, unto *Ezra* the priest of the law of the God of heaven, peace, &c. It is our decree, that whosoever of you, whether priests, levites, &c. shall be desirous to return to *Jerusalem*, be permitted to go safely thither—We give you power to settle and reform every thing according to the law of your God, and to convey thither all the money, vessels, &c. which we, our counsellors, as well as the priests and others of your nation that stay in the province of *Babylon*, shall freely offer for the service of the temple of your God, which is at *Jerusalem*, or to dispose of it in any other way you shall think fit—and that whatever other charges *Ezra* shall think necessary for the house of God, shall be forthwith furnished to him out of our revenue on the other side the *Euphrates*, as far as a hundred talents of silver, a hundred measures of flour, wine and oyl, &c.

"And we do likewise forbid our governors in those provinces to levy or demand any toll or taxes on any of the priests, levites, singers, &c. of the temple; and we impower you, *Ezra*, to appoint judges, magistrates, &c. according to the wisdom with which God has endowed you, to judge that people on that side the river, and to condemn every offender to death, banishment, or any lesser punishment, according to the nature of his crime."

(U) It is not easy to guess what place this was: the text calls it *בְּרִינְתָא דְּחַמְסִין*, *Casipbia hammakom*, *Casipbia* the place. Some have taken it for the *Caspian* mountains, situate between *Media* and *Hyrcania*, in the mines of which these captive nethinims are supposed to have been sent to work; if so, it is no wonder they should be so ready to embrace the benefit of the king's decree.

Josephus passes by this whole affair, and is so out both in his chronology and history, that he makes this decree, as was that which *Nehemiah* obtained thirteen years after, to have been both granted by *Xerxes*, contrary to the *Hebrew* text, which calls him *Artaxerxes*; but this is not the only place where that historian is out.

(W) These offerings amounted to (1) a hundred talents of gold, besides twenty basons of gold, amounting to a thousand *darkoonim* (or *darics*, which were equivalent to our *jacobus*); (2) six hundred and fifty talents of silver, with vessels of silver, to the weight of a hundred talents more, and two vessels of some fine copper, then reckoned as valuable as gold.

From this new reformation made by *Ezra* in the *Jewish* church and commonwealth, the learned *Pri-deaux* begins the computation of *Daniel's* weeks; but as this is a subject quite out of our province, we refer those readers who are curious about it to consult the book itself (3).

(1) Ibid. ch. viii. 25, & seq.

(2) Vid. *Prid.* part i. l. ii.

(3) *Connest.* part i. l. v.

from

- a from the captivity to appear before him at *Jerusalem* on a set day, under the penalty of being excommunicated, and forfeiture of all they had. As soon as they were assembled, he upbraided them in the severest terms for their crimes, so strongly forbidden by the *Mosaic* law; after which he obliged them to take a solemn oath, that as many as had been guilty of it, should put away both their strange wives, and the children they had by them. But as the thorough cognizance of the matter was like to take up some considerable time, and the court of the temple was still uncovered, and exposed to the rains that fell then abundantly, he appointed commissioners to make strict search into every family, and to oblige all delinquents to comply with the covenant which *Ezra* had exacted from them. This scrutiny was accordingly begun
- b on the first day of the tenth month, and ended on the same day of the first month, when the number of delinquents was found to amount to a hundred and fourteen, some of whom had had children by those strange wives.

His next great work in pursuance to his commission, was to reform the whole state of the *Jewish* church, by restoring its discipline and rites, according to its ancient pattern, under the former prophets. In order to which, his first care was to collect and set forth a correct edition of the sacred books, and then to reduce the observance of the *Mosaic* law to that standard. This circumstance we find neither expressly mentioned in the sacred historians, nor in *Josephus*; but we have it from the *Talmudists*, Collects the sacred books. and other ancient *Jews*, who add a great many others, which not carrying the same probability with this, we shall for that reason give an epitome of in the margin (X). But as for this of his collecting and revising the sacred books, making some small additions to them, and fixing the canon of the *Old Testament* to twenty-two books, as they are now received by the *Jews*, and protestant christians; we have many reasons to confirm it. He was excellently well versed in them; his extensive authority enabled him to gather up all the best copies that could be met with, either at *Jerusalem*, or among the dispersed *Jews*; he was himself inspired, and had the assistance of two or three prophets (Y) in the work. The then confused state of the

^a Ibid. cap. ult. vers. 17. & seq.

(X) They tell us, 1st, that he was assisted in it by the grand synagogue or sanhedrin, which they pretend to have been originally instituted by *Moses*, in the seventy elders, and to have been since increased to a hundred and twenty; we have already confuted the greatest part of this assertion in a former volume, to which we refer the reader.

2^{dly}, In this synagogue they place among the principals of them the prophet *Daniel*, and his three friends, *Shadrach*, *Mesbuch*, and *Abednego*, whom they pretend to have been still alive, and to have returned from the captivity, though neither he, *Ezra* or *Nehemiah*, mention any thing about any of them.

Lastly, and to mention no more, They place at the tail of this synagogue *Simon* the just, between whom and the time in which we supposed *Daniel* to have died there elapsed near two hundred and fifty years. The method they take to skip over this difficulty is equally absurd, and only exposes their ignorance of chronology; and this makes the judicious dean above quoted rightly suppose, that this pretended assembly of a hundred and twenty was only a succession of men, who put every one a helping hand to complete what *Ezra* had set on foot; and that *Simon* the just, who is the last there named, and was really so in point of time, was the person who gave the finishing stroke to that great work (4); for that it was not so far completed in *Ezra's* time as to have had no addition or amendment made to it afterwards, is scarce credible.

1st, Because we find in *Nehemiah* * the genealogy of *Jeshua* the high-priest is carried down to *Jadua*, and mention made of *Darius* the Persian, or *Codomanus*, who were recent by at least a hundred years; and in the third chapter of the first book of the *Chronicles*, *Zerubbabel's* genealogy is carried down

so far as must necessarily reach to the time of *Alexander the Great*.

2^{dly}, Among the various readings noted in the margin of the sacred books which are attributed to *Ezra*, and are known by the names of *Keri* and *Kerib*, we find some in those of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, which cannot be supposed to have been put in by them, but by some of their successors in the work.

3^{dly}, We may add, that *Nehemiah* and the *Chronicles* fall very short of that correctness of style and method that we find in the other books of the *Old Testament*, and for the reasons above alledged, were hardly admitted into the canon till about the time of *Simon* the just above-mentioned.

(Y) These were *Haggai*, *Zachariah*, and *Malachi*, to which the *Jews* add, as we hinted in the last note, *Daniel*, and his three companions. As for *Malachi*, they pretend that he was the same with *Ezra*; that this last was his proper name, and מלאכי *Malachi*, which signifies my angel or messenger, to have been that of his office, as being the person or prophet sent by God to restore the *Jewish* church to its pristine splendor and standard.

St. *Jerom* and some other ancient writers have maintained the same notion (5): sure it is, that *Malachi* is rather a common than a proper name, and that in *Ezra's* time, prophets were called by that name (6); and accordingly, several ancient fathers quoted *Malachi* under the title of the angel or messenger of God (7).

What seems to confirm that he was an assistant to, if not the same with *Ezra* is his reproving the people for marrying strange wives (8), for their oppression of their poor brethren (9), and several other abuses which were then rectified by *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*.

* Vol. I. p. 525. sub fin. note H. (4) Connect. ubi supra. (5) Ch. xii. 10, 22. (6) Comment. to Malach. & alib. plur. (6) Haggai i. 13. Malach. iii. 1. & alib. (7) Clem. Alexand. Strom. l. i. Tertul. cont. Judaeos, c. 5. Orig. in Joann. & al. (8) Ch. ii. 11. (9) Ibid. v. 10. & alib. pass.

Jews required such a collection and revival of the sacred writings, and some such thing we find done soon after *Nehemiab's* arrival in *Judæa*, when *Ezra* brought forth the sacred volume, and read and expounded it to all the people from morning till noon, during the whole seven days of the feast of tabernacles ^a. Lastly, the whole current of *Talmudist* writers, and all the ancient and modern *Jews*, (except the *Samaritans*, who reject all but the pentateuch, as shall be seen in due time; and *Josephus*, who perhaps did not think proper to tell the world that the sacred writings stood in need of such a revival and amendment) all the rest ascribe this work to *Ezra*, as president of the sanhedrin, and chief director and overseer of the whole, in which they have been followed by no small number of ancient fathers ^b, and by far the greatest part of modern writers. We may further add, that there is no other way of justifying that great and zealous man, for leaving the city and outworks of the temple in that desolate state in which *Nehemiab* found them at his coming ^c, considering that he met with no other obstacles, that we read of, from the *Samaritans*, but all possible encouragement from the *Persian* court; but the supposition, that he thought it of greater moment to bestow his time and care in this new and correct edition of the sacred code, than to busy himself in repairing the outworks of the city and temple. It is in the time of this revival that he is supposed to have exchanged the old *Hebrew* character, for the more beautiful and commodious *Chaldee* now in use, and to have invented the *Massorah* (Z), vowel, and other points, concerning which we have given a full account in a former volume [†].

ANOTHER

^a NEHEM. viii. 2. & seq. ad fin.^b Vid. SELD. de synedr. Buxtorf. Tiberiad. & Auct. ab eiscitat. ^c CLEM. ALEXANDR. Strom. l. i. IREN. l. iii. BASIL. epist. ad Chilon. ISIDOR. Orig. l. vi.

& al. mult.

[†] NEHEM. i. 2. ii. 14. & seq.[†] Vol. I. p. 720. & note. 725. & seq.

(Z) By the term *Massorah* or *Massoreth*, which signifies tradition, is meant the unwritten rule or canon by which the reading and writing of the sacred books was fixed. We have already seen elsewhere, that the *Jews* affirm it to have been given by God himself to *Moses*, who delivered it to *Joshua*, *Aaron*, &c. by whom it was transmitted by oral tradition, through a long succession of holy and inspired men down quite to *Rabbi Judah*, surnamed *Hakkadosh*, or the holy, who wrote it in the book which they call the *Mishna*; all which we have formerly confuted [†] as a series of *Rabbinic* fictions.

Others, with more probability, attribute it to this *Ezra*, who in the comparing of the several copies, out of which he was to compile his new authentic one, found himself under a necessity of correcting several errors which had crept in, through the ignorance and carelessness of the transcribers, and observing likewise here and there a different reading, which might be well enough preserved, he put the one, perhaps that which he thought the best, in the text; and this the *Jews* call *Keri*; the other he put in the margin, to intimate that it was otherwise written in some copies; and those marginals were called *Cetib*. It were however absurd to suppose that they were all inserted by him, since, as we hinted in a former note, we find some of them, not only in the book that goes by his name, and is justly attributed to him, but in some of a later date; besides many of those marginals are really trifling, and some of them far beneath the dignity of such an author. Those who understand the *Hebrew* tongue may see an instance of this in the places quoted in the margin (11).

As for the vowel points, which are said to have been invented by him, in order to fix the true sense of words, we have heretofore shewn them to be of much more modern date [‡]. But as to the grammatical ones, especially the *athnach* and *sillue*, or *soph-pasuk*, so called, because this last concluded every period, called by the *Jews* *passuk*, it is most

likely, they were devised either by or very soon after him; for the *Hebrew* being almost forgotten during their captivity, and the *Chaldee* being become the current tongue, there was a necessity that those parastas or portions of scripture that were read in the temple and other synagogues, should be expounded to them by proper interpreters; and this the *Talmudists* (12) tell us was done verse by verse in the law, which gave occasion to the invention of those points, in order to direct the readers when to stop; but when they were afterwards forbid by *Antiochus Epiphanes* to read the law (13), and had substituted the lecture of the prophets instead of it; the sense in these generally running a greater length, they were obliged to read and expound three whole verses at a time.

However, when the *Maccabees* had by recovering their liberty restored the ancient reading of the law, they continued still reading also the prophets, and expounded the former verse by verse, and the latter every third verse; in process of time they added likewise the other books called by them כְּתוּבֵי חַיִּים *Cetubim*, or *hagiographa*; and this probably gave rise to the distinction of legal, prophetic, and hagiographical books, often mentioned in the gospel (14), and by *Josephus* (15).

How these periods or verses were marked in their books, is not easy to guess. If the *Jews* were then as superstitious as they have proved since, it is certain, they could never suffer them to be inserted in any shape into the text, which they look upon as polluted by every adventitious point or dot, though ever so accidental. It is indeed a question whether they were so scrupulous in ancient times; but then, if *Ezra*, or any of his successors, ever admitted those stops, lines, points, or in any other form, it will be a wonder how they came afterwards to be expunged; for it is plain there are none such admitted in their synagogues.

But the difficulty may be easily removed, by supposing that they only left a blank space between period

(10) *Prid. ubi supra.* [†] Vol. I. p. 569. note B. & alib. (11) 2 Kings xviii. 27. Isaiah xxxvi. 12. [‡] Vol. I. p. 725. & note. (12) *Mishna tract. Megill. c. 4. Vide & Valsen. prolegom. c. 3. & Auct. ab eis citat.* (13) *El. Levit. Tishbit.* (14) *Luke 6. ult. v. 44. Acts xiii. 15. & alib.* (15) *Cont. Apion. l. i.*

- a** ANOTHER and very useful improvement which he and his inspired associates are *Corrects them.* generally, and with great probity, believed to have made to this new edition of the sacred books, is the interspersing here and there an explanatory clause by way of parenthesis, and making such other additions to the text, as were necessary to explain, illustrate, or confirm it. Of this nature some suppose the account of *Moses's* death, and the excellent character given to that great lawgiver in the last chapter of *Deuteronomy*, to have been; but it seems to us more probable, that this was inserted much earlier, namely by *Joshua*, or some of his cotemporary writers, in order to inspire the people with a singular respect and credit both to him and his writings. However that be, we meet with a great number, that being manifestly inserted long after the facts, cannot well be ascribed to any but *Ezra*, or some of those prophets that assisted him in the work; thus we find in several of the historical books concerning some ancient monuments, such-like words as these added by way of testimony, which remain unto this day ^w; nay, many others of the like nature the reader may see in the margin (A). To the same end he is supposed likewise to have added some new names of places to the old ones, which were become obsolete. Thus *Abraham* is said to have pursued the confederate kings as far as *Dan*, the name which the *Danites* gave long afterwards to *Laisb*^x. The same was done to *Bethel*, anciently called *Luz*, to *Hebron*, whose original name was *Kiriath Arba*, and to many more, by the help of whose new names we come to the knowledge of the places there mentioned, which we could never have known by their old ones.
- b** THE last work of this great man was the restoring the worship of the temple according to its ancient form before the captivity; to revise and amend the *Jewish* liturgy, and to add particular prayers and thanksgivings proper for the festivals that were super-added after their return from the captivity; such as the dedication of the new temple^y, of *Purim*^z, and the like; and as the psalms entered into almost every part of their worship, and were to be sung alternately (B), as we have seen in a former volume, it is not to be doubted, but he took the same pains in collecting the whole book, and giving it the same revival which he had to the rest. Whether he digested them in the same order we have them now in, as is generally believed by *Jews* and *Christians*, and whether he was the author of those which are manifestly composed during the captivity^a, and after their return from it^b, such as we take those which are styled

*Restores the
divine worship.*

^w DEUT. iii. 14. JOSHUA x. 27. & alib. ^x CONF. GEN. xiv. 14. & JOS. xix. 47. JUDG. xviii. 29.
^y EZRA vi. 16. ^z ESTHER ix. 29. ad fin. Vol. I. p. 715. & seq. ^a Psalm cxxxvii.
^b cxxvi.

period and period; or, as *Maimon* imagines (16), that they finished every verse or period with a break, and began the next line with a new verse. But as they found these breaks to run to too great a length, in many places, and caused their books, those we mean, which they had for their private use, to swell to too great a bulk, they invented the two grammatical points, which are now in use, and which the reader may find in all their pointed books.

But this was not the sole use of these grammatical points. Those who are acquainted with that tongue need not be told how necessary they are in fixing the sense in many places, nor how it may be, and is often rendered obscure, unintelligible, or even contrary by the misplacing of them. We have formerly given a notable instance of it **, from which the reader may guess of the rest; and shall dwell no longer upon it.

(A) Thus it is said in *Genesis* (17), that the *Canaanites did then dwell in the land*; which words could not be inserted till they had actually been extirpated out of it; and in another place of the same book (18), it is said, *these are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there reigned any king in Israel*, which last words must of necessity have been inserted long after *Moses's* time. The large iron bed of *Og* king of *Bashan*, said in *Deuteronomy* to have been still to be seen in the metropolis of the *Ammonites* (19),

plainly intimates, that that prince had been killed long before this last clause was added. Lastly, and to mention no more, the twenty-fifth chapter of the *Proverbs*, which begins with these words, *The proverbs of Solomon, which the men of Hezekiah king of Judah copied out*, plainly shew: the words were added some considerable time after this last named king, who was twelve generations off *Solomon*.

(B) That is, not by *hemisties*, as *Meliorinus* and some others seem to have imagined, but by whole verses, as they are now sung in our cathedrals; for, first, some of those verses there are, which, as a learned prelate has lately observed against him (20), manifestly consist of three members, and so are incompatible with the method of singing by *hemisties*.

But what seems to us more decisive is, that in some other acrostics (21), whose verses are consequently determined; the letter *Y* was not being admitted to begin the sixth verse, but being thrust in the middle of the fifth, just after the *astnach*, they substituted a verse after the last alphabetical one, which begins in them with the letter *D*, which can hardly be supposed to have been done, but to make the number of verses even, that the same side of the choir might not begin and end the same psalm; which addition would have been needless, had they been sung by *hemisties*.

(16) *Ex Talmude in Bava Batra, cap. 7. § 9.*
(18) *Ch. xxxvi. 3.* (19) *Deut. iii. 11.*
xxv. § xxxiv.

** Vol. I. p. 725, b. and note D.
(20) *Hare prolegom. page 4 and 5.*

(17) xii. 6.
(21) *Psalms*

gradual

gradual to have been (C); and lastly, whether he lived to finish all these things, a or left them to be completed by his successors, we will not pretend to determine. One thing the second book of *Maccabees* informs us, that *Nebemias* founded a library at *Jerusalem*, in which he deposited the acts of the kings, of the prophets, and of *David* c, which seems to intimate, as if the revision of them had been completed before that time.

An account of
bishop Hare's
edition of the
psalms.

It is no less uncertain whether this revision of the sacred books reached so far as the restoring the poetical parts to their ancient metre, or whether they contented themselves with such a punctuation and division of verses as would best fit them for the service of the temple. The generality of writers is for the latter; but there is one reason which seems to us very strong for the former, namely, that those psalms b which were composed after the captivity appear to us to run much in the same cadence with those which had been written before it, and many of them, whatever some difficult critics may fancy to the contrary, seem to be in no case inferior to them; which seems a plain intimation, either that the rules of *Hebrew* poetry were not lost at *Babylon*, or that they were recovered after their return, though they have been in vain sought for ever since the total dispersion of that nation, as we have fully shewn in the place last quoted out of the first volume of this history. However, since that time the reverend prelate above quoted has favoured the learned world with his metrical edition of the psalms, by which he has at least convinced us, that the *Hebrew* metre c is not so irrecoverably lost as we then imagined. It is true, we are far from thinking that he has actually discovered it; we shall hereafter give our reasons for it in the margin; but this we are bound to say in justice to his extensive learning, the indefatigable pains he has taken in that work, and the irrefragable arguments with which he has exploded the greatest part of the *Mafforetic* trash, which has been hitherto an insurmountable impediment to such a discovery, to say nothing of the many sagacious rules, and judicious criticisms, which the reader will find in that edition; that if his lordship has not quite paved the way to it, he has at least blown up those discouraging obstacles that obstructed it; so that we may now hope, that by the help of this elaborate piece, those who have both time and genius for such an enterprise, will be now encouraged to follow so noble an example, from the present prospect of d success, which they must have despaired of without it. Having said thus much in justice to that excellent piece, and its learned author, we shall now, with his lordship's good leave, and with that honest freedom which the dignity the subject demands of us, offer our reasons why we think that his new found metre comes infinitely short of what it appears to us to have originally been, and consequently, that the greatest part of the alterations and corrections made for the sake of it, and which are to be found in every page, are so many deviations from the original. And since we find that many of our readers expect we should give our opinion of this learned performance, we doubt not, but if we clear the sacred text from the corruptions which our learned prelate thinks he had corrected in it; and the *Hebrew* poetry from being such a low, e

e Chap. ii. 13.

(C) Concerning the title of these, which are fifteen in number, beginning at the hundred and twentieth, various have been the conjectures of the learned; its original import is a *song of degrees* or *steps*, which some interpreters mistaking, have rendered a *song of excellences*, or a *most excellent song* (22). The *Chaldee* paraphrast turns it, a song of the steps of the abyss, alluding to an old *Jewish* tradition; that when they came to lay the foundations of the second temple, such a stream of water gushed out, as rose fifteen cubits, and would in all probability have overflowed the country, had it not been quashed by virtue of the ineffable name of God, written upon the fifteen steps of the temple.

Hence interpreters have imagined, that these psalms had their names from the fifteen steps on which they were sung; but in what part of the temple, whether within or without, they can by no means agree.

Others took the hint from thence, that they were sung on some high desk, or raised place, to which the singers went by steps; but where is there any foundation for this?

But if we consider that the whole tenor of those psalms consists chiefly either in fervent prayers for their return from their captivity, or thanksgiving for having obtained it; and that the terms, *ascend*, and *to ascend*, are frequently used to express their return into their own land (23); as it was indeed a high hilly ground, is it not more natural to suppose those psalms to have been composed some a little before, and some presently after, and all upon the subject of this happy *אֲלֹהֵינוּ* ascend or return from *Babylon* to *Jerusalem* (24)? So *Shir Hammealoth* will properly signify the song of the return, or of those that returned.

(22) *Jen. Trembl. Muif. & al.*

5, 6. *Psalms* cxxii. *Jerem.* xxvii. 22. & *alib.* *Ezek.* xxxix. 2. & *alib.*

in *Pf. Grad.*

(23) *Vid. ins. al. Ezra* i. 3, 5. & *seq.* ii. 2. vii. 9. *Nehem.* vii.

(24) *Vid. Calmet, prefat.*

- a crawling, and imperfect thing as this edition makes it, not only they, but much more his good lordship, will be pleased with it; and that merit of the cause will plead for the length of the following note, into which we shall for order and brevity's sake insert all that we have to say upon that subject (D).

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(D) In speaking of the sacred Hebrew poetry in a former volume *, we ventured to affirm, that it was unreasonable to suppose, that an art, which, with respect to its noblest part, the strength of expression, loftiness of thought, beauty of metaphors, and imagery, was almost at its height in Moses's time; and had been so excellently well cultivated during so many centuries after, should yet be so uncouth and imperfect with respect to the metre, as *Le Clerc* and some other critics have made it; the latter being but a mere jingle, and within the compass of a much more ordinary genius. And this argument we think will hold much stronger against that even heavy and inelegant bitony, which our learned prelate has given us for it; and especially,

2dly, If we take in another part of his lordship's affirmation, namely, that it admitted of no distinction of long and short syllables, but used them all indifferently, as the nature of the verse, which is there affirmed to consist of no other variety than *trochaic* and *iambic*, required. For this once allowed, we may rarely say with the poet, that *Nil non eris verus*, and that there is no period in the *Old Testament* from *Genesis* to *Malachi*, that may not be thus versified, not to say, any other book in any other language; for proof of which, if the reader will but be at the small pains we have been induced to take, he may with ease reduce the whole common prayer book, either *English*, *Latin*, or *Greek*, into the same kind of verse, and without those frequent alterations, which his lordship is forced to make in the Hebrew text.

We may add, that quantity is in many cases so necessary and obvious to fix the sense of what is said or sung, that it is absolutely impossible the sacred poets should have been thus totally negligent of it.

But, thirdly, That neither poets nor musicians from *Moses* to *David* should have stumbled upon a variety of metres, answerable to the variety of subjects treated of in the psalms; but that the penitential ones, than which nothing can be more grave or solemn, as to the expression, should run on in the same merry pace with the eucharistical, ecumenical, epithalamical, and others, of a more chearful nature; or that *David*, bewailing and begging pardon for his secret sins, should express himself in the same leaping anacreontic strain, as when he speaks of the mountains skipping like rams, and the little hills like young sheep (25), *credas quicumque vult*.

Lastly, If the book of psalms, a book so highly esteemed, and in such constant use among all the Jews, can be once supposed to have been so mutilated, as to stand in need, not only of all that vast quantity of corrections which are here introduced for the sake of that metre, but of a great many more, which that learned prelate owns he could not restore; it is to be feared, whatever his lordship may think to the contrary, its authority will soon dwindle into nothing, especially if that be admitted, which his lordship affirms in several places of that work, that a great number of those corruptions have been introduced into the text, not by the inadvertency and ignorance of transcribers, but by the superstitious or even malicious intent of the Jews themselves. But such a severe charge against a people, who, for ought appears to the contrary, have rather ran into the other extreme, ought to have been backed by some stronger proofs, than the bare structure of this new-found metre, which is at best

built upon a tottering foundation, and in many cases upon a wrong one, as will, we hope, appear by what follows.

These were some of the main reasons that induced us to inquire further into the grounds of this new metre; and here we own, that his lordship could not have taken upon a better way to come at his intended discovery, than that of framing his rules from the acrostic psalms, whose verses being confined within their alphabetical limits, take away at once all occasion of expatiating. But the misfortune was, that he made choice of so short a one for his ground and pattern, which consisting but of ten verses, and by its structure appearing to have been designed, like some others of the like nature, to be committed to memory for frequent use, could not afford that variety of measure, &c. which is to be found in acrostics of a greater length, such as the 25th, 34th, 37th, and especially the 119th.

This last his lordship justly observes, comes indeed vastly short of the poetic elegance of the rest, with respect to the diction; but as to the metre, it affords such a beautiful variety of it, that it seems to contain an epitome of the whole Hebrew metre; and we doubt not, but if his lordship had bestowed the same pains in framing his rules from it, he might not only have given us a more noble idea of the sacred poetry, but likewise saved himself the endless trouble of distorting the text, to make it square with his own. All which put together, gave us just cause to think that his fondness for this new discovery had made him overlook several great beauties and excellencies in the Hebrew metre, which a closer and less partial examination might easily bring to light.

We had not gone far in this inquiry, before some of his metrical emendations gave us a manifest proof of it, and set us upon a much better scent. We observed, that his lordship was often forced for the sake of the verse to curtail a trisyllable into a bisyllable, or to stretch the latter into the former; but more particularly the names of God, *Jah*, *Jahvoh*, and *Elohim*, by exchanging them *ad libitum*, and contrary to the text, according as the verse required one, two, or three syllables, even as far as eighteen times in one psalm (26).

This, we observed, was constantly done in verses whose hemistichs ran either in the same number of syllables, except only in these names of God, as in the following;

(27) יְהוָה יְהוָה
יְהוָה יְהוָה בְּיָמֵינוּ
בְּיָמֵינוּ

or in parallel verses of different psalms; in the one of which the word *Jahvoh*, and the other *Elohim*, and sometimes *Adonai*, did occur (28), *ceteris paribus*. This made us apprehend at first, that if there was really any such metre in the psalms, his lordship was mistaken in reading the word *יְהוָה* *Jahvoh*, which ought to have been a trisyllable, in order to answer to *Elohim* and *Adonai*.

But finding upon further examination that *Elohim* was in several places set to answer to other words, which were certainly bisyllable, as in the following (29),

יְהוָה
יְהוָה הַמִּימִם
הַמִּימִם אֱלֹהִים
אֱלֹהִים וְהָאֱלֹהִים
וְהָאֱלֹהִים

What

* Vol. I. p. 709. & seq. (25) Compare in this new edition, Psalm xix. 14, with cxiv. 3, & seq. (26) Psalm lxviii. (27) Psalm lvi. 11. (28) Conf. Psalm xiv. 3, & liii. 3. lviii. 10, & cviii. 3. & alibi pluries. (29) Ps. lxxvii. 3.

Ezra's death
and character.

We return to *Ezra*, who having been succeeded by *Nebemiah*, after he had governed ^a the Jewish church and nation thirteen years, assisted him in some parts of his office some few years, after which we hear no more of him. *Josephus* tells us ^d, that he died and was buried at *Jerusalem*; but the rest of the *Jews* affirm, that he returned into *Persia*, and died there in the hundred and twentieth year of his age. They bear so great a veneration for him, that they look upon him as a second *Moses*, a restorer of the sacred books and *Mafforah*, and, in a word, one every way worthy to have been their law-giver, had not that honour been bestowed on *Moses* ^e. They join the books of *Ezra* and *Nebemiah* into one, and make him the author of it: and he was certainly so of the first, since he speaks of nothing in it, but what was done in his time, and under his eye, and almost every-where speaks of himself in the first person; ^b but if he wrote the second, some additions must have been made to it since his death; but the difference of style seems to prove it of another hand, as well as that of the two books of *Chronicles*, which it is not however improbable, he might have had the revision of; as for the other two books falsely attributed to him, and known by

^a Antiq. l. xi.

^e Vid. Sed. Hol Cabbal. R. Abn. Levit. Seph. Juchaf. Shalftelet, & al. plur.

What could be a stronger proof than this, that *Elohim* consisting of two shorts and a long, was equivalent to the two long ones in *Gullam*, and consequently that the *Hebrew* metre admitted not only of long and short syllables, two of the last of which were equal to one of the former; but also, that it consisted of trisyllables, bisyllables, and monosyllables, or what the prosodists call *cesures*? Such as are in the *Latin* pentameters, and in the *Hebrew* iambs. We have not room in a note to multiply

examples; the reader may by comparing the following ones, which are exactly according to the text, with those of our learned author, as he has been forced to distort them from it, to reduce them to his metre, easily guess, to what a vast number of needless emendations this one single error of the *Hebrew* poetry consisting only of bisyllables, without distinction of quantity (30), has given birth to, which might otherwise have been happily avoided.

Ezkôr Mähle-lè iäh
Ezkeräh mikedeni philekäh
rauka Mäjim Elohim
rauka Majim jakilù (31)
Hühäh lèhèz-rati
Adonài teshù-bati (32)
B'elohim ahàl-lèl dà bar
B'jahvoh ahàl-lèl dà bar (33).

Nòdäh Bihudäh Elohim
Bishraël gadòl Shemò
ashiräh lihvòh bekhajài
azamrah lelohäh behodì
Elohim berob Khafdeca
honnani beemeth jifheca

Those that are conversant with the *Hebrew* tongue, and sacred poets, will easily feel the advantage of admitting this variety of feet, not only with regard to its superior elegance to a dull constant bitony, but also towards the further discovery of the *Hebrew* metre in verses of unequal hemisties; some of which run to such lengths above others, even in those acrostics abovementioned, that they contain often double, and sometimes treble the number of syllables.

This indeed our author looks upon as such a disgrace to the *Hebrew* poetry, that, right or wrong, he endeavours to avoid it every-where, as much as possible; sometimes by the addition of one or more words, at other times by striking them out (34), by elisions, paragogics, and sometimes by splitting a long word between two hemisties, or sometimes by splitting an hemistie into two, contrary to the constant structure of the psalm (35); and yet if we were to frame a judgment from the three last quoted psalms, xxxvii. cxix. and cxxxvi. one would be apt to think that the sacred poets thought these transitions from a long to a very short hemistie, an ornament; and such it is thought by all, in odes, epitaphs, and such-like, which seem therefore to us to come nearest to the *Hebrew* genius and metre, not only of the psalms, but of the other poetic pieces of the *Old Testament* †.

Now this kind being so opposite to the *trochaic* and *iambic*, which his lordship had pitched upon for his standard, we need not wonder that he has

succeeded no better in his endeavours to bring it to it, since that could not be done but by constant stretching, dislocating, amputation, and other such-like violent methods, which his lordship among many other learned men, have justly objected against *Le Clerc*, and others, who have attempted this discovery.

It is not the design of this note to recover the ancient *Hebrew* poetry, a task for which we have neither time nor abilities; but to rescue it from that contempt into which both it and the *Hebrew* text must unavoidably fall, if it should once be supposed, that the former consisted only in a dull, sleepy, and uncertain bipedality, and that the latter has been so corrupted and mutilated, partly by *Jewish* superstition and malice, and partly by the ignorance and inadvertency of transcribers. And therefore, though what has been said seem to us sufficient to vindicate it in both cases, yet, as the last is a matter of such great moment, we shall take the liberty to animadvert upon some few more of his lordship's metrical emendations, that the reader may see how little reason he had to say, *Ex metro liquido apparet; frustra ergo sunt omnes hic interpretas* (36). We shall begin with the fiftieth psalm, out of the first verse of which he has struck the two names of God, *El* and *Elohim* into the title, upon no other authority than the last-mentioned. Could his lordship indeed have backed it with one single instance of a psalm, intitled, *Mizmor el Elohim*, or shewn that there was any absurdity or inelegancy in the expression, *El, Elohim, Jahvoh, or Jehovah*, the

(30) Vid. Prolegom. p. 4. & 27. (31) Psalm lxxvii. 12, & 17. (32) xxxviii. vs. (33) lvi. 11.
(34) Psalm xxxvii. 20, 25, & seq. cxix. pass. (35) Psalm cxxxvi. 9. † Vid. ins. xl. Exod. 15.
& Lament. c. 3. (36) Note in v. 1. Psalm 1.

the God of gods, or the Mighty God; such a change might have past for an amendment; but to rectify so noble an expression for the sake of a meter, which is at best as yet but in embryo, is a criticism which few of his readers will digest.

But were it really for the sake of the metre that his lordship rejects this triplicate name of God, how easily might it have been remedied by lengthening the verse without any violence to the text! As,

*El Elohim Jahvoh dibber vajira,
Eretz mimisrah shemesh had meboo*

or by any other way, rather than stripping the original of so lofty an expression. But if his lordship, or the reader, is by this time reconciled to that variety of metre we have endeavoured to establish above, the whole verse may be still made to run more elegantly, and conformably to the rest of the psalm, thus:

*El elo-him jah-voh dib her
Vajira eretz mimiz rah
S'émesh vé had meboo*

But his lordship seems to be fond of spying out difficulties in the original, that he may have an opportunity of exercising his critical talent. We shall give three pregnant instances of it; the first is in the eighth and ninth verses of the fortieth psalm; this place, obscure and intricate as his lordship calls it, after some additional words, and a new disposition of the original ones, he leaves much more dark and unintelligible, and less elegant and grammatical than he found it, as the reader may see by comparing it with the text.

Now all this trouble might have been saved, and the text not only cleared, but exactly adjusted to the place, where the epistle to the Hebrews quotes it (37) by the single addition of the letter *צ* *caph* before the word *בְּמִגִּלָּת* *bimgillath*, and which may easily be supposed to have been omitted by reason of its similitude to the *צֶדֶק* *tsedek*, or even by the bare changing the one for the other, and reducing *cemgillath* instead of *bemgillath*; and then the verses will run thus, and in the bishop's own meter,

*As a-murti hinneh bati
then said I to I come
(kevim-gilath Sepher Catub
(as in the volume of the book it is written
halai) lahioth rezo-neka
of me) to do thy will
Elo-harkha-phasti
O my God, I am well pleased with it
Vetho-rathca betoc Mehai
And thy law is within my heart.*

The altering the points in the verb *kaphazti*, and making it the substantive *khephzati*, will render it still more elegant; and the sense will be, O my God, and my delight; or, O God, thou art my delight, and thy law is within my heart.

The next is in the sixty-eighth psalm, verse 14; where the author not being able to light upon a better sense than that which the vulgate and our version gives it, *Though ye have lain among the pots, yet shall ye be as the wings of a dove, &c.* has been forced to insert the words *sehu* and *ce*, and to double that of *Jonah* with the addition of the *צ* in the first. Now all this might have been saved, and the sense made not only much plainer, but more elegant, by reading *נִפְּחָה* instead of *נִפְּחָה*, which is but a small alteration in comparison of his; and then the sense will be plainly this; *Though ye have lain among the pots, or rather, according to the parallel in Genesis xix. 19. Though ye sink between two barthen, ye shall the dove (emblem of innocence) escape with her*

wings covered with silver, and her feet with the purest gold.

The last is in psalm cxxxviii. v. 2. the latter part of which running thus in the text,

Ki bigdalt hal col Shemca imratheca;

which not being altogether so intelligible, his lordship rectifies by adding the word *Shem* before *Shemca*, and casting out the last word, as absurdly added, and without sense, and for a proof of it sends us to the parallel of St. Paul (37).

I hope his lordship will not think *imratheca*, thy word, to have been here maliciously added by the Jews, since, if we understand the apostle right, he speaks there of Christ the word, the *logos* made flesh, and crucified, and for which God has given him a name above every name. If therefore, instead of striking it out, his lordship had only expunged the pronoun *י* after *Shem* without any farther alteration, the sense would have much better tallied with St. Paul's quotation thus: *For thou hast magnified thy word above every name.* His lordship could not be ignorant what is universally understood by the Hebrew *Imrah*, the Chaldee *Mumre*, the Greek *Logos*, and the Latin *Verbum*, when applied to that divine Person.

It is true, if we admit the original word *imratheca*, the verse will be one syllable too long for the foregoing; a misfortune which often happens in the text, but which his lordship is never at a loss to obviate, either by an elision or a paragoge, though for our part we should rather chuse to remedy it by the rule heretofore given of making two short syllables equal to a long one.

Much of the same nature is the correction of Psalm lxxiv. v. 3. where his lordship strikes out of the verse the words *lemasshuath netzach*, perpetual desolations, as absurd and contrary to the context (in which the psalmist begs of God to put an end to them) and fills up the chasm with the word *Calleb*, which he fetches out of the eleventh verse, where he pretends it to be redundant.

His lordship, we believe, is the first that thinks it nonsense for a man to pray to God to put an end to his perpetual, that is, constant, and hitherto uninterrupted misfortunes; besides the word *נצח* *netzach*, it is well known, doth not always imply the duration, but often strength, greatness, violence and insurmountableness of a thing; and therefore not only very applicable to the then dreadful desolations of the sanctuary, but also very fit to be humbly represented to that God whose hand alone could remedy them.

But there is still another and much more natural way of clearing the original, than that of his lordship's, by supposing the verb to have been originally *נצח* *netzach*, fly, which the transcribers not understanding, changed it for the other, which was more known to them. The expression of lift up thy feet, which alludes to a bird just going to take flight, confirms this sense, which will run thus, lift up thy feet, and fly to those dreadful devastations which thy enemies perpetually commit in thy holy place.

But this not being perceived by the transcribers, in order to make their *netzach* run smooth with the rest, they changed the order of the words, which probably ran thus:

*Harimah pahameka
Netzah lecol Malsuoth
Herah oieb bakkodesh.*

As for the word *נצח*, which his lordship fetches from the eleventh verse, we think it fully as well where it is, and where it is properly the participle *pahtul* of the verb *נצח*, to shut or inclose, the *ת* elided by reason of the feminine, the hand, there said to be shut up in the bosom. See a parallel in Psalm lxxxvii. v. 9.

From

by the names of the first and second books of *Esdra*s, they are justly rejected; a however, we shall subjoin a short account of each in the margin (E).

Nebemiah

From these few examples the reader may see the ill consequence of two great an attachment to a favourite system: but the mischief has not stop here; and the notion, that the text was so corrupt, that nothing but these violent means could possibly recover it, has spread itself to other places, where the metre did not want those emendations. Thus his lordship tells us, in his notes on *Psalm* cvii. v. 25 and 29, that the words *jahmed* and *jakem* had manifestly changed places. We had indeed long before suspected some error in the last verb, but never dreamt of this way of rectifying it. However, it appeared so plausible to us at the first reading, that we readily jumped over the difficulty of accounting how two such words, that stood at the distance of four verses, or eight hemistiches, asunder, should, contrary to the plain sense of the text, be jumbled into each other's place; and we transposed them according to his correction in our manuscript psalter.

But we had not often read over the expression *jahmed ruakh segarah lidmamah*, before we observed a manifest absurdity in it, since that verb in this conjugation doth not signify *to make to stand still*, but *to cause to stand, to act*; and could not consequently belong to the latter, but to the former of the verses, where it was raised to cause the storm there spoken of; and we accordingly replaced it where it ought to be.

The difficulty then was how to rectify the word *jakem*, which, as it is there written, must be owned to be nonsense, unless we take it in the same figurative meaning, which it is known to have in *1 Sam. iv. 15.* and *1 Kings xiv. 4.* and elsewhere. But here the thirty-third and thirty-fifth verses of the same psalm furnished us with a much more plausible salvo than his lordship's improbable transposition, it being much more likely that a transcriber should mistake or overlook one letter for another, than that he should thus transpose two distant words against all sense; and thus we writ *יָשִׁעַם* *jasheem*, to turn, instead of *יָכֵם* *jakem*, to raise, *Jasheem Seharah Lidmamah* turneth the tempest into a calm, will then answer to *Jasheem Neharoth l'Midbar*, verse 33, he turneth the rivers into a dry wilderness, and *Jasheem Midbar l'agam Majim*, verse 33, a dry wilderness into a standing water.

If our readers however should mistake this verb, either on account of its occurring three times within so small a distance from each other, or because it is not elegant enough to answer the context, he may find some more noble ones in the verbs *יָסַד*, to break, *יָקַד*, to blunt, *יָקַד*, to tire, whose last letters being so near like the *י*, might easily be mistaken for it, the verb *יָסַד* being more familiar to them, than the others, which occur but seldom.

But after all, we very much question, whether any other change need to be made than the bare transposition of the particle *ל* from *demamah* to *seharah*, and so *יָסַד קְסֵרָה רִמְמָה* will properly signify, He makes the calm to succeed the storm, an expression no ways irregular or inelegant. The reader however may see by this one instance, how many easier ways that text might be rectified, than that which the learned author has pitched upon.

We shall end this note with one animadversion more on that learned prelate's edition, by which the reader will plainly see that his lordship is not always so happy as to take the best sense of the psalmist. We observed in a former volume **, that some of the figures in that sacred book are so high and compound, that they were not easily perceived by every reader.

Our learned bishop's singular opinion of the rudeness of the Hebrew poetry, hath made him not only

overlook many of them, but even quarrel with some, which, had he been otherwise prejudiced, might have challenged his admiration. One of them, for instance, is in *Psalm* lxxii. v. 16. This noble psalm is intitled to *Solomon*; but what is contained in it, is generally understood to regard the reign of the Messiah: but be that reign whose it will, here is foretold, among other great blessings, such an uncommon plenty, that *Pissash bar*, a little handful of corn, sown on the tops of the mountains, naturally the most barren, should outvie the fertile *Libanus* for increase. One would wonder how a person of his profound judgment could be dissatisfied with so elegant a phrase, and yet he tells us in his note, that unless the word *pissash* be allowed here to have a contrary sense, that is, to signify a great abundance, he shall suspect it to have crept in instead of some word of the like import; which would be in fact losing all the beauty of the expression, as much as if his lordship had said, that the fertile vallies ought to be inserted instead of the barren mountain tops; for where would be the wonder, that a great heap of corn, or a fertile ground, should bring forth a plentiful crop?

Of the same nature is that noble expression of the psalmist †, where he compares himself to *bammesim khopsi*, to a corpse secluded even from among the dead, alluding to the Jewish way of burying; for as the graves of the dead polluted the living, who came near them, so those who died a violent death, or under the anathema, were to have a grave separate from the rest, lest they should pollute even their fellow dead; and that this is the allusion here intended, is plain by the verses immediately following, and implied in the word *khalalim*, which should properly be rendered, not wounded, but profane, abominable, and which, *mijadeca nigzaru*, are cut off from thy hand, plainly shews ††; but his lordship having overlooked this beautiful figure, has struck off the word *bammesim*, as spoiling the sense as well as the verse; how rightly, let the reader judge.

Thus much we thought incumbent upon us to say of that learned and elaborate work, which, if it has not answered the end which its noble author proposed, may yet be read, as it was by us, with great pleasure and profit, not only on account of numberless judicious criticisms and observations which the reader will find in it, but as it will administer the greatest helps that ever were as yet thought on by any of the learned towards the recovering of the ancient Hebrew poetry. As to the rest, we dare believe, it will be no small pleasure to that learned and pious prelate, to find the discovery of his mistakes turn so much to the credit and vindication of the sacred text, and of its inspired penmen.

(E) The first book of *Esdra*s is no other than the first book of *Ezra*, with a variety of fabulous circumstances, particularly that of the three young men of *Darius's* guard, who for their exquisite wisdom in answering his questions, are there pretended to have obtained, among other marks of his favour, the liberty of returning to *Jerusalem*, and of rebuilding the temple (29). The Greek church is the only one that holds it among the canonical books.

The second book is acknowledged by neither Jews nor Christians, being a work which carries the manifest marks of imposture. It is falsely pretended to have been written by *Ezra* himself, though filled partly with rabbinic fables, such as the account of the six days creation, particularly of *Behemoth* and *Leviathan*, two monstrous creatures, designed for a feast to the elect, after the resurrection (30), and partly

** Vol. I. p. 710, sub fin. note L.

† *Psalm* lxxxvii. 6.

†† Concerning those burials, see before,

Vol. I. p. 673, 6, & seq. (29) Ch. iii. & seq.

(30) Ch. vi. 40, & seq.

- a *Nebemiah*, cup-bearer to the king of *Persia*, a *Jew* (F) of great learning and piety, had heard by some of his nation lately come from *Jerusalem*, of the ruinous condition which that city still stood in, notwithstanding the favours which that monarch had heaped on the returned *Jews*; being therefore backed by the queen, who is expressly said to have been at the table, when he made his petition to him^f, he obtained a commission from him to succeed *Ezra* in the government of *Judæa*, with full power to rebuild and adorn both city and temple, and with fresh orders to *Sanballat*, and others of his officers on this side *Euphrates*, to furnish him with all necessary materials out of the king's treasury. *Nebemiah* having gathered a fresh supply of men and women to return with him into *Judæa*, departed under an escort, which the king had granted, and arrived at *Jerusalem*, where he kept himself in private three days, at the end of which, he went in the night, accompanied with a few of his men, to take a full view of the city and walls, which he found to answer exactly the report that had been made to him of it at *Sbushan*. On the morrow he sent for the heads of the people, and in the great assembly opened his commission, which he told them he would immediately put in force, and set about the finishing of the wall; he divided the work between a number of great families, each of which undertook a part of a stated extent, and was to build it at their own charges; and the new governor plied them so close, that in fifty-two days they had all compleated their task, notwithstanding the many discouragements which he met with both from within, and from without^g.
- c For while the work was going on, they were forced to bear with many a bitter sarcasm from *Sanballat*, a *Haronite* (G), governor of *Samaria*, and some others of his officers; but this was nothing to some of their underhand plots to obstruct it; for they went so far as to hire some treacherous *Jews* to dishearten both the governor and people, with the specious pretence that they were sent from God to put a stop to the enterprize. *Nebemiah* soon found out the cheat, but foreseeing that his enemies would not fail to use force, if their subdolous practices failed, ordered the people to arm themselves even while they were at work, placed strong guards to defend them, and trumpeters at convenient distances from each other, that at what quarter soever they should chance to be attacked, the rest upon hearing the alarm, might come immediately to their assistance. But the greatest obstacle of all was, that the poorer sort,

Nebemiah sent into Judæa. Year of the flood 2554. Before Christ 445.

The wall finished.

^f NEHEM. ii. 6.

^g Ibid. iii. & seq.

partly with some gospel notions, corrupted and fitted to the author's taste. Of this nature are the nearness of the day of judgment, the appearance of the Son of God to him, and many more not worth repeating.

Mohammed has also stuffed his *Koran* with some monstrous fables; he not only owns him to have recovered the sacred books, which had been in a great measure lost, but affirms that he wrote them with five pens at once. He adds, that this miracle not convincing the incredulous *Jews* that he had rightly performed the task, one of the company told the rest, that one of his ancestors had formerly hid a fair copy of them in the cleft of a rock; which being fetched and compared with this new one of *Ezra*, they found such an exact agreement between them, as convinced them that he had been supernaturally assisted in it; some other fables he adds, which the reader may find in *D' Herbelot* (31).

The eastern christians believe, that *Ezra* having swallowed down some of the mud of the well, wherein the sacred fire had been hid before the captivity, was immediately inspired, and enabled to write all the sacred books afresh (32). This seems to be partly taken out of the second book of *Esdra*, where that fabulous author tells us, that having begged of God to direct him how to recover those lost volumes, God gave him to drink of a liquor of a fiery colour; by the help of which he was enabled to dictate them to five scribes at the same time, who

were forty days a writing two hundred and four volumes (33).

(F) The text calls him barely the son of *Hachabiah* (34), without informing us of what tribe he was. Some therefore from a passage in the *Maccabees* (35), where he is said to have offered sacrifices, and from his being reckoned at the head of the priests that signed the new covenant with God (36), have affirmed him to have been of the family of *Aaron*.

But as there is nothing conclusive in all this, and seems expressly contradicted by his saying in another place, that he was not a fit person to shelter himself in the temple (37); the far greater part suppose him to have been of the royal family of *Judah* (38); and this is so much the more probable, because we find none but such promoted to those high stations about the king's person; but never read of a priest that was so, till a long time after, and upon a quite different account, as the sequel will shew.

(G) Probably so called, because he was a native of *Haronaim*, a city of *Moab*; their other two principal enemies were *Tobias* the *Ammonite*, and *Geshem* the *Arabian*; all consequently ill-affected to the *Jews*, but now doubly so, since they were likely to be dispossessed by them of many a good estate, which they had seized on during their captivity.

(31) Biblioth. Orient. sub voce Ozair. Ben. Serraiab. Vid. & Koran. cap. Bactra.

(32) D' Herbel. ubi supra.

(33) Ch. xiv. 22, & seq.

(34) Nehem. i. 1.

(35) Lib. ii. c. i. 18, 21.

(36) Nehem.

x. 1.

(37) Ibid. c. vi. 11.

(38) R. Ahrab. in Cabbal. Euseb. lfid. & Genebr. & al.

who were to bear the greater share of the labour, had been so impoverished by continual extortions from the rich, even long before his arrival, that they had already been forced to mortgage their lands, sell their sons and daughters, and submit to so many other hardships, that they were quite disabled from pursuing it. *Nebemiah*, who expected nothing less than to hear of such horrid cruelties being committed by the *Jewish* rulers, upbraided them in the severest terms; and partly by persuasions, and partly by his own authority, obliged them to restore all their ill-gotten wealth to the poor owners, and at the same time took care that they should be supplied with all necessary sustenance while they continued in the work ^b; by these means he defeated the measures of the *Samaritans*. As soon as the wall was finished, he caused the dedication of it to be celebrated with the usual solemnities by the priests and levites (H) ¹, and ^b left the government of the city to his two brothers, *Hanani* and *Hananiab* ^k, whilst himself returned, as is reasonably supposed, into *Persia* (I), to obtain a new commission, the old one extending no farther than the rebuilding the city wall, which was now actually done.

Is consecrated.

The city peopled.

HITHERTO *Jerusalem*, large and spacious as it was, remained still but thinly peopled, the far greater part having settled themselves in the countries round about; and whenever any business called them into the city, they seldom failed returning at night to their habitations. This *Nebemiah* had indeed forbidden while the wall was a building; but after it was finished, they returned to their usual course. This therefore obliged him to provide for its safety, by causing a greater number of people to come and settle in it. He persuaded at first the nobler and richer to build them houses there, which they the more gladly complied with, because their country seats were very much infested with thieves and banditti, who made frequent excursions against them. After this they took in all that willingly offered themselves to come and settle there; but these not proving sufficient, he was obliged to take every tenth family by lot; so that by this time the city being well built, peopled, guarded, and fortified, it began to resume something of its former lustre ^c; and *Herodotus*, who saw it soon after this time, compares it to *Sardis*, the metropolis of *Asia Minor* ^m (K).

The law publicly read and expounded.

WHILST *Nebemiah* was thus employed in peopling and fortifying the city, adorning the temple, and rectifying of the genealogies both of priests and people (L), ^d *Ezra*, who had by that time finished his collection of the sacred books, was preparing himself, and some other learned priests, to make a solemn lecture of them to the whole nation on the next approaching festival, which was that of the trumpets, ushering in the new year. To this end a capacious scaffold or desk was raised in one of the largest streets of the city, that the people who came from all parts of the land to the feast might conveniently hear it. *Ezra* was seated in the midst with the sacred volume before him, and on each side stood six priests, well versed in the *Hebrew* and *Chaldee*,

^a Ch. v. pass.

¹ Ch. xii.

^k Ch. vii.

¹ NEHEM. xi.

^m I. iii.

(H) This noble ceremony, which is described in the chapter above quoted, consisted in the purification of the priests and people, that they might partake of the sacrifices that were to be offered on that solemnity. After this they assembled themselves at one of the gates, whence dividing themselves into two bands, the one of them took to the right, and the other to the left, and marched in a solemn procession round the wall, till they met each other at the temple; they were followed by the priests blowing their trumpets, and with other singers and musicians.

As soon as they were come to the temple the two choirs placed themselves opposite to each other; and while they were singing some psalms proper to the occasion, the priests offered a great number of sacrifices, especially of oxen, after which they spent the remainder of the day in feasting and mirth.

(I) This is indeed the most probable of the two, as the learned *Prideaux* observes (39); for as his commission was only to repair the wall of the city, the only thing he had begged of the king, it is likely he went to have it enlarged, before he undertook any thing new; besides, it is not very likely,

that he would have committed the government of the city to any one, whilst himself was there present.

His great interest at the *Persian* court might then give such a dispatch to his business, and his return to *Jerusalem* might be so sudden, that he did not think it material to mention it in history.

(K) *Herodotus* calls it *Cadysis*; but whoever reads what the learned *Prideaux* has said on that subject (40), will easily think with him that it could be no other than *Jerusalem*.

(L) This had been done once before soon after the return, as we have heretofore hinted; but not so clearly, but that there were still many families of priests, levites, and of the people who could not make out their claim to their tribes, and were then suspended. It is therefore likely, that some of them were since enabled to make out their title, and were then inserted in this new register, together with those who came up with *Nebemiah*. Several of the old families that came up upon the first edict, might be by this time extinct; all which is probably the cause of the difference we find in the genealogies of the books of *Ezra* and *Nebemiah*.

(39) *Connest. lib. vi. sub an. A. Chr. 445.*

(40) *Sub an. 610, & 445.*

who

a who did interpret in the latter what he read in the former ; and this was done, as we observed before, verse by verse, and was continued from morning till mid-day. *Nehemiah* then reminding them of the joyful festival they were then celebrating, dismissed them for that day, charging them to spend the remainder of it in feasting and mirth, and to make their poor brethren partake of their joy. This caution was so much the more necessary, because he observed that the people shed abundance of tears at the hearing of the law, which he interpreted to proceed from such a remorse of their past deviations from it, as was likely to damp the mirth of that solemnity ". As the people shewed a more than common desire to have this lecture and exposition continued to them, *Ezra* complied with their request, until he and his assistants had gone through the whole pentateuch. The grand festival of tabernacles being likewise near at hand, it opportunely happened, that that part of *Leviticus* in which it is enjoined, was read some days before ; by which they were made sensible, how short they had been till then of its due observation, so that the next they kept, was observed with greater strictness and solemnity than it had been since the time of *Joshua* (M) °.

Fest of tabernacles.

BUT this was not all the advantage which *Nehemiah* reaped from this lecture of the law to such a great concourse of people ; there appeared such a lively concern in them whenever any point of the law was read, of which they knew themselves transgressors, that he made use of that happy disposition to extort from them a general confession of all their sins, and a solemn promise and vow to rectify all that was amiss for the future ; and this was accordingly complied with by all the people, especially with respect to the four following heads ; namely, not to make any intermarriages with the *Gentiles*, and to disannul the old ones (N) : 2. The observation of sabbaths, sabbatic years, and those divine commands which related to them, such as letting their land rest, release of servants, and the like : 3. The punctual payment of their yearly tribute to the temple, both for the repairs and the maintenance of the divine services in it ; and 4. The exact payment of their tithes, first-fruits, vows, &c. to the priests and levites P. The solemnity concluded with a generous collection, which he caused to be made among them for the service of the temple ; in which, to shew a noble example to the rest, he gave himself a thousand drachms of gold, fifty dishes, and five hundred and thirty-two priestly vestments. *Josephus* adds, that he built several houses for the priests in order to oblige them to reside at *Jerusalem* q. Sure it is, that whether his place of cupbearer had raised his fortune to such a height, which is not improbable, or whether he had a considerable patrimony, to enable him, he did many generous and public-spirited things in *Judaea* ; among which that of maintaining a noble table, and splendid equipage, at his own cost, without exacting the tribute assigned for the maintenance of a governor, was none of the least. Having thus with great credit and honour compleated the tenor of his commission, he returned into *Persia*, according to his promise to the king r, after having enjoyed the government of *Judaea* twelve years.

Year of the flood 2557. Before Christ 442.

* NEHEM. viii. pass.
† NEHEM. ii. 6.

° Ibid. vers. 12, & seq.

P Ibid. c. ix, & x.

q Antiq. l. xi. c. 5.

(M) It is supposed to have been at this solemnity that the notable discovery happened of the sacred fire related in the book of *Massabees* (41), and which we have hinted in a former volume. The *Jews* affirm, that *Jeremiah*, or some other prophet, had caused it to be hid in a dry well a little before the taking of *Jerusalem* (42) ; the memory of it having been still preserved to that time, *Nehemiah* caused it to be fetched out for the divine service.

But when they came to uncover the well, they found no fire there, but only a thick mud, which being brought however, and poured upon the wood of the altar, and victims that were laid on it, all on the sudden the sun, which had hitherto been overcast, began to shine upon it, set the wood on fire, and consumed the burnt-offerings. *Nehemiah* caused the rest of the mud to be fetched, and poured upon some large stones, which were immediately covered with flames, but these were presently absorbed by those that flew from the altar thither.

This wonderful accident being afterwards related to the king of *Persia*, he ordered the place where the fire had been kept to be surrounded, and to be looked upon as sacred and inviolable. It raised still more his esteem of the *Jewish* nation and religion, and his respect shewed itself in the considerable presents which he made to the priests and temple. In memory of this wonderful discovery, the *Jews* instituted a feast, which they called the feast of the new fire.

(N) Either those which they had contracted since the general repudiation which had been made under *Ezra*, or perhaps had been contracted before it, but the offenders had refused or neglected to perform that covenant ; for sure it is, that as soon as this feast was over, they set about this work afresh, and obliged as many of those offenders as were found to have strange wives (43) to repudiate them.

(41) 1 Mass. i. 18, & seq.

(42) Ibid. vers. 19, & chap. ii. 1, & seq.

(43) Nehem. x. pass.

The temple
profaned.

DURING his absence, which lasted but five years, it is almost incredible, what a abuses were crept into the Jewish church and commonwealth; so soon were that perverse nation liable to forget their most solemn vows, and the miseries which their breach of them constantly brought upon them. *Eliaſib*, whether the then high-priest, or some other of the same name, who was overseer of the temple chambers, had married his grandson to the daughter of *Sanballat* the professed enemy of the Jews (O), and had had so much base complaisance for him, as to allow his friend *Tobiab* the Ammonite, another sworn enemy, a large apartment in that sacred place, from which even the Israelites, who were not of the tribe of *Levi*, were excluded. To this end, he caused those chambers, wherein the tythes of corn, wine, and oyl, meat-offerings, &c. used to be reposit, to be emptied for his accommodation. This mischief was followed by another, and the priests seeing the temple profaned by that stranger, their apartments given to his retinue, and gutted of that which was laid up for their maintenance, forsook the place, and went to live elsewhere, where they could; and this caused an intermission of the divine worship. It is not improbable, that *Nebemias*, who even at that distance he was then from Jerusalem, kept still a watchful eye over it, was soon informed of these abuses; so that having procured a fresh commission from *Artaxerxes*, he returned to Jerusalem at the end of five years from his departure. A less authority than his, or a man of less zeal, could hardly have ventured to reform an abuse, in which some of the greatest persons were concerned; but the base cowardise of the priest, and the impudence of the Ammonite, were too flagrant and impious to be suffered by a man of his character. As soon therefore as he was come to Jerusalem, and had been a witness of the fact, he expelled the gentile stranger out of his apartment, caused all his furniture to be thrown out, the place to be purified, and the priests and holy things to be reimplaced as formerly.

The sabbath
profaned.

ANOTHER shameful abuse, which had crept in during his absence, was an almost total disregard of the sabbath; they threshed their corn, pressed their wine and oil, bought and sold from the Tyrians and other strangers, who affected to bring their mercantile wares into that city on that day, rather than on any other of the week; and were basely suffered to do so by those magistrates, whose business it was to have hindered it. To prevent this practice for the future, *Nebemias* having reprov'd those magistrates in the severest terms, ordered the gates of the city to be shut every Friday night about sun-set, and not to be opened again till the sabbath was quite over; by which means those strangers having been disappointed twice or thrice, and been threatened from the walls with some further punishment, desisted from coming any more on that day. What aggravated the folly and baseness of the Jews is, that they had among them three considerable prophets, who rebuked them severely for their crimes, and warned them of the dreadful punishments which their shameful neglect of God's laws would bring upon them.

The worship
restored.

THESE were *Zechariah*, *Haggai*, and *Malachi*, of whose remarkable prophecies the reader will find a short summary in the margin (P); but what the authority of the prophet

^a De hoc vid. Commentat. & PRID. ubi supra, sub an. 418.

(O) The text seems to intimate at least a double alliance between the Jews and this Ammonite, besides that mentioned above; for *Tobias* had married the daughter of *Shecaniah* the son of *Arach*, one of the chiefs of the Jews, and his son had married the daughter of *Methullam* the son of *Barachiah* (44), one of the chief overseers in the rebuilding of the temple (45). All which being expressly forbid by the Mosaic law, and contrary to the solemn covenant they had so lately taken against such unlawful marriages, plainly shews their insincerity, and that it was not the fear of God, but of their governors, whether judges, kings, or deputies, that kept them within bounds; no wonder then, if God did so often suffer them to fall under the heavy hand of those very enemies, and to be so severely punished by means of those very alliances which they contracted contrary to his express commands, as the sequel will shortly shew.

(P) *Zechariah* for the number, excellency, and preciseness of his prophecies, is emphatically termed *Sol inter prophetas Minores*; he was cotemporary with *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, *Haggai*, and *Malachi*, if this last be not the same with *Ezra*. He began to prophesy about two months after *Haggai*, and with him to encourage the rebuilding of the temple, by assuring them of the divine protection and blessing on the work.

But these prophecies are inconsiderable, in comparison of those which foretel the coming of the Messiah in the plainest terms; the cruel war which *Antiochus Epiphanes* waged against the Jews, and God's severe judgments against that tyrant; the Jewish war with the Romans, and the death of the Messiah; the annulling of the old Mosaic covenant, and the new one substituted by and under Christ; the thirty pieces of silver; the siege of Babylon by *Darius*, as *Jeremy* and *Isaiah* had done long before him;

(44) *Ibid.* vi. 18.

(45) *Ibid.* iii. 4

- a prophet could not do, that of the governor's presence soon brought about; so that besides those abuses we have already observed, he rectified a number of others, which were no less enormous; one of which was the ceasing of the divine worship through the avarice of the people, who refusing to pay the priests and levites their tithes, and other dues, had forced them to seek their living out of the temple and city. All these *Nehemiah* restored to their former regularity, and reformed every thing that was amiss, not probably all at once, as one might be apt to think from their being mentioned together in one chapter^c, but at several times, and as opportunity served.

ALL these enormities introduced within the short interval of his absence, being manifestly owing to their ignorance or forgetfulness of the *Mosaic* law, did soon point out to him, that the only way to remedy them, was to enforce the frequent lecture and exposition of it, not only in *Jerusalem*, but also in all other cities and places of *Judaea*, as it had been formerly done with good success by some of the pious kings of *Judah*. These lectures were probably read at first in some great street or market-place, since we read of no buildings erected for that purpose before this time (Q);

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H

but

^c NEHEM. c. ult.

him; from which it is supposed the *Jews* took timely warning, and retired out of it. Lastly, he speaks gloriously of the state of the christian church; of the conversion of the gentiles to it; of the persecutions which the christians should endure; and the severe punishment of their persecutors, and other such-like events contained in the ninth and following chapters of his prophecies.

Some learned critics of our church (46) have indeed suspected the ninth, tenth, and eleventh chapters, which are a continued discourse or prophecy of the same events, to have been of *Jeremiah*, because a formal passage out of it is quoted by St. *Matthew* under his name (47). Some other reasons they give for this their conjecture, which the curious may read in those authors.

But the general opinion is, that the name of *Jeremy* has crept into that place of the evangelist, instead of that of *Zechariah*. How long he prophesied, and what death he died, is no-where said, the *Mohammedans* confound him with *Zecharias* the father of *John the Baptist*.

As for *Malachi*, of whom we have had occasion to speak before, the current of his prophecies runs intirely against the vile abuses that were crept into the *Jewish* church and state, such as mixed marriages, breach of the sabbaths and sabbatic years, oppressing the poor, defrauding the priests and levites of their tithes, and such other enormities, which were afterwards reformed by *Nehemiah*.

(Q) We have formerly shewn †, that before the captivity, they used to assemble themselves at the schools of the prophets on the sabbaths, new moons, and other festivals, to have the scriptures explained to them; but as to synagogues, we read nothing precise concerning them.

Those that think they had them before the captivity, do indeed object a passage out of the psalms (48), in which it is said, that the heathen had destroyed *sol mohadda el*, or, as our version renders it, all the synagogues of God; but the word *mohed* signifies properly a congregation, so that the place here mentioned, might signify no more than oratories, or what the *Greeks* called *proseuchia* (49), or any of those places where the prophets read or made lectures to them. However that be, it doth not appear, that if they had any such places for the reading and expounding of the scriptures, they were under such strict regulations, and in such numbers, as we find them after *Nehemiah's* time.

As to the regulations of these new synagogues,

they may be reduced to the three following heads;

1. They were to be under the inspection of certain rulers, called from thence rulers of the synagogue, and by the *Greek Jews* *archisynagogo*i. 2. They had their stated times for coming to them, viz. on the sabbaths, and other feast and fast days, and on *Mondays* and *Thursdays*; they had also their stated hours for each day. 3. They had proper ministers appointed, some to read and expound the current section out of the sacred books, others to read the liturgy, others to sing, &c. and these, provided they were in every respect else qualified for those offices, might be chosen out of any tribe; only they took care to have always one or more of the priestly order to preside, and take care that the service was performed with due order and decency.

The person who was appointed to read the liturgy, was called *sheliach zibber*, that is, the angel or messenger of the congregation, because he offered up the prayers of the people to God, or was the mouth or representative of the congregation to Godward; and as a messenger from God to men was called an angel of God, so one from men to God was styled an angel of the people; in this sense the christian bishops were called the angels of the churches; this person was always one of the rulers of the synagogue; he was also called *khakam*, or wise, learned, as were also the other rulers, and presided in their assemblies, and some in their courts of judicature.

Next to him was the *khazan*, who either read or looked over those who offered themselves to read the sections of the day, and corrected them when they read wrong; this officer had the sacred books, and other utensils, under his care, and had a *scriamas* or servant under him who had the keys, and overseeing of the synagogue; but the *khazan's* chief business was to expound the portions of scripture that were read on that day, or to appoint or permit any other to do it for him, or to preach a sermon on some proper subject.

Thus, when Christ was entered into the synagogue, we read that the book of *Isaiah* was presented to him, which he read, and expounded to the congregation (50); the like was also done by the apostles (1). This *khazan* was likewise the person who gave out and began those psalms and hymns that used to be sung by the whole congregation.

2. As to the number of these synagogues, they must have far exceeded those before the captivity, if any such then were; since *Maimon* tells us, the rule

(46) Hammond. in *Matth.* xxvii. *Mede*, l. iv. epist. 31. (47) *Matth.* xxvii. 9, 10. † Vol. I. p. 730. d. (48) Psalm lxxiv. 8. (49) De his vid. inc. al. Selden. de Synedr. Sigon. Rep. Hebr. l. ii. c. 8. Cuma. *Basnag. republ. Frid. Connest. an. 444*, & *auth. ab eo citat.* (50) *Mat.* xiii. 54. *Luke* iv. 16, & seq. (1) *Act.* xiii. 15.

but as they quickly found the inconvenience of it in cold and rainy weather, it is a not without good reason supposed, that this obliged them to build some convenient places to assemble in, which have been since known by the name of synagogues and schools. For the same purpose the *Chaldee* paraphrases, known by the name of *targums*, were also introduced much about the same time, to facilitate the knowledge of the *Mosaic* law, and of the other sacred volumes, among those who were unacquainted with the original; but as these were not finished till a considerable time after *Nehemiah's* death, we shall take a more proper time to speak of them. Thus far had this great man carried on the reformation of the *Jewish* church and state. As for the unworthy son of *Joiada*, whom *Josephus* calls *Manasseh*, instead of complying with the governor's orders of parting with his strange wife, he retired with her to *Samaria* to his father-in-law, and drew a great many other rebellious *Jews* after him, who had been guilty either of the same, or any of those enormous crimes, which were then reforming at *Jerusalem*, and went and settled themselves under the protection of *Sanballat* the *Samaritan* governor (R).

Nehemiah's death.

How long *Nehemiah* lived after he had made this reformation, whether he continued in his place of governor, and whether he died in *Judaea*, or in *Persia*, neither the text nor *Josephus* inform us; only the latter says, that he died in an advanced age^a; and indeed even at the time where his book ends, he must have been at least seventy years of age. In his days, and about the eleventh year of *Darius Nothus*, died the high-priest *Eliashib*, after he had enjoyed the pontifical dignity forty years; he was succeeded by his son *Joiada*, called by *Josephus* *Judas*^w, the unworthy father of that *Manasses* whom *Nehemiah* had forced to retire into *Samaria* for the sake of his beloved wife (S). Whilst that governor lived, he supported his character by the

^a Antiq. l. xi. sub fin. ult. cap. 5.

^w Id. ibid. c. 6. vid. NEHEM. xiii. 10.

rule was, that where-ever there were ten *Bathlim*, or *Israelites* of full age, there was to be a synagogue (2); and these were so multiplied in our Saviour's time, that the city of *Tiberias* had no less than twelve, and in *Jerusalem* the *Jews* affirm them to have amounted to four hundred and eighty (3); if these last are not somewhat enlarged, as *Lightfoot* suspects, who thinks that these ten *Bathlim* were the elders and ministers of that synagogue (4). 'Tis plain however, that they were in great number, not only in *Jerusalem* and *Palestine*, but also in all other places of their dispersion. And even in that metropolis, we find the *Alexandrines*, *Cilicians*, *Cyrenians*, *Asiaties*, *Libertines*, who had their own separate synagogues (5); from which we may infer, that there were many others which belonged to *Jews* of other nations; and the *Jews* tell us, that every handicraft had also their separate ones (6); but this we will not vouch for.

We should stretch this note too far, were we to give an account of the liturgy, ceremonies, and other particulars relating to those synagogues; the reader may see them in the authors quoted in this note; and especially in dean *Prideaux*, who has collected all that is worth knowing concerning them, and to whom we refer those who want a fuller account of them (7).

(R) The long interval between the *Sanballat*, who obstructed *Exra* in the rebuilding of the temple, and this, whose daughter was married to *Manasses*, has made some writers split him into two; the one called by *Exra* the *Horonite*, and not mentioned by *Josephus*; and this, whom the latter calleth a *Cuthaan*, who went over to *Alexander*, especially because he is there affirmed to have come over to his father-in-law in the reign of *Darius Codomannus* †.

This is indeed too glaring an anachronism to be admitted; for whoever compares the time in which *Nehemiah* returned from *Jerusalem* into *Persia*, viz. in the thirty-second year of *Artaxerxes*, or before Christ four hundred and forty-two, and the reign of *Darius Codomannus*, An. 336, must see that he could never have reached to this last; so that either we must admit two *Sanballats*, and two sons-in-law of the priestly race, or suppose that *Josephus* has misplaced him in the reign of *Darius Codomannus* instead of *Darius Nothus*, and in the high-priesthood of *Jaddua* instead of that of *Joiada*, where the text places him (8).

This is what the learned *Prideaux* (9) has taken a great deal of pains to prove; we shall refer the reader to him, because the argument would carry us too far. We shall only observe by the by, that upon his supposition, the *Manasses*, whom the same *Josephus* makes to succeed his nephew *Eleazar* (10), will not be the *Manasses*, who married *Sanballat's* daughter, and was expelled by *Nehemiah* (11).

As for *Sanballat* being called *Cuthaan* by *Josephus*, and *Horonite* by *Exra*, the latter we have shewn to have been given him from *Horonaim* the place of his birth, and that of *Cuthaan* was a name of reproach, by which not only that historian, but all the *Jews* called the *Samaritans*.

(S) *Josephus* adds (12), that *Sanballat*, to compensate him for the loss of his right to the *Jewish* priesthood, which his birth intitled him to, promised to make him high-priest of *Samaria*, and to bestow on him the highest place in the whole province. In order to which, he would cause a temple to be built on mount *Garizim* like unto that of *Jerusalem*, of which he should have the high-priesthood.

Accordingly, as our author goes on, that governor having gone over from the *Persians* to *Alexander*

(2) Tract. Tephil. c. 2. sect. 1. (3) Gemar. Meggill. c. 3. Ketuboth, c. 13. Beracoth, c. alib. Vid. Maim. ubi supra. Buxtorf. Lexic. Rabb. sub voce שולחן. (4) Censur. Geogr. c. 36. (5) Ant. vi. 9. (6) Gemar. ubi supra. (7) Connect. l. vi. sub an. 444. (8) Nehem. xiii. 28. † Ant. l. xi. c. 7. (9) ubi supra, sub an. 410. (10) Ant. l. xii. c. 3. ad fin. (11) Nehem. xiii. 28. (12) Ant. l. xi. c. 7, 8, &c.

- a the most exemplary zeal for religion, justice, and the good of his nation ; and the dignity of his office by a magnificent hospitality. The usual provision of his table was an ox, six fat sheep, with fowl, fish, wine, and other things in proportion ; at which he entertained, besides an hundred and fifty of the head rulers, who eat constantly with him, all the strangers of any distinction, who came from other countries to *Jerusalem* ; all which he supported at his own private charge, and without receiving any of the allowance which was usually paid to the governors of that province, which had preceded him. After his death, the face of that government was wholly changed. We hear no more of any governors of *Judæa*, but the country seems to have been joined and subject to the prefecture of *Syria*, from which the
- b high-priests received their authority, as shall be seen in the next section. All that need be added to this is, that dean *Prideaux* concludes the seven first weeks of the seventy of *Daniel's* prophesy with this last reformation of *Nebemiab* abovementioned, which was finished, according to him, in the fifteenth year of *Darius Notbus*. The reader may see his proofs for it in that learned author ^a.

Year of the
flood 2590.
Year before
Christ 409.

* Connect. l. vi. sub zn. 409.

der the Great, obtained of him, as a reward for his services, leave to build that temple, and made his son-in-law high-priest of it, so that all the apostate Jews repaired to it ; which still more increased the hatred of those of *Judæa*, who from that time looked upon them as schismatics.

This story carries as flagrant an anachronism (unless we suppose two *Samballats*) as that we spoke of in the last note ; that author tells us farther, that

Manasser succeeding afterwards to the high-priesthood of *Jerusalem*, in right of his great uncle (or, as others read it, nephew) came and took possession of it ; but he doth not inform us how or whether he renounced his schism, nor how he was received by those of *Judæa* (13). We shall give a further account of the building of this *Samaritan* temple in the next section.

(13) *Lib. xii. c. 3.*

SECTION II.

The state of the Jews under the high-priests and Maccabees.

- a HITHERTO we have had *Ezra* and *Nebemiab* for our guides ; after them we have no canonical books concerning the *Jewish* nation, so that we shall be forced to fetch all our intelligence from those of the *Maccabees*, and to fill up all the chasms out of *Josephus* ; for as for profane authors, they were so little acquainted with the *Jews*, that we have little or nothing from them, but what falls in occasionally with other parts of their history. *Judæa* being now become more strictly a province of *Syria*, and under the prefecture of it, the governors committed the administration of the *Jewish* state to their high-priests, so that from this time we may ascribe the greatest part of those misfortunes that befel their nation to a set of men, who aspired to that high dignity more through ambition and avarice, than any real
- b zeal for their religion, or the welfare of their country. This epocha begins with a signal instance of it, which is the more remarkable, because we have it from *Josephus* ^a, who is not often apt to turn accuser of his brethren.

- Jobanan* succeeded his father *Joiada* in the high-priesthood ^b about the thirty-fourth year of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*. *Bagoes* was then governor of *Syria* and *Phanicia*, and had contracted an intimate friendship with *Jeshua* the brother of the pontiff, and had promised him a grant of the high-priesthood, some few years after *Jobanan's* investiture. *Jeshua*, whom our historian calls *Jesus*, came immediately to *Jerusalem*, and acquainted his brother with it ; their interview was in the inner court of the temple, where the dispute arose to such a height, that *Jobanan*, in
- c striving to throw him out of that holy place, gave him a mortal wound. *Bagoes* being informed of it, repaired immediately to the place, and upbraided the *Jews* in the severest terms for thus making a shambles of the temple of their God ; he next offered to enter into that holy place, but being obstructed by the priests, he asked them angrily, whether they thought his living body more impure than the dead carcase which did lie there ; and without staying for an answer, he forcibly

Year of the
flood 2626.
Before Christ
373.

^a Ant. l. xi. c. 7.

^b NEHEM. xii. 11, & 22.

Year of the
flood 2648.
Before Christ
351.

Johanan suc-
ceeded by
Jaddua.

entered in ; and being fully informed of the fact, he imposed a heavy mulct upon the temple (A), which was not taken off, till the death of *Artaxerxes*, which happened about seven years after, had changed the face of affairs. However, they were not altogether free from troubles in the reign of his successor ; for *Ochus* having conquered the greatest part of *Phœnicia*, as we have seen in a former volume †, marched directly towards *Judæa*, besieged and took *Jericho*, and carried off a great number of *Jews* captives, part of which he sent into *Egypt*, and part into *Hyrkania*, along the *Caspian sea* c. Whether they had engaged with the *Phœnicians* against that prince, or by what other way they had disoblged him, our authors do not tell us, nor whether his resentment stopped here, or was felt in any other part of *Judæa*. About ten years after, that is, in the eighteenth year of that monarch's reign, died *Johanan* their high-priest in the thirty-second year of his high-priesthood, and was succeeded by his son *Jaddua* ; and three years after *Ochus* was poisoned by *Bagoas*, who set up his youngest son *Arfaces* on the *Persian* throne, who was soon after succeeded by *Darius III.* *

In the fourth year of this prince's reign, the *Jews* gave him such an instance of their loyalty, as plainly shewed they had not forgot what they had suffered from *Ochus* for siding with his enemies. *Alexander the Great* having resolved upon the siege of *Tyre*, and being informed that the *Tyrians*, a nation wholly given to trade, received all their provisions from *Judæa*, *Samaria*, and *Galilee*, sent to *Jaddua* the then high-priest, to demand that supply of them, which they were wont to pay to the *Persians*. *Jaddua* modestly excused himself from complying with his demand, alledging that his oath of fidelity to *Darius* did not permit him to transfer that tribute to an enemy. *Alexander*, provoked at this refusal, had no sooner completed the siege of *Tyre*, than he marched strait to *Jerusalem*, resolved to punish the *Jews* with as great severity as he had done the *Tyrians*. He was advancing with full speed towards their metropolis, when the high-priest, and the rest of the people, sensible of their imminent danger, had recourse to God, and by their prayers, sacrifices, and other acts of humiliation, obtained a gracious promise from him, that he would protect his temple and people from the approaching calamity. It was communicated to *Jaddua* in a dream, in which he was commanded to go and meet the threatening conqueror, in his pontifical robes, at the head of all his priests, in their proper habits, and attended with the rest of the people dressed in white garments. *Jaddua* obeyed on the next morning, and having caused the gates of the city to be opened, marched in solemn procession at the head of his attendance, to an eminence called *Sapha*, or rather *Tzaphab*, because it commanded the prospect of the whole city and temple. d

As soon as the venerable prelate was got near enough for *Alexander* to view the magnificence of his dress, especially the sacred name of God engraven on the front of his mitre, he was seized with such an awful respect, that, to the great surprize of his retinue, who were already glutting their eyes with the prospect of a rich plunder, and a dreadful slaughter, the monarch advanced towards him, and with a religious kind of veneration bowed to him, embraced him, and paid an adoration to the sacred inscription on his forehead. Whilst the *Syrians*, *Phœnicians*, and others that were present, stood amazed at the sight, *Parmenio*, with his usual familiarity, ventured to ask him the reason of his unexpected behaviour, and was answered by the king, that this respect, which was not paid to the priest, but to his God, was an acknowledgment for a vision of the like nature, which he had favoured him with e

† Vol. II. p. 151, & seq.

* JOSEPH. EX HECAT. CONTR. APION. l. i. SOLIN. SYNCEL. & al.

• See before, Vol. II. p. 154.

(A) This fine, which our historian says, was fifty drachms, to be paid out of the sacred treasury for every lamb that was offered in the temple, can hardly be thought considerable enough to extort such a complaint from him, if it was only confined to those two lambs that were offered in the daily sacrifice. For fifty drachms amounting but to a little above thirty-one shillings of our money, seven hundred and thirty lambs, the number offered every year, would amount but to eleven hundred and forty pounds twelve shillings.

Some therefore have thought there was an error in *Josephus*, and that the fine was five hundred instead of fifty drachms, though all the copies have it

fifty ; but even this would be still too inconsiderable, considering how he inveighs against it as a great oppression ; besides, those governors were seldom so moderate in their fines, especially where the crime was so enormous.

We may therefore more reasonably suppose, that it was to be levied on all the lambs, not only of the daily sacrifices, but on those of all the other festivals, which amounted to a much greater number, as the reader may see by what has been said in a former volume, and on all those that were offered by private persons, whether by way of free-will offering, or upon any other cases, wherein the law required it †.

† See before, Vol. I. p. 602, & seq. 621, & seq.

- a at *Dio*, in which he promised to him the conquest of *Persia*, and encouraged him in this expedition by a person with much the same aspect, and the same venerable dress with the pontiff now before him. He then gave orders to march on to *Jerusalem*, and was attended thither by the high-priest and his retinue, and conducted to the temple, where he caused a great number of victims to be offered to the God of the *Jews*. Here the priests shewed him the book of *Daniel*, wherein it was foretold, that a *Greek* should in time conquer the *Persian* empire; and *Alexander* understanding it of himself, went away highly satisfied with what he had seen and heard. On the next day he called the *Jews* together, and asked them what request they had to make to him, and was answered by the high-priest, that they only begged of him, the liberty
- b of living according to their laws, to have the free exercise of their religion, and to be exempt from tribute every sabbatic or seventh year, seeing they were forbidden by their law to sow or reap in those years. The same favour they likewise begged of him in the behalf of their brethren, who dwelt in *Babylon* and *Media*; all which being readily granted by the conqueror, he offered the *Jews* to receive into his army all that were willing to list under his standards, and to grant them the free exercise of their religion, which drew a great number of them into his service ^d.

THE *Samaritans* on the other hand, less scrupulous about their oath of fidelity, had shewed themselves more complying to that monarch's demands; and besides other supplies, had sent him eight thousand men to assist him at the siege of *Tyre*. As

- c soon therefore as they were informed of the king's disposition towards the *Jews*, they began to entertain some hopes that this was a proper time to apply to him for some such-like grants for themselves, to which their late services, they thought, did better intitle them, than the *Jews* disobedience to his orders. Besides, they were always ready to claim kindred with them, whenever matters went well on their side; but as ready to drop, or even renounce it, whenever they saw them in any danger or disgrace. Scarce therefore was the king got out of *Jerusalem*, before they came in
- d great pomp to invite him to honour their city and temple (B). *Alexander* did seemingly give them a gracious reception, but put off the desired visit till his return from *Egypt*. They then petitioned that they might, like their brethren of *Judaea*, be exempted from the tribute of every seventh year, since, like them, they neither sowed nor reaped in those years. They were thereupon asked, what country they were of? and upon their answering that they were *Hebrews*, but called *Sichemites* by the *Sidonians*, the question was put peremptorily to them, whether they were *Jews*? But

^d Antiq. l. xi. cap. ult. and see before, Vol. III. p. 343, & seq.

(B) *Josephus* expressly mentioning this temple, doth plainly shew, that it was built long before *Alexander*; and not, as he elsewhere tells us, by leave of that monarch obtained by *Sanballat*, whilst he was with him at the siege of *Tyre*; for that siege lasted but seven months; and supposing that he had stopt another two months at the siege of *Gaza*, as the same author pretends, yet all this put together would scarce have sufficed to lay the foundations of such a great building, much less for the finishing it.

But, as the learned *Usher* observes, it is not likely that he should take *Gaza* in his way from *Tyre* to *Jerusalem*, because this last did lie at some days journey's distance on this side *Gaza*, so that in that case he must be supposed to have past it by, and then returned to it again with his army; and who can believe that he would penetrate so far into *Judaea*, and leave *Jerusalem* untaken, especially when he breathed nothing but revenge against that metropolis (14)?

Add to this, that all other writers of *Alexander's* wars tell us, that he went directly into *Egypt* after the taking of *Gaza*. However, granting he spent those two months in that siege, what are nine months towards rearing such a building? For this and some other reasons, there have not been wanting those who have looked upon this contest between the *Jews* and *Samaritans*, as an invention of the

Jewish historian, trumped up to give a kind of preference to his own nation.

But this is perhaps saying too much; however a temple there was built upon mount *Garizzim*, which it finished in *Alexander's* time, must have been begun long before his coming into *Judaea*, let the *Samaritans* have their permission from which soever of the *Persian* monarchs; though, if we were to venture our conjecture, might it not have been obtained from *Ochus*, and about the time when the *Jews* had incurred his displeasure, either for siding with the *Phœnicians*, or for some other misdemeanor; and might not the *Samaritans*, who watched all opportunities to get the better of them, have so far ingratiated themselves into that exasperated prince's favour, by renouncing, as usual, all kindred with them, as to obtain a grant to build a temple for themselves?

This once supposed, there will be time enough for that work to be finished by or even before *Alexander's* time, and the *Sanballat* of *Nehemiah* may have probably have lived to have laid the foundation of it. This will likewise in some measure account for *Josephus's* anachronism, which may be no other than a wilful oversight, it being a less disgrace to his nation to represent this grant as obtained, not for any misbehaviour of theirs, but for the services done by the *Samaritans*.

(14) Vid. *Usher. sub A. M.* 3673. *Prid. sub anno* 332.

they, afraid perhaps to answer in the affirmative in a place where they could be so easily confuted, did then disown the title; and the king, who had not leisure then to inquire further about it, dismissed them with a promise that he would examine their claim after his return. He did so accordingly, and granted them the same exemption as he had the *Jews*; for those *Samaritans* who had assisted him at the siege of *Tyre*, having likewise signalized themselves in *Egypt*, which that prince conquered with a surprizing quickness; it is not improbable, this immunity was granted to them as a reward for their services. In the mean time the temple at mount *Garizzim* proved the source of continual evils to the *Jews*, and the constant asylum of their apostate brethren, who never failed to go over to the *Samaritans*, as soon as they found themselves in danger of punishment for any enormous crimes^a.

*Jews settled at
Alexandria.*

*Samaritans
expelled.
Year of the
flood 2667.
Before Christ
331.*

*Jaddua suc-
ceeded by
Onias.*

*Jerusalem ta-
ken by Pto-
lemy.*

Alexander at the same time was no less kind to the *Jews*, a great number of whom, at his return into *Alexandria*, he settled there among other nations, and endowed with many privileges and immunities, allowing them the free exercise of their religion, and admitting them to the same franchises and liberties with his own *Macedonians*^b. But what gave them the greatest advantage over their *Samaritan* rivals, was an insurrection made in their capital against his favourite *Andromachus*, whom he had made governor of *Syria* and *Palestine*. The *Samaritans* upon some discontent against him, run in a tumultuous manner to his palace, set it on fire, and burnt him in it; which so exasperated that monarch, that he caused all that had had a hand in that atrocious deed to be put to death, and the rest to be driven out of the city, which he repeopled with his own *Macedonians*, and granted the rest of the territories to the *Jews*^c. From this time, those that survived the slaughter having settled themselves at *Shechem*, that city became the metropolis of the *Samaritan* sect^b. As for those eight thousand, who had served under him, he sent and settled them in *Thebais*, the remotest part of *Egypt*, to prevent their raising any fresh insurrection among their countrymen. As for the *Jews*, they continued still in his favour both in *Palestine* and out of it, only those that were in his army, were like to have forfeited it by their stiff refusal to assist at the rebuilding of the temple of *Belus*, which that monarch had began. They urged in vain, that their law, of which they were promised the free exercise, forbade them to have a hand in such an idolatrous work; they were made^d to undergo some severe punishments, but to his surprise, they bore them with such invincible constancy, that being more overcome by it than by their other pleas, he discharged them from his service, and sent them into their own countryⁱ; and he himself dying soon after, left his empire in the confused state we have seen in a former volume^{*}. Four years after him died also *Jaddua* the *Jewish* high-priest in the twentieth year of his pontificate, and was succeeded by his son *Onias*, who enjoyed that dignity about one-and-twenty years.

WITH *Alexander* died the prosperous state of the *Jews*, and their country being situate between *Syria* and *Egypt*, became subject to all the revolutions and wars, which his ambitious successors waged against each other; being successively invaded and captivated by the *Syrians* and *Egyptians*, and constantly oppressed under either government. At first it was, as we have seen elsewhere, given, together with *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, to *Leomedon* the *Mitylenian*, one of *Alexander's* generals^k, and confirmed to him by a second partition treaty; but he being soon after stripped of the other two by *Ptolemy*, *Judæa* was the only one which stood firm to him from a sense of their oath of allegiance; so that the *Egyptian* king was forced to invade it with a powerful army, and accordingly did lay close siege to *Jerusalem*. The place being^e strongly fortified by art and nature, might have found him work enough, had not a superstitious fear of breaking the sabbath prevented the besieged making any defence on that day; which being understood by the king, he caused it to be stormed on the sabbath, and took the city accordingly without any opposition^f (C). This did not however

^a HECATÆUS ABDER. ap. JOSEPH. cont. Apion. l. ii. ^b Id. ibid. & bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 36. Vid. & QUINT. CURT. l. iv. c. 8. ^c Id. ibid. EUSEB. Chronic. ^d JOSEPH. contr. Apion. l. ii. ^e JOSEPH. ex Hecat. lib. i. cont. Apion. ^f Vol. III. p. 411, & seq. 417, & 423. ^g Chron. Alex. EUSEB. in Chron. JOSEPH. Ant. l. xi. c. ult. See also Vol. III. ubi supra. ^h AGATHAN. ap. JOSEPH. cont. Apion. l. i. ARIST. in libel. de 70 interp.

(C) This is the account we have from the authors quoted above; and we shall meet in the sequel with some other instances of the *Jews* chusing to be all massacred, rather than fight or fly on the sab-

bath; but *Josephus*, loth to expose this weakness of theirs, has given this transaction another turn, and pretends that *Ptolemy* having been peaceably admitted into the city, under pretence of offering some sacrifices

- a however prevent his treating them with great severity; he carried near a hundred thousand of them captives into *Egypt*, but reflecting soon after on their known loyalty to their former conquerors, and the sacred regard they paid to their oaths, and being by the taking of *Jerusalem* become master of *Judæa* and *Samarita*, he committed the keeping of several considerable garisons both here and in *Egypt* to them; and having made them swear allegiance to him, and to his heirs and successors, he endowed them with the same privileges they had enjoyed under the *Macedonians*. Of those whom he carried away into *Egypt*, he chose about thirty thousand of the stoutest to fill his garisons, the rest he sent, some to assist them with provisions, others into *Libya* and *Cyrene* (D), which he had lately subdued ^m. *Aprian* adds, b that he demolished the walls of *Jerusalem* before he returned home ⁿ. However, he shewed such kindness to those *Jews* that came to settle in *Egypt*, that great numbers of them being attracted, partly by the fertility of the country, and partly by the great privileges they enjoyed, flocked thither from other parts ^o.

- By this time the *Samaritans*, who daily increased in number, strength, and wealth, by the continual concourse of apostate *Jews*, made *Shechem* their metropolis, enlarged and beautified it, and, as we hinted before, made it the head of their schismatic sect; and as they were neither so scrupulous about their oaths of allegiance, nor so tenacious of the precepts of the *Mosaic* law, as their rivals of *Judæa* were, they seldom made any scruple to side with the strongest, and, if occasion c required, to comply with the will of their princes, even in things which were absolutely forbidden by their law. This policy, which they never lost sight of, as the sequel will soon shew, not only freed them from the many persecutions which the *Jews* underwent, but made them fare much better under every government than they, so that from this time, not only those who fled from punishment from *Judæa*, but a much greater number came over to them to avoid, either persecution on account of their law, or the tyranny and oppression of their governors. As therefore this sect d became so numerous and powerful, as to make a considerable figure in the *Jewish* history, our readers will doubtless expect to be informed how far their religion agreed or differed from that of the *Jews*; and by what strange arguments they have, ever since their separation, endeavoured to prove their claim of precedence to, and to retort the imputation of schism upon them, since we have already seen that they were originally a mixture of *Cutbeans*, and other foreign nations, sent thither by the *Assyrian* kings instead of the ten tribes carried away captive by them, and now become a more mixed and mongrel nation by the constant resort and incorporation of all the renegade *Jews*. This digression, if it be really such, is so much the more necessary here, because it will be impossible without it to dive into those perpetual jars and disputes that have been ever since, and are still carried on between those two nations with the utmost irreconcilable hatred. However, that we may contract as much as possible, we shall only give here what is most material concerning their tenets, e and throw all their fabulous authorities and pretences, as well as those of the *Jews* against them in the margin (E). The following articles therefore are a short summary of their faith in common with, and in opposition to, that of the *Jews*.

1st, They

^m Id. *ibid*.

ⁿ *APPIAN*. *Syriac*. p. 119, & seq.

^o *JOSEPH*. *Antiq.* l. xii. c. 1.

sacrifices there, did immediately break his articles, and possess himself of it.

There is indeed nothing in that prince's character, but what shews him to have been capable enough of such perfidy; but it is not so probable, that the *Jews*, so strongly attached to his enemy, could be weak enough to admit him into their city, especially with an escort sufficient to subdue it; besides, it is plain, that he treated them, not like friends that had given him an amicable entrance, but like a victor that subdued them by force of arms.

(D) From the latter of these were descended the *Cyrenean Jews*, among whom was *Jasan*, author of the history of the *Maccabees* in five books now lost, but of which the second book of the *Maccabees* is an epitome (15); of the same country were those *Cyrenean Jews* mentioned by *St. Luke* (16), and that *Simon* who helped to bear the cross of *Christ* (17).

This *Jewish* colony grew in time so numerous, as to have a thousand of them put to death for one mutiny in *Vespasian's* time; and yet in a succeeding reign, they proved strong enough to master the whole province, and, as *Xiphilinus* tells us, in the life of *Trajan*, to massacre two hundred thousand inhabitants of other nations.

(E) We shall begin with the account which the *Samaritans* give of their origin, in opposition to that which we have from the sacred books, concerning them: 1st. They boast themselves descended from *Joseph* by *Ephraim*; they pretend, that when *Joshua* entered into the promised land, he caused a temple to be built upon mount *Garizzim*, and appointed *Rux* of the seed of *Aaron* to officiate as high-priest, from whom they boast to have an exact genealogy, and uninterrupted succession, down to this very time. They neither own *Jeroboam's* schism

(15) *Vid.* 2 *Maccab.* ii. 23.

(16) *Acts* ii. 10. vi. 9.

(17) *Matth.* xxvii. 32, & *alib*.

An account of
the Samaritans

Their religion.

1st, They believe in one God, and in his servant *Moses*, and that *Garizzim* is the only place of God's worship. The *Jews*, say they, follow other teachers, other precepts, taken from their other books, traditions, and expositions: we stick close to the five books of *Moses*, and reject all other writings, all other authority and interpretation, and guide our faith and practice solely by the precepts of our law-giver. Accordingly they never admitted any other books but the pentateuch (F).

2dly, They always circumcise their males on the eighth day, never deferring it upon any account, as the *Jews* do, some of them till the hour of death (G).

3dly, They never allow themselves to have two wives, or to marry their neices; but the *Jews* do both.

4thly, They are bound to wash themselves every morning, after either matrimonial converse, or any accidental defilement, so that they look upon every vessel and household-stuff they touch before such an ablution, to be polluted.

schism (18), nor the transmigration of the ten tribes (19), but give the following account of their going out, and returning into the land.

The kings of *Jerusalem* and *Syria*, say they, having revolted against *Babthnezzar* (so they call *Nebuchadnezzar*) he came and took *Jerusalem*, and went from thence to the *Shechemites*, whom he ordered to leave that country in seven days under pain of being all massacred, which they did accordingly. The strangers whom he settled in *Judea* and *Shechem* soon after, could not live there, because the fairest fruits of the land were tainted with a mortal poison; the king of *Babylon* having thereupon consulted some of the ancient inhabitants, was answered, that the only remedy to that evil, was to send the *Hebrews* thither again; which that prince having agreed to, a place of rendezvous was appointed for the *Jews* and *Shechemites*, to return together each into his own land.

Here a dispute arose between them, whether they should go and rebuild the temple of *Jerusalem*, or that of *Garizzim*. *Zerubbabel* was for the former, and *Sanballat* for the latter, and each pleaded the sanction of the pentateuch, and each pretended that the copy of his antagonist was corrupted, that of the former being expressly for *Jerusalem*, and the other for *Garizzim*.

To end the dispute, they agreed, that that copy, which withstood the fiery trial, should be the authentic one; upon which *Zerubbabel* having flung his own into the fire, it was immediately consumed, whereas that of the *Samaritan* chief came three times untouched out of the flames.

This miracle, they add, having determined the controversy in their favour, the king honoured them with rich presents, and sent *Sanballat* at the head of his ten tribes, to take possession of mount *Garizzim*, where he rebuilt the temple in dispute. This account they give us out of an old *Samaritan* chronicle, which they pretend to be of great antiquity and authority; but those who have examined it, tell us, that it was written in the reign of some of the christian emperors, and after *Constantine* (20), unless we suppose it to have been continued from time to time. However, let the chronicle bear what date it will, it is plain by the *Samaritan* woman's question to our Saviour (21), *Our fathers worshipped on this mountain, and ye say, that Jerusalem is the place*, that they claimed this authority long before; and accordingly, their pentateuch, of which we shall speak by-and-by, among other interpolations, has changed the word *Ebal* for that of *Garizzim*, where-ever those two mountains come in competition.

The *Jews* on their side have not been sparing of their fictions, as if they had chosen to confute their antagonists by this way, rather than by the autho-

rity of the sacred books. *Josephus* tells us of much such another contest that happened in *Egypt*, between those of his nation and the *Samaritans* about these two temples; and which arose to such a height, that it was like to end in a sedition, had not *Ptolemy Philometor* put an end to it in the following manner (22).

He ordered the contending parties to bring their cause before him, and to have it pleaded by proper persons, with this condition, that those who were cast should lose their heads. There appeared but one advocate for the *Jews*, viz. *Andronicus* the son of *Messalamis*; but he pleaded his cause so well against his two antagonists, whom our author names *Sabbaus* and *Theodore*, that he gained his point, and they lost their lives (23).

Another ancient author (24), whom the *Jews* pretend to have lived before the destruction of *Jerusalem*, but by his mentioning of the *Saracen* empire, must have wrote at least six hundred years after (25); tells us, that when *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* were rebuilding of the temple, the *Samaritans* came with an army of a hundred and eighty thousand men to besiege *Jerusalem*; but that those two chiefs having assembled three hundred priests, did pronounce the higher excommunication against them. These priests were followed by three hundred young men, who held each a copy of the *Mosaic* law in one hand, and a trumpet in the other, which they blew whilst the priest were excommunicating them, upon which they were immediately put to flight.

(F) In consequence of this, they reject all the prophetic and historical books, as written in favour of the *Jews*, and especially of the house of *David*; they despise the *Jewish* pretence of oral tradition, and all their targums and talmuds.

They value themselves for having preserved the ancient *Hebrew* character, and curie the new one, which was since introduced by *Ezra*, whom they brand with the name of impostor, and who, they pretend, substituted it to the *Mosaic* one for the sake of those other books which he foisted into the *Jewish* canon (26).

(G) Especially in countries where they are not tolerated, such as *France*, *Portugal*, *Spain*, &c. and where, for fear of being discovered by the scar of circumcision, they wholly neglect it, and outwardly conform with the religion of the country for the sake of trade. Some of them however, when they are grown either rich enough, or old and quailish, will come over into *England*, *Holland*, &c. to be circumcised. As for those that die without circumcision, some of their friends generally come and circumcise them in their coffin, and lay the prepice by them, after which the coffin is immediately nailed, and carried to the grave.

(18) 1 Kings, ch. xii. & seq. (19) 2 Kings, ch. xvii. (20) De hac. vid. ins. al. Hottinger. lib. Josue, seu chron. Samarit. in exercit. Antimorin. (21) John iv. 20. (22) Antiq. l. xiii. c. 6. (23) Vid. Basnage histoir. des Juifs, tom. 2. part. 1. c. 1. & seq. (24) Rab. Eliezer, Pirke Abboth, c. 38. Vid. Prid. lib. vi. sub an. 409. & auct. ab eo citat. (25) De hac vid. sup. Vol. I. p. 674. & seq. & note E. (26) Vid. Basnage. ubi supra, cap. 3 & 4. l. vii. c. 25.

5thly,

- a 5thly, They observe the sabbath with the greatest strictness, never meddling with their wives on that night, lighting no fires, nor stirring from their houses, unless to go to the synagogue, where they read some portion of the pentateuch, offer up their prayers to, and sing the praises of God.
- 6thly, Of all their solemn festivals, the passover is by them esteemed the chief; they likewise observe the other two of pentecost, and of tabernacles, with great exactness, and the grand fast of expiation with uncommon strictness.
- 7thly, They never offer any sacrifice but on mount *Garizzim* P.
- 8thly, They boast a continued succession of priests from *Ruz* the son of *Phineas*, the catalogue of which is preserved by them with utmost strictness; and their high-priest always makes his residence at *Sbechem*, now called *Naylouse*, from whence he issues out his directions to the whole sect for keeping their festivals, and whatever relates to the *Mosaic* observances (H). From this short scantling of their faith and practice, one would be apt to conclude, that except those points which related to their schism, they had been much stricter observers of the *Mosaic* law, than the *Jews*; but, whatever they may have proved in later times, we shall meet with such flagrant instances of the contrary in the sequel of this and the next section, as will easily convince how ready they were, upon the least danger of persecution, or severe usage from their governors, to sacrifice their religion to their interest and safety. However, even in this one point of their schism, it is manifest, they were guilty of
- c most flagrant forgery in corrupting their pentateuch in many places, in order to colour their setting up a new temple with some shew of divine authority. 'Tis true, all the variations of this book are not of the same heinous nature, some of them seem even imputable to the ignorance of the transcribers from the new *Chaldee* of *Ezra* to the old *Samaritan* character, such as their often mistaking of letters, in the former by reason of their similitude, as the *beth* for the *cath*, the *daleth* for the *resh*, which in the *Samaritan* are very unlike. Others again may be looked upon as explanatory interpolations, such as we have observed, *Joshua* and his successors down to *Ezra* and beyond, have thought necessary to add to the text. But there are certainly several notorious ones, which could not but be designedly made to support their cause against their
- d *Jewish* antagonists. The reader may see some few of them in the margin (I), enough, however, to convince him that this *Samaritan* is not the only true authentic copy, because in the old *Hebrew* character, and that of *Ezra* only a transcript of it, because in the new introduced *Chaldee*, as some learned men have thought, and particularly

Corrupt their
pentateuch.

P Vid. int. al. BASNAG. ubi supra.

(H) This sect is still very numerous, not only in their metropolis, but in *Damascus*, *Gaza*, *Cairo*, and other parts of the *Ottoman* empire, besides those which are dispersed into the northern parts of *Europe* and *Asia*. But so ignorant are those of *Turkey*, especially of cosmography, wherever they may be as to their religion, that they took the *English Jews* to be of their sect, and *England* to be only a considerable city (27), as appears by a letter they wrote to them some time since, and mentioned by the author last quoted; but if they really held those tenets which the *Jews* attribute to them, they must have been no less ignorant in point of their religion. Among other errors they charge them with, that of believing the godhead to be a corporeal being, would be sufficient to shew their stupidity, but *Credat Judaeis*.

Epiphanius, who ranks them in the catalogue of his heretics (28), tells us, that they worshipped the *Tetraphims*, which *Rachel* had stolen from her father *Laban*, and which they digged up from under the oak, where *Jacob* had buried them; but, it's likely, he took up this calumny upon some *Jewish* authority. He adds, that they were, like the *Jews*, divided into four sects (29), and gives us there the different tenets of each, but they are not worth dwelling upon.

A modern traveller informs us, that in a letter

they wrote to him (29), they acknowledged the book of *Joshua*; but they meant most probably their chronicle we have lately mentioned, and which they style the book of *Joshua*. However, a more righteous judge than the *Jewish* rabbies, has summed up their character in few words, when he told them that they worshipped they knew not what, and that salvation was of the *Jews* (30).

(I) We have already taken notice of their substituting the word *Garizzim* to that of *Ebal* in that place of *Deuteronomy*, where God commands the *Israelites* to build an altar (31); according to which corruption, they pretend that *Joshua* actually built the said altar on *Garizzim*, and that it is the same they have sacrificed upon ever since.

2dly, They have interpolated between the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth verses of the eighteenth chapter of *Exodus*, all that we read in the first of *Deuteronomy* from the ninth to the fourteenth verse inclusive; and in the tenth of *Numbers* are inserted the sixth, seventh, and eighth verses of the first of *Deuteronomy*, between the tenth and eleventh verses. All which are doubtless wilful corruptions to serve their cause. These and all the other alterations in that pentateuch, the reader may see carefully collected by the learned *Hottinger* (32), and in the collations made in the last volume of *Walsley's* polyglot.

(27) *Id. loc. ult. citat.*

(28) *Haref. 9.*

(29) *Ludolph's letter printed, an. 1688.*

(30) *John iv. 22.*

(31) *Dent. xxvii. 4 & 5.*

(32) *Exercit. cons. Morin.*

a modern one ^a, who has given it by far the preference above the *Jewish*; those who are acquainted with his notions, need not be told what induced him to this unaccountable partiality.

How and when this manuscript came into the hands of the *Samaritans*, is hard to guess; the general opinion is, that it was brought into *Samaria* by the priest, whom *Ezrabaddon* sent to instruct the new inhabitants of that country. The book was not unknown to several ancient fathers, particularly *Origen* and *St. Jerom*, who both understood the *Hebrew* tongue; but they have given us no light about it. The opinion of some learned moderns ^b is, that it was brought to *Samaria* by *Manasses*, *Sanballat's* son-in-law lately mentioned, and that it was transcribed from that of *Ezra*, since we find in it all the emendations and explanations which that inspired scribe is supposed to have made to those five books; and consequently could be of no older date, much less have been brought by that *Hebrew* priest above-mentioned (K). However, each system has its difficulties, which are not easily solved; all that we shall add concerning this book is, that besides this copy written in their old character in the *Hebrew* tongue, they had another written in the vulgar language spoken among them, because like, the *Jews*, they had forgot the old *Hebrew*, and were accustomed to a mongrel mixture of *Affyrian*, *Babylonish*, and *Chaldee*. Besides this, they had a *Greek* version of it for the sake of their hellenistical brethren, as the *Jews* had the septuagint; and it is probable, that this was the version which is mentioned by several ancient fathers ^c, since they cannot be supposed to have understood either the original one, or the vulgar version of it. The old *Hebrew* copy did afterwards remain unknown to the christians during near ten centuries. *Scaliger* was the first modern, who got intelligence of it; after which it was brought over into *Europe*, and printed in the polyglots of *Paris* and *London*, the latter of which is by far the best and most correct, as well as the *Latin* version of it ^d; the further particulars of it we refer to the margin (L):

Two versions
of it.

How brought
into Europe.

WE

^a WHISTON. ^b F. SIMON, hist. crit. V. T. l. i. c. 10. PRID. ubi supra. ^c AFRICAN. EUSEB. DIOD. TARSENS. & al. ap. PRID. ubi supra. ^d Vid. SCALIG. de emend. temp. c. 7. USSER. epist. ad L. CAPPEL. WALTON. proleg. in Polygl. MORIN. PRID. & al.

(K) If it be asked, how he could instruct those strangers in the worship of God, unless he had brought some such a book along with him from the place of his captivity? some answer, that he taught them no more than he knew by tradition (33); others distinguish between the whole pentateuch, and an epitome of the law contained in some of the chapters of *Deuteronomy* (34), which is that which they suppose he brought with him to *Samaria*, since both kings and priests were bound to keep a copy of it written with their own hand. Their reason for so thinking is, that if they had had the whole pentateuch, it is hardly to be supposed they would have continued so long in their idolatry. But here they forget that even this epitome contains as strong and severe prohibitions and threatenings against it, as can be found in any other part of the *Mosaic* books; so that it is more likely their attachment to their country gods, rather than the want of proper books to instruct them, was the cause of their so long dividing their worship between the God of *Israel* and their own.

A late critic has made a bold, but strange push to reconcile all these difficulties, by absurdly supposing the pentateuch to have been written on the other side *Euphrates*, by the priest, who was sent from thence into *Samaria*, for the instruction of those strangers. To this end, he, it seems, thought fit to give them a short sketch of the creation, flood, and other occurrences, that happened before the giving of the *Mosaic* law; and that he wrote it in the old *Hebrew*, because he was unacquainted with the *Chaldee*; and that this happening precisely at the time, when the *Jewish* volume of the law was found out by the high-priest, and brought to *Josiah*,

he got a copy of it, and inserted it at the end of his own work, as very proper to bring men to the knowledge of the one true God; and, lastly, that the *Jews* finding nothing to object against the author, or his work, have adopted the latter as conformable to their law and history. This critic has not ventured to set his name to his book, but sent it abroad under a fictitious title (35); however, *Ex angulo leonem*, he was not long undiscovered or unconfuted.

Upon the whole, the general opinion is, that this pentateuch was brought by the priest sent by *Ezrabaddon* into *Samaria*, and that after the rupture of the *Jews* and *Samaritans*, the latter wilfully corrupted those places of it which made against them, and consequently that the *Jewish* one is by far the more authentic of the two.

(L) *Scaliger* having received from the *Shechemites* an account of this pentateuch by a letter which he published anno 1676. acquainted him among other things with this pentateuch, did in another work (36) complain that none of the learned of *Europe* had endeavoured to procure some copies of it, seeing it might probably be of great service in adjusting the scripture chronology. This awakened the curiosity of archbishop *Usher*, who, as he tells us in his letter to *L. Capellus*, had observed that this book had been quoted by several ancient fathers, and other writers, down to *Gaza* and *Syncellus*, and particularly by the learned *Origen* in his book against *Celsus*: From that time this great prelate spared neither pains nor cost, till he had procured five or six copies of it from *Syria* and *Palestine*, and compared them with the *Jewish*; and here he thought he had found out the person who had corrupted them, namely one *Dosithheus*,

(33) Vid. PRID. ubi supra.
de qualique Theolog. de Hollande.

(34) Fandal. epist. ad Morin. in Tractat. de Idololatr.
(36) De emendat. temp. l. vii.

(35) Sentiments
(37) Proleg. 11. ad Polyglot.

- a We return to *Judæa*, which we left in the possession of the king of *Egypt*, but which he was, about five years after forced to abandon to *Antigonus* and his son, who came against him with a superior army. *Ptolemy* contented himself with demanding the cities of *Ace*, *Samaria*, *Joppa*, and *Gaza*, and to carry off an immense booty, as well as a great number of inhabitants, whom he settled in *Alexandria*, and endowed with considerable privileges and immunities, as *Alexander* had done before him. He was then designing to make that city the metropolis of *Egypt*, and was so well satisfied with the faithfulness and usefulness of the *Jews*, that he spared no encouragement to allure them thither; insomuch that vast numbers flocked continually to it from *Judæa* and *Samaria*, chusing to live under so generous and friendly a prince in a foreign country, rather than in their own, under the tyrannical government of *Antiochus* (M)^a. Thus was *Judæa* become the subject of the disputes of, and scene of war between *Antigonus* king of *Upper Asia*, *Seleucus* king of *Syria*, and *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*. The partisans of this last pretended that he had not undertaken to put *Asia* under the government of *Seleucus*, but upon condition that *Cælo-Syria* and *Phœnicia* should be relinquished to him. Those of *Seleucus* on the contrary maintained that *Ptolemy* was no further concerned in the war, than to help him to conquer those provinces allotted to him; in proof whereof, they urged, that after the defeat of *Antigonus*, *Lyfimachus* and *Cassander* had assigned those provinces to *Seleucus*^w. Accordingly we find that this last enjoyed that of *Judæa* some while, with a tax of three hundred talents of silver, upon condition that the *Jews* should be governed by their own laws, and that their high-priests should be their only governors^x.

Year of the
flood 2687.
Before Christ
312.

Jews flock to
Alexandria.

- This prince very much imitated the clemency and generosity of the *Egyptian* king, a character which was quite opposite to that of *Antigonus*, who was of such fierce nature, that he stuck at no cruelty, falsehood, or tyranny, that served his turn. This made great numbers of the *Jews* to fall away likewise from that tyrant to *Seleucus*, who gave them much the same privileges and franchises that his competitor did in *Egypt*. He built sixteen cities in *Lesser Asia*, which he, from his father, called *Antioch*, nine he called by his own name, and six by that of his mother *Laodicea*; three from his first wife *Apamea*, and one from *Stratonice* his last wife; in all these he settled such considerable colonies of the *Jews*, especially at *Antioch* in *Syria*, that they became almost as considerable a part of those cities, as they were at *Alexandria*. Hence that nation came to spread themselves over *Syria* and *Lesser Asia*, whilst *Judæa* became still thinner of its own inhabitants, till it was again recovered by *Ptolemy*; after which they came still over to him from the provinces of *Antiochus*, and still increased the number of those whom he found in *Babylon*; from all whom he received such

^a JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xii. & cont. Apion. l. i. & ii. SULPIT. SEVER. histor. fact. l. ii.

^w Vid. USSER. sub A. M. 3721.

^x Vid.

Dofueus, mentioned by *Origen* against *Celsus*; but this discovery has not been universally received. However, it is from his copies that *Walton* printed that pentateuch in his polyglot, since then several other copies were procured from the same place by other learned persons in *Europe* (38). Those who are willing to know more of the *Samaritans*, and their pentateuch, may consult, besides the letters of *Scaliger*, *Leudolph*, and *Usher* abovementioned, the authors quoted in the margin (39).

(M) Among those *Jews* whom *Ptolemy's* kindness drew into *Egypt*, *Josephus* (40) mentions *Hexechias*, one of the chief priests, a man of learning and probity, and about sixty years of age, who became acquainted with *Hecataeus* the *Abderite*, a person trained up under *Alexander the Great*, and now in great credit at the *Egyptian* court. Him *Hexechias* did so well inform of the religion, laws and customs of the *Jews*, that he wrote a history of that nation down from *Abraham* to his time. The book is now lost; but *Josephus* quotes so many passages out of him in favour of the *Jews*, that a heathen writer, who lived in *Trajan's* time, did very much question either the genuineness of the book, or the sincerity

of the author (41). Had he been better acquainted with them, he would never have called either in question; and it is more than probable, that *Hecataeus's* great opinion of them procured the nation greater favours from *Ptolemy*, than they might have otherwise met with.

The *Jewish* historian quotes another story out of the same author, to shew how far his nation was averse to the superstitions of the heathens. It is of one *Mosollam* a *Jew*, who was such an excellent marksman, that he shot a bird dead with his bow, whilst a soothsayer in their company was persuading them to observe its motion, and steer their course by that of the bird. This action having drawn some bitter invectives against our *Jew*, from his superstitious fellow-travellers, he only laughed at their folly, for expecting to learn their fortune from a bird, that was so palpably ignorant of its own. Whether *Mosollam* was more minded to display his skill in shooting, or exploding the superstition of other nations, 'tis but too plain, those of his own were generally of another mind, with respect to soothsaying, astrology, divinations, and such-like superstitious trash.

(38) Vid. *Marin. exerc. 1. in Pentas. Samar. Calmet. Frid. & al.*
Lightfoot bar. Habr. Frid. ubi supra. Basjaag. tom. 2. p. 1. c. 1. & seq. & al.
(41) *Herenn. Phil. apud Origen. cont. Cels. lib. 1.*

(39) *Hottinger, ubi supra, Cellar.*
(40) *Lib. 1. cont. Apion.*

consider-

considerable services, that he spared no favours nor encouragement to fasten them to a his interest.

Year of the
flood 2707.
Before Christ
292.

Soon after the recovery of *Judaea* by *Ptolemy Soter* died *Simon* the Jewish high-priest in the ninth year of his pontificate ¹. He had succeeded his father *Onias*, and had been so eminent for his sanctity and integrity, which shone in all his actions, that he was surnamed the just. He was the first pontiff of that name, and the excellent character which the author of *Ecclesiasticus* gives of him ², shews how highly he deserved the surname which his nation had given him. But he was no less remarkable for his other virtues, as a Jewish prince and governor, witness his repairing and fortifying the temple and the city with high and strong walls, his famous cistern covered with brass, which he caused to be made in *Jerusalem*, as a reservoir for water, and which ^b was of such capacious circumference, that the author compares it to a sea; but his most considerable work was the finishing the canon of the *Old Testament*, of which we have already spoken (N). He left a son named *Onias*, but he being then but an infant, *Eleazar*, *Simon's* brother, was substituted high priest in his stead. He executed this office fifteen years, but with this difference; that whereas all the high-priests before had set as presidents of the synagogue, or grand council of the *Jews*, *Simon* was succeeded in this last dignity by one *Antigonus* of *Socbo*, a man of great learning and piety ³. This man, who the *Jews* tell us was the master of *Saddoc*, the chief of the *Sadducean* sect, taught that our serving of God ought to be free either from slavish fear of punishment, or from selfish hope of reward; and be wholly disinterested, and ^c flow from the pure love and fear of that Supreme Being. Hence his disciple being unable to relish such a spiritual doctrine, took it into his head that his master meant no more by it, than that there were neither rewards nor punishments, nor even life after this; which notion became in time so rise among the richer sort of *Jews*, that they monopolised all the great places in church and state, as we shall see in due time.

Rise of the
Sadducees.

Of the Tan-
naim or Mish-
nical doctors.

Antigonus by this became the head of a new kind of synagogue, which continued from this time to that of *Jebudab Hakkodesh*, the compiler of the *Mishna*, as the old one had from *Ezra* to *Simon* the just; the difference between them was, that the old one had bestowed their time and labour in collecting, revising, and completing the ^d canon of the *Old Testament*; the latter was wholly employed in expounding and commenting upon it. These therefore, whom the authors of the *New Testament* call

¹ EUSEB. chron. ² Ch. i. 1, & seq. ³ De hoc vid. lib. Juchasin, Shalsiel. EL. LEVITA. in Cabbala, &c. al.

(N) It has been already observed, that the books of *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, and of the chronicles, could not have been inserted into the canon by those two inspired writers; first, because there are in them some marginal corrections, which must have been inserted by some of their successors; and, secondly, because some genealogies are carried down vastly beyond their time, some even down to that of *Alexander the Great*.

The book of *Ezra* likewise seems to have been written after their time, and, as some think, the prophecies of *Malachy*. As therefore this *Simon the Just* is by all the *Jews* mentioned as the last of the great synagogue we have elsewhere spoken of, and was a man of such eminent piety and learning, it is not unreasonable to suppose that he put the finishing stroke to the sacred code, either by inserting the books abovementioned, or, if they had been received before, by revising and giving a final sanction to them.

As for the genealogies, whoever continued them, that work seems to have been done before him. Had he been the author of them, it is likely he would have brought them down nearer his time.

However from his pontificate is dated the completing of the sacred canon of the *Old Testament*, which was thenceforward received and conveyed without revival or correction; from this time the Jewish doctors applied themselves wholly to study,

explain, and comment upon them, and their explications were in time received with as great submission as the sacred books themselves.

This is that *Simon* of whom the *Talmudists* tell us so many wonders, some of which we have formerly mentioned [†], such as that during his priesthood the scape-goat was always broken in pieces down the precipice, which was an omen of God's acceptance; but after his death the *Saracens* used to catch and eat it; that the ribbon tied about the neck of it always appeared white, another good omen, but after him it appeared oftner red; they tell us likewise (42), that during his time the western branch of the sacred candlestick never went out; that the shew-bread, and two loaves of the first-fruits, used to be multiplied to such a degree, as to suffice all the priests who were then upon duty; that two sticks thrown on the fire of the altar kept it burning and clear all the whole day; with some other such tokens of the divine favour, which ended with his death. All which, those who are acquainted with the allegorical language of the *Talmudists*, are so far from understanding either as literal truths, or as fictions of those writers, that they rightly look upon them as so many figurative phrases to express the flourishing condition of the Jewish religion and commonwealth, which from that time began to go from bad to worse, till the brave *Maccabees* raised it again to its ancient lustre.

[†] Vol. I. p. 619. *sub fin. note T.*

(42) *Mishna in Joma. Maimon. in jom. hakephur.*

- a by different names, such as doctors, scribes, lawyers, rulers, and such-like, affected to call themselves *Tannaim*, or traditionalists ^b, because they handed down their expositions and doctrines by oral tradition to their disciples; and their authority once quoted in any of their schools upon any point, either put an end to the controversy, or the recusant was looked upon as an apostate from his master; and as all other disputes in political affairs were to be decided by the law of God, of which these *Tannaim* were the interpreters, so they were chosen also to assist, and some of the most considerable for learning, zeal, &c. to preside in all the courts of judicature, from the sanhedrin or great council of the nation, consisting of seventy-two, down to the more inferior ones, which they had in every city; and upon this account they were also called counsellors ^c.

- Ptolemy*, surnamed *Philadelphus*, having succeeded his father in *Egypt*, the *Jews* found in him as great a protector, as they had in *Ptolemy Soter*; and with this advantage, that the son being a great lover of learning, and upon the point of rearing his noble library at *Alexandria*, as we have elsewhere described ^d, did strive to oblige them with greater favours than any of his predecessors had done, in order to obtain from them a copy of the sacred books, to be translated into *Greek*, and deposited there among that immense number of volumes which he had procured from all parts of the world. This version is that which is commonly known by the name of septuagint; our great *Usher* places the making of it in the seventh year of that monarch's reign; we have already mentioned something of it in the place above quoted, where we promised to speak more fully of it in this chapter. And indeed, when we consider how much this performance has been celebrated, not only by the most learned *Jewish* writers, but also by the ancient fathers, as well as many celebrated moderns; how much it has been cried up, as a work manifestly conducted by a miraculous providence, and as such referred to and quoted both by our Saviour and his apostles, and by all the primitive writers of the christian church; it will perhaps be expected, that we should be somewhat copious upon it. But when we reflect on the other hand, that all those eminent writers have not only blindly followed their romantic leader, but have in many cases embellished his surprizing account of this transaction; that *Aristeas*, the first broacher of this history, has only covered himself with the personage, if not with the name of a heathen writer, and an officer of *Ptolemy's* guards, that he might be the more liberal of his incense to the *Jewish* nation; that he is guilty of several flagrant anachronisms, and of a manifest falshood at the very threshold of his account, in making *Demetrius Phalereus*, the pretended promoter of this great work, a great favourite of the king, when the contrary plainly appears from what we have formerly said on that head in our third volume ^e; when we consider that *Josephus*, *Aristobulus*, a *Jewish* peripatetic philosopher, *Philo*, the *Talmudists*, and other rabbies, either only copied, or in some cases improved upon him; and lastly, that those ancient fathers, *Justin Martyr*, *Irenaeus*, *Cyril*, *Chrysostom*, *Austin*, *Epiphanius*, and others, have too greedily swallowed up the *Jewish* account of this pretended miraculous version, by reason of the preference which Christ and his apostles seem to have given it either to the original, or to the other versions then extant, not perhaps so much upon its being more authentic than any of them, much less than the original, as because it was the most in vogue, and best understood by the generality of the *Jews*; we hope, upon all these considerations, our readers will easily excuse our not entering into so spacious a field, and be content with the succinct account we shall now give them of it in the margin (O).

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ALL

^b Vid. Buxtorf. Lexic. Rabb. sub voc. Tann.

^c Vol. III. p. 638, d. † Ibid. p. 633, d. e.

^d Vide MARK xv. 43. LUKE xxiii. 50. ACTS v. 34.

(O) The account we have of this version, out of the book which goes under the name of *Aristeas*, and out of those other authors who have followed him, is in substance as follows: *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, a great lover of learning, was enriching the noble library which had been begun by his father, when *Demetrius Phalereus*, who had the inspection of that work, acquainted him that there were certain books held sacred among the *Jews*, which highly deserved a place in his collection, if they could by any means be procured. He advised him at the same time of a method in all likelihood the most effective

to prevail upon the *Jewish* sanhedrin to send those volumes, together with a sufficient number of learned men to *Alexandria*, to translate them into *Greek*, namely by a general redemption of all the *Jewish* captives that had been taken during the late wars.

Upon inquiry, the number of them was found to amount to about a hundred thousand; at which *Ptolemy* was so far from being discouraged, that he caused an edict to be issued out for a total release, and the sum of twenty drachms per head to be paid for their redemption out of his own treasury; so that

ALL that we shall add here, will be two or three remarks concerning this work ; a the first is, that there was near that time a version made of the sacred *Hebrew* books into *Greek*, and with which the hellenist *Jews* were so highly delighted, that *Philo* tells us ^a, they instituted an annual feast in memory of it, and made a yearly visit, in solemn procession to the isle of *Pharos*, where it had been made by the seventy-two *Israelitish* elders : whereas the more zealous hebraising *Jews*, who looked upon it as a vile profanation of their holy religion, conceived such horror against it, that they instituted a fast in memory of it. These even add, that the day on which it was began, proved as fatal to the *Israelites*, as that on which *Jeroboam* set up the golden calves at *Dan* and *Beit-el*, and that the sky was covered with thick darkness three days successively ^b. The *Samaritans* have likewise laid claim to the glory of ^b this

^a In vit. Moſis.

^b In lib. Sopherim. Vid. & SCALIGER. not. in Chronic. EUSEB. sub ann. 1134.

that the whole amounted to six hundred and sixty talents. *Josephus*, who has only abridged that author, doth yet differ from him, in that he makes the price of every redeemed slave to have been a hundred and twenty drachms, and yet the sum total to have amounted but to four hundred and sixty talents, though there were, according to him, a hundred and twenty thousand persons released (1).

After this signal favour to the *Jewish* nation the king sent a splendid embassy laden with presents to *Eleazar* the then *Jewish* high-priest ; who on his side readily complied with the king's request, and sent him, with the copy of the sacred books, written in letters of gold, seventy-two *Jews*, well skilled in the *Hebrew* and *Greek* tongues, and a letter of thanks for his noble presents, in which he congratulated him on his glorious undertaking, and wished him good success in it.

Ptolemy received the interpreters with uncommon respect, and paid such a regard to the sacred volume, that he bowed himself seven times down to the ground before it ; after which he entertained his guests with suitable magnificence seven days successively, assuring them that he should esteem the day of their arrival as an addition to the glory of his reign. They were conducted three days after into the island of *Pharos*, which stood about seven furlongs from *Alexandria*, where *Demetrius* placed them in a sumptuous edifice, conveniently situated near the shore, and where they set immediately about the work.

Their method, according to *Aristeas*, was to set at it from six in the morning to three in the afternoon ; after which they returned into the city, where they had their victuals and other necessities prepared for them at the king's expence. Whenever any difficulty was started, they debated it in a full assembly ; and when the point was settled, a fair transcript was made, and sent to *Demetrius*, till the whole version was finished, which took up only seventy or seventy-two days.

Philo, an *Alexandrian Jew*, who was sent on an embassy to *Caius Caesar*, soon after our Saviour's death, has greatly improved the story of *Aristeas*, and speaks of this version as altogether miraculous (2) ; for he adds, that upon comparing the several interpretations of those seventy men, which, according to him, had been carried on by each of them separately, there was not found so much as the difference of a word between them all ; but that they had rendered every period, not only in the same sense, but in the same phrase, word, and order, throughout the whole ; from whence he infers, that

they were all divinely inspired. He mentions nothing either of *Aristeas* or *Demetrius Phalerens*, probably because he would not be suspected of having copied and enlarged the former.

Justin Martyr, who has adopted this extraordinary addition of *Philo*, tells us (3), that *Ptolemy* had caused the interpreters to be shut up, each in a separate cell, to prevent their communicating their thoughts to one another ; that by the conformity of their several translations, he might the more easily judge of the faithfulness of the whole version. He adds, that when they came to be compared together, there was such an exact conformity between them all, that the king, who looked upon it as altogether miraculous, sent the interpreters home laden with honour, and with the richest presents ; and received their writings with that veneration which was due to books divinely inspired. And as a further confirmation of the whole, he tells the *Greeks*, to whom he writes, that he had seen those very cells, whilst he was at *Alexandria*, and that those that shewed them to him assured him, that they had the whole story from undoubted tradition.

His account of this version is somewhat different, in another work of his (4), where he tells us, that *Ptolemy* sent to *Herod* king of the *Jews*, for those sacred books ; and that upon their being sent in their original tongue and character, which were unknown in *Egypt*, he had been forced to send to him for some interpreters to translate them into *Greek* ; which being likewise complied with, copies of that version were still every-where to be seen in the hands of the hellenist *Jews* in his time.

After this ample testimony of the good and learned martyr, we need not wonder if so many ancient fathers (5) have embraced the story, and looked upon that version as divinely inspired ; and some of them have given it even the preference to the original, in those places where the difference between them could not be reconciled (6). *Epiphanius*, who lived about the middle of the third century, and pretends to have preserved the letter which *Ptolemy* wrote to the *Jews* to obtain this version from them, has given us a copious account of it (7) ; and to what has been said by *Aristeas*, and the other authors abovementioned, has added some other circumstances by way of improvement ; such as that there were but thirty-six cells, into which the interpreters were shut up by two in each ; that they had no windows, but received their light from the top by sky-lights ; that each couple had a book given them to translate, which when finished, was conveyed to the next cell, and so on to the third, fourth,

&c.

(1) *Antiq. l. xii. c. 2.* (2) *In vit. Moſ. l. ii. & Legat. ad Caesar.* (3) *Cohortat. ad gentes, p. 14. & dial. con. Tryphon.* (4) *Apolog. 11.* (5) *Iren. cont. Hæres. lib. iii. Clem. Alexand. Stromas. lib. 1. Hilar. in Ps. ii. & cxxx. Cyril. Hierosol. Cathec. 4. Auguſt. civit. Dei, l. xviii. c. 35. De conſenſ. Evangelist. c. 66. & alib. Philaſtr. Brixienſ. Hæres. 90. Vid. Prid. Connell. sub ann. 277.* (6) *Vid. ins. al. Hilar. in Ps. cxxx.* (7) *In lib. de Ponder. & Menſur. N. 9. & ſeq.*

- a this version, and pretend that their high-priest, as well as that of the *Jews*, having been invited by *Ptolemy* to come at the head of a number of learned men to carry on the work, upon a review of both translations, that of the *Samaritans* had been preferred to the *Jewish* one, and placed in the library of the *Egyptian* monarch †.

But whether all the books of the *Old Testament* were translated at once, and by the same set of men, or, as some contend for, only the five books of *Moses*, we have no sufficient ground to affirm; the latter doth however appear the more probable of the two from the difference of style and exactness, which manifestly appears in them; for that of the pentateuch is not only more faithful and agreeable to the original, but seems somewhat more ancient, and in the *Alexandrian* dialect; whereas that of the other books is more loose and incorrect, and sometimes renders the same *Hebrew* word differently from that of the *Mosaic* ones, which seems to intimate, that they had been done by different hands, and at some distance of time. Thus much however is more than probable upon the whole, that if the first version went no farther than the pentateuch, the hellenist *Jews*, who found so great a benefit from it, did not go long without having all the rest of the sacred volume translated in the same tongue.

THE second is, that our learned *Usher* has fixed the time of this version to this year, as he believed the main part of the history, which we have of it under the name of *Aristeas*, to be true and genuine; for had he placed it later, it could not have coincided with the time of *Eleazar*, who is there mentioned as the *Jewish*

† Lib. Josue sup. Citat.

&c. and so on to all the rest, by which means each book was translated thirty-six times; that they were confined to their work from morning to evening; after which each couple was conveyed in a separate boat to the royal palace, where they supped with the king; after which they were shut up, each in their separate chamber, till the next day, when they were again conveyed to their respective cells.

When the whole book of the *Old Testament* had gone through the thirty-six couples, their versions were read before the king, by thirty-six readers, whilst a thirty-seventh held the original in his hand, with which they were compared; and at the end were found to agree in every respect both with the *Hebrew*, and with each other, to such a degree of exactness, that *Ptolemy* looked upon those interpreters as divinely inspired, and caused their several works to be deposited in his library of *Bruchium*, which, as we have observed in the history of *Egypt* (8), held the first, as that which was called *Serapaeum*, held the second rank.

The *Talmuds* of *Jerusalem* and *Babylon* agree in most of these particulars abovementioned, but pretend that *Ptolemy* sent for those seventy-two *Jewish* elders, without acquainting them what work he designed to set them upon, till they were arrived at *Alexandria*, when he caused them to be all shut up, each in a separate cell, and gave them the sacred books to translate. Some of those ancient rabbies there quoted, say indeed, that he sent only for seven of them, which was indeed more than enough for the work; they all agree with the rest, that God did so direct their pens, that all their versions were exactly agreeable both to each other, and to the original.

Lastly, and to name no more, *St. Clement* of *Alexandria* (9), and *Eusebius* (10), quote some fragments out of one *Aristobolus*, a peripatetic *Jew* of *Alexandria*, who is said to have wrote a comment on the pentateuch, and to have dedicated it to *Ptolemy Philometor*, to whom he had been tutor. In which dedication he mentions this *Greek* version, which had been made by *Ptolemy's* command, and under the direction of *Demetrius Phalerens*.

The two fathers above-mentioned quote therefore this comment to prove the possibility of *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, and other *Greek* philosophers, having taken

most of their philosophy out of the sacred volumes, since they had been translated so long before in that known language.

The reader may see by what has been extracted out of all those authors, both *Jewish* and *Christian*, that the story of this version has gained considerably by every hand it has gone through; and this improvement, as well as some other variations which are found among those writers, is one main argument why the far greater part of our modern critics reject it as a *Jewish* device calculated to advance the glory of that nation.

But this is not the only plausible argument against it. We have observed in the text above some material objections that are justly urged against the pretended *Aristeas*, who is the first writer of this story, particularly, that he was a *Jew* in disguise, notwithstanding his pretending to be a heathen, and one of *Ptolemy's* guards; and this appears first from his style, which is fraught both with hebraisms and with panegyrics on the *Jewish* nation. 2. The praises he gives to the *Egyptian* king and court, are not only apparently false, but seem also calculated to advance the credit of the *Jews*.

The vast expence which he makes *Ptolemy* to have been at to get this version perfected, and which, put together and computed at the most moderate rate, must have amounted to near two millions sterling; the sending for seventy-two elders, that is, six out of each of the twelve tribes at a time, when the names and tribes of *Israel* were absorbed into that of *Jews*, seems only a compliment on the Sanhedrin, which consisted of that number, especially considering that a much smaller one would have sufficed for the work; the extraordinary answers which those interpreters are said to have given extempore to the king's questions; and lastly, the story of *Demetrius Phalerens* being such a great favourite with that monarch, and the victory which the latter is there affirmed to have gained at sea over *Antigonus*, and which is mentioned by no other writer; all these put together, render the whole account very incredible. But our design is not here to confute it, but to direct our readers to those authors who have wrote more copiously on that subject, and which he will find in the margin (11).

(8) Vid. sup. Vol. III. p. 629. d. (9) *Stromas* lib. i. & v. (10) *Canon. Chronol. & Prepar. Evang.* l. vii. c. 13. viii. c. 9. & alib. (11) *Dupin. Script. Ecclesiast. part. 1. c. 6. sect. iii. Simon. Inf. crit. V. T. l. ii. c. 2. Usher, Hoddy, Frid. Connell. sub A. C. 277. Calmet sub voce Septuaginta, & al.*

high-priest, who sent the seventy-two translators into *Egypt*, and who died about the ^a beginning of the following year; and had he placed it earlier, it would have been before *Ptolemy* had married his sister *Arsinoë*; whereas the *Jewish* pontiff is there introduced as complimenting that princess, in his letter to the king, as his sister and queen.

OUR last and most material remark is, that whatever wonders and fables the *Jews* may have invented, and the *Christians* swallowed, concerning this version, yet it was not without the conduct of a divine providence, that these sacred books were translated into a tongue so universally known and spoken, so many centuries before ^b the completion of those prophecies, which they contained, and which were in due time to be fulfilled by and under the promised Messiah. Had those divine oracles been kept still in the hands of the *Jews*, and in their original *Hebrew* till the preaching of the gospel, they must have lost a very considerable part of their evidence; which by their being promulgated in so known a language, and dispersed so far and wide, is now rendered unquestionable and irrefragable. Without such a version and publication of that sacred volume, it would have been extremely difficult, notwithstanding the manifest impossibility of a combination between the *Jews* and the *Christians*, to have persuaded an unbelieving world that those prophecies had not been stamped, after their completion, as *Porphyry* and other enemies of christianity absurdly affirmed: whereas this version, and universal dispersion of them through so many distant parts of the known world, puts it beyond all question, that they were previous to their completion, at least by some centuries, and owe consequently their origin to persons divinely inspired. We have had occasion to speak of several of them in our former volume ^c; those that relate more particularly to the Messiah, will be best seen in the sequel of this chapter. We shall only observe with respect to the latter, that when the primitive fathers, who were ignorant of the *Hebrew*, did quote those prophecies from this septuagint version, the hellenist *Jews* found themselves so streightly pinched by them, that they grew as much out of conceit with it, as they had before admired it. This dislike produced those *Latin* versions of it, which were afterwards known by the names of their authors, *Aquila*, *Symmachus* and *Theodotion*, and, not unlikely also, that discordance, which is found in the various manuscripts of the *Greek* one, the ancientest and most correct of all which, in the judgment of those who have thoroughly examined it, is that which is known by the name of *Alexandrian*, and is now in the king's library at *St. James's*. A further disquisition upon this head would doubtless be out of our province; and it is, we hope, sufficient to have referred our readers in the foregoing note to those critics who have treated of it more at large.

WE return now to the reign of *Ptolemy*, under whose benign influence the *Jews*, enjoying all the tranquillity they could wish, made use of that interval to study and explain the sacred books. They kept open schools, and *Antigonus Sochæus* was at the head of them; he died in great esteem of his nation, though *Sadoc* and another disciple, named *Baitbus*, forsook him and his doctrine to spread their own new-fangled epicurism. He had two successors, namely *Joseph* the son of *Joazer*, who took the title of *Nassi* or prince, and *Joseph* the son of *John*, who took that of *Ab-beth-din*, or father or president of the sanhedrin; and these did jointly read their public lectures at *Jerusalem* ^d; the *Jewish* chronologers last-quoted place *Antigonus's* death about the end of the twentieth year of *Ptolemy's* reign.

ON the other hand, some other contending monarchs shewed no less a desire to ingratiate themselves to the *Jews*, particularly *Antiochus*, surnamed *Theos*, or the god, and grandson of *Seleucus*, granted to those of *Ionia* the same privileges and franchises with the *Greeks*. This prince held out a long and bloody war against *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, which was at length terminated by a treaty of marriage, wherein the former was to marry *Berenice* the daughter of the latter, and to repudiate his first wife *Laodicea*; but he having broken his contract by a series of enormous murders, as we have elsewhere related ^e, was become so odious to all his subjects every-where, that *Ptolemy Euergetes*, who had succeeded his father in *Egypt*, did easily dispossess him of the provinces of *Syria* and *Cilicia*, besides several other cities of *Asia*; all which did readily open their gates to him upon his first appearing. *Euergetes* in his return from all these conquests, past through *Judæa* in his way to *Egypt*; and coming to

Antigonus dies.

^a Vid. int. al. Vol. I. p. 461, & note. 732, & seq. & O. Vol. II. p. 94, c. d. 203, note. See also the index to Vol. III. under the word *Daniel*. ^d Pirke, Abboth, Juchasin, & al. sup. citat. ^e See before, Vol. III. p. 525, e, f, & seq.

Jerusalem,

a *Jerusalem*, offered a great number of sacrifices at the temple there, as an acknowledgment for his late successes *. It is thought that this preference, which that prince shewed to the God of *Israel*, before the deities of *Egypt*, was owing to his having been shewed the prophecies of *Daniel*, in which those great and swift conquests had been foretold. By this time, *Onias II.* the unworthy son of *Simon* the just, was entered into the pontifical office. During his minority, his uncle *Eleazar*, the brother of *Simon*, had been invested with that dignity, and enjoyed it near thirty years; it is during his pontificate that the septuagint version above-mentioned is supposed to have been made. When *Eleazar* died, *Onias*, though above thirty years of age, was for some reason or other set by from the high-priesthood to make way for his great
b uncle *Manasses*, the son of *Jaddua*, the uncle of *Simon* the just; but *Manasses* being then very old, and dying soon after, *Onias* ascended the pontifical chair in the thirty-second year of his age, and in the thirty-sixth year of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, but in an unlucky hour for the *Jews*. *Onias*, who was of a base, sordid spirit, neglected every thing but hoarding up of treasure, and was like to have ruined the *Jewish* state by his avarice, had not a near relation of his found out a notable expedient to save it †.

*Onias high-priest.
Year of the
flood 2750.
Before Christ
249.*

Judæa had till then been taxed at the yearly tribute of twenty talents of silver, which sum his predecessors had constantly paid to the kings of *Egypt*; but *Onias* growing more covetous, as he grew older, had sunk that money into his own coffers, instead of sending it to the king's treasury. How long he had gone on in arrears, our author doth not tell us; but they were grown to such a height, that *Ptolemy Euergetes* thought fit to send *Athenion*, one of the officers of his court, to demand them of that pontiff, threatening him at the same time, that if they were not immediately payed, he would drive all the *Jews* out of their country, and repeople it with new colonies of his own. This threatening and unexpected demand put the whole city into the utmost consternation, and *Onias*, who valued neither his dignity nor nation, in comparison of his money, was the only person who remained insensible of the danger; being resolved to sacrifice both to the resentment of that prince, rather than refund any part of his stolen pelf. His sister had then a son by her husband *Tobias*, who,
d though young, was highly esteemed for his piety, justice, and prudence; he was then at his country seat, where his mother sent him word of the peril into which her brother's fordidness was like to involve the whole nation. *Joseph*, that was the noble youth's name, lost no time to come and expostulate with his uncle. He upbraided him in the strongest terms for basely preferring his ill-gotten riches to the sacredness of his function, the safety of his country, and especially of his friends and relations; and finding him deaf to all he urged, he advised him at least to take a journey into *Egypt*, and endeavour to obtain a remission, either of the whole, or part of the debt. All the answer he could get from the resty old pontiff was, that he never coveted either his dignity or government, and that he was resolved to forego them both, rather than
e take such a long journey. There being no remedy left, but to offer himself to go and apply to the *Egyptian* monarch, he easily obtained his uncle's consent to it. He then convened the people into the temple, the then usual place for holding their public assemblies; and there endeavoured to dissipate their fears, by promising them that he would shortly go down into *Egypt*, and find some effectual means, if they approved of his enterprise, to reconcile the king to them.

*Joseph's policy
to save his
country.*

His proposal having been received with universal applause, *Joseph* went immediately to *Athenion*, invited him to his house, and entertained him in a sumptuous, but obliging manner, all the rest of the time he stayed in *Jerusalem*; and upon his departure, made him several considerable presents. This noble carriage failed not to have the
f desired effect. The *Egyptian* deputy promised to set the whole matter in a favourable light before the king, and *Joseph* on the other hand promised to follow him soon after, and to give that monarch full satisfaction for all that had passed during his uncle's government. Both these did punctually perform their promise; *Athenion*, upon his arrival at court, did loudly exclaim against *Onias*'s sordidness, but said at the same time so many things in praise of his nephew, that *Ptolemy* had already conceived a high esteem for him; and *Joseph* on the other hand, having borrowed twenty thousand marks from the bankers of *Samaria*, set out for *Alexandria* with a handsome equipage. How he was received, and what success he met with at the

* JOSEPH. cont. Apion. l. ii.

† Id. antiq. l. xii. c. 3.

Egyptian court, we have seen elsewhere *. So that having by his address obtained a the farming of the provinces *Cælo-Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Judæa*, and *Samaria*, and borrowed a considerable sum of his *Egyptian* friends, he returned to *Jerusalem*, attended with an escort of two thousand men, to assist him in collecting the royal tribute, and to punish those who should refuse to pay it. The *Ascalonites* were the first who felt the severe effects of his authority. They had not only disobeyed his commands, but had even loaded him with bitter invectives, so that, to prevent the infection spreading further, he was forced to make a severe example of them to the rest. He caused twenty of the ring-leaders to be hanged, and confiscated their estates, out of which he sent a thousand talents to the king, with an account of what he had done. He treated the inhabitants of *Scythopolis* after the same manner; and these were the b only ones that ventured to follow those of *Ascalon*; the rest being all over-awed, did willingly open their gates, and pay their taxes, and *Joseph* at the same time that he remitted them into *Egypt*, did from time to time send some presents to his friends there, to keep up his interest at court. As for the king, he was so pleased with such a considerable augmentation of his revenue, that he continued him in his office two and twenty years, during which time he gained an immense treasure, under the reigns of three *Ptolemy's*, namely *Euergetes*, *Philopator*, and *Epiphanes*, the son of *Philometor*, who was dispossessed of those provinces by *Antiochus the Great*, as we have shewn in a former chapter 8. After which *Epiphanes*, having again recovered them by a marriage with *Antiochus's* daughter, he was again restored to his farms, and enjoyed them c many years after, even, as our *Jewish* historian tells us, to the day of his death. The reader may see what we said on this head in the place above quoted †.

His progeny.

Joseph by this time had seven sons by one of his wives, and an eighth named *Hyrcau* by his brother *Selinus's* daughter, whom he had made him marry, instead of a beautiful *Egyptian* dancer. *Joseph*, whilst in *Egypt*, had seen this fair woman at some of the public shows, and was fallen in love with her; he was ashamed to discover his weakness to any but his brother, who promised to procure her to him; but instead of her, he converted his own daughter into his bed; and when the cheat was discovered, *Selinus* did so well expostulate the matter with him, that he easily convinced him that he had acted a friendly part in preventing his exposing himself to the d contempt of the *Egyptians*, by marrying such a public actress. *Joseph*, satisfied with his reasons, took his new wife home, and had this *Hyrcau* by her, who proved such a promising youth, that he soon ingrossed his affection from all his other brethren, and the sequel will shew that he was really deserving of it †.

Ptolemy Philopator.

Simon II.
high-priest.
Year of the
flood 2778.
Before Christ
221.

In the interim, *Ptolemy*, surnamed *Philopator*, succeeded his father *Euergetes* in *Egypt*, not without strong suspicion of his having dispatched him by poison, as he was indeed profligate enough for such a deed; and *Simon II.* had succeeded his father *Onias* soon after in the high-priesthood at *Jerusalem*. This pontiff was of a quite different spirit from his father; he was a man of great piety and zeal, of singular conduct and courage; all which were put to a severe proof before he had passed the e first year of his pontificate. He was moreover free from that sordidness and avarice which had proved so detrimental to the *Jewish* state during his father's office; for besides those dangers which his wife nephew had the address to avoid, they had suffered a constant series of evils from the *Samaritans*, ever since these last came to be aware of the baseness of the *Jewish* pontiff. Nothing less indeed could be expected from that exasperated nation, who watched all opportunities to vent their malice, than that they should take the advantage of their weak government to insidiate and oppress them. Accordingly, *Josephus* tells us, there was scarce a year in which they did not make some incursion, ravage the country, and carry away captives, during the whole time of that cowardly priest †. But to return to *Philopator*, we may remember he was like f to have lost *Palestine* by the treachery of *Theodore*, governor of *Phœnicia*, who had rebelled against him, and engaged to put that province, together with those of *Judæa* and *Cælo-Syria*, into *Antiochus's* hands, who had always looked upon them as dismembered from his own kingdom. The plot having been timely discovered, *Antiochus* openly invaded *Gahlee*, took a great many cities on both sides *Jordan*, particularly *Philoteria*, on the north side of the sea of *Tiberias*, *Bethshan*, or *Scythopolis*, on the south, and *Itabyrium*, strongly situated on mount *Tabor*. From thence he took all the land that had formerly belonged to the two tribes and half on the

* Vol. III. p. 640, & seq.
antiq. l. xii. c. 4.

† Ibid. p. 641, & seq.
† Ibid. c. 3.

† Ibid. p. 642, a, b.

JOSEPH.

- a other side *Jordan*; but winter drawing near, he left five thousand men there under the command of *Hippolochus* and *Keræas*, two other revolters from *Ptolemy*, to keep the country in awe till the next spring. By that time *Ptolemy* came with such a powerful army against him, that he defeated him in a set battle, and forced him out of those provinces; after which all the cities did readily open their gates to the conqueror, and sent their ambassadors to make their submission and presents to him*.

- THE *Jews*, always attached to the *Egyptians*, were some of the forwardest to come and congratulate him upon his late success. They were kindly received by him, and among other marks of his favour, he told them, that he designed to go to *Jerusalem*, and offer his sacrifices to their God. He did so accordingly, and besides
 b a great number of victims which he there offered, he made some considerable presents to the temple; but this munificence gave them but a short-lived joy, which was soon after turned into the deepest mourning. The beauty of the temple, and the splendid order and decency of its worship, did unhappily raise in the king a curiosity of seeing the inside; and *Simon II.* who then officiated as high-priest, failed not to represent to him the sacredness of the place; the entrance of which was by their law forbid not only to strangers, but even to the *Jews* themselves, who were not of the sacerdotal order; he even ventured to denounce some heavy punishment from God, in case he presumed to profane his temple, whilst the priests were humbly surrounding him, to obstruct his passage, and the people, in the utmost consternation, sending
 c up their cries to heaven to avert his design. All this opposition made that obstinate monarch more resolute, and having forced his way through the outward courts, he was going on to enter into the holy place itself, when God smote him with such a dread and terror of mind, as put a full stop to his further progress. He was carried out half dead by his attendants, and as soon as he was come to himself, instead of adoring the powerful hand that had smitten him, he breathed out the most dreadful threats, not only against those who had dared to oppose his will, but against the whole nation. Soon after which he departed from *Jerusalem*, full of the deepest resentment, the sad effects of which he was not long before he made them feel, by one of the dreadfulest persecutions that that unhappy nation had ever suffered, but
 d which was happily stopped by the singular interposition of providence. We have given an account of this wonderful change in a former volume †; and all that we shall add here is, that as their constancy to their religion had obtained this miraculous deliverance, it drew as heavy a punishment on those who through fear had apostatised from it. *Ptolemy*, now more than ever convinced that the *Jews* were protected by a divine power, and that men, who could be thus faithful to their God, could never turn rebels to their prince (P); among other marks of his favour and high esteem, did at their earnest request grant them full power to inflict what punishment they thought fit on those few apostates, who were soon after put to death, to the number of three hundred, as a warning to future ages. The *Jews* thus
 e happily delivered, erected a stately pillar, and instituted a festival in memory of it, which was observed during several centuries after. This remarkable history however has been omitted by *Josephus*; he says nothing of it in his antiquities, and as for what we find of it in his book against *Apion*, besides that it is only in the *Latin* version of *Rufinus*, and not in the original, it is there said to have happened under *Ptolemy Physcon*, so that the book out of which this persecution and deliverance is taken, seems to have been unknown to the *Jewish* historian. We shall refer the reader to the margin for a further account of the book and its authority (Q).

Ptolemy

* Id. *ibid.* c. 4. 3 *MACCAB.* i. 1, & seq.

† Vol. III. p. 644. & seq.

(P) They gave that prince soon after a noble instance of this, when he was forced to make war against his rebellious *Egyptians*, in which the *Jews* proved so faithful to him, that sixty thousand of them lost their lives in one battle (44).

(Q) It is improperly called the third book of the *Maccabees*; for it is prior to the other two in point of time, and to the second book in point of authority. As for the word *Maccabee*, of which we shall have occasion to speak more fully in the sequel, it was used by the *Jews* to signify those brave heroes,

who either stood up in defence of, or suffered for their religion; and therefore that name is given to this book, as it contains the history of that persecution which the *Jews* suffered at *Alexandria*, and were like to have suffered in all the dominions of *Philopator*. Who the author of it was, is not there said; but he is supposed to have been an *Alexandrian Jew*, who has embellished his history after the manner of his nation, with some enlargements, and couched them in a romantic style, not very likely to raise the credit of it, though the main purport of

(44) *Euseb. Chron. Vid. Usher. in anno 3789.*

Ptolemy Epi-
phanes.
Year of the
flood 2795.
Before Christ
204.

Ptolemy Philopator died some time after, and left the kingdom to his son, surnamed *a Epiphanes*; who being then but between four and five years old, gave a handle to his two competitors, *Antiochus the Great*, and *Philip of Macedon*, to join their forces to divest the young monarch of his whole kingdom (R); the former was to invade the provinces *Palestine* and *Phœnicia*, and the latter *Egypt*, and each was to keep all he conquered. On this occasion the *Jews* wonted loyalty failed them, so that they took part with *Antiochus*, who made a quick progress in that province, but was again as quickly deprived of it by *Scopas* the *Egyptian* general, who reduced the *Jews* to their former obedience. This advantage however proved but short-lived, and the *Syrian* king soon recovered it all from him; and in this second expedition the *Jews* did do him such signal services, that he resolved to spare no favour to fix them ^b to his interest; for when *Scopas* had only the citadel of *Jerusalem* left, into which he had thrown a strong garison, they received the *Syrian* troops and elephants into that city, and assisted them with all their power, to drive the *Egyptians* out of it, which was soon accomplished by their united strength (S).

Antiochus therefore, willing to gratify the *Jewish* nation for their so freely engaging in his interest against the *Egyptians*, sent a letter to *Ptolemy*, his then general, which has been preserved at length by *Josephus*¹, and in which having related the great services which that people had done him, he acquaints him that he designed to restore

¹ *Ibid. ibid. & seq.*

of the story he nevertheless acknowledged to be true; for the *Jews* have undergone many such persecutions, and have been sometimes as wonderfully delivered.

The time in which this book was written, is thought to be after the other two of the *Maccabees*, and that of the son of *Sirac*, called *Ecclesiasticus* (45). What is related in the beginning concerning *Theodorus* and *Artaxerxes*, seems taken out of *Polybius*, and therefore is supposed to have been written after this last (46); and yet both authors might have it from more ancient records, so that no sure inference can be made about it.

It was written originally in *Greek*, and is quoted by some ancient fathers (47) as canonical, but disputed by others, and was once received in the same apostolic canon with the other two; but the vulgar version has never admitted it, though the greatest part of the septuagint copies now extant have it, particularly our *Alexandrian* one; but this last not being in use in the western church at the time of the reformation, but the *Latin* only; that is the reason why our *English* bibles have it not, though it may much better deserve a place in it than some other apocryphal pieces that are in it.

There is still another book of the same name, commonly known by the name of the fourth book of *Maccabees*. We have often quoted it in the sequel of this chapter, though the author sometimes clashes with *Josephus*, and other historians. Archbishop *Usher* quotes likewise sometimes an *Arabic* version of it, which has been printed in *Mr. Le Jay's* polyglot; the book itself is very much unknown to the *Latin* fathers, and the *Greek* ones by whom it is mentioned, differed much about its author. The reader may see all that is worth knowing concerning it in *Calmer's* preface to it, and we shall here own once for all, that it is to him we owe all the following quotations out of that book.

(R) The second year of this young monarch's reign being according to the *Jewish* chronology the three thousand five hundred and sixtieth year of the world, those authors tell us, that *Joshua* the son of *Berachiah* was chosen *Nassi*, or president, and *Nathan* the *Arbélite*, *Ab-beth-din*, or vice-president

of the *Sanhedrin*, and of the divinity school at *Jerusalem*. They add, that when *Alexander* the *Assyrian* king of *Judea* put the *Jewish* doctors to death, for having dared to rebuke him for taking upon him the high priesthood, as well as the regal dignity, *Joshua* fled into *Egypt*, and that *Jesus* of *Nazareth* followed him thither, and became his disciple (48).

One may see by this what wretched chronologers the *Jews* are, since that *Jewish* year of the world was many years before that *Assyrian* king, and above two hundred years before the birth of Christ (49).

(S) Our author doth not tell us the reason of this defection; but it is likely, that *Epiphanes's* minority had encouraged his governors in those provinces to load them with heavy taxes, and such-like oppressions, especially *Scopas*, who was of such a rapacious temper, that he stuck at no rapine or cruelty to enrich himself.

On the other hand, *Antiochus* had shewed himself a great friend to the *Jews* that were in the province of *Babylon* and *Mesopotamia*, and had granted them such great privileges, as might easily induce those of *Judea* to prefer his government to that of the *Egyptians*, by which they were now so much oppressed, *Josephus* tells us further, that the *Babylonish Jews* had shewed such an attachment to that prince, and done him such signal services, that he confided the guard of his strongest and most considerable garisons to them, and sent them into several provinces to quell his other seditious subjects. All which, being so many arguments of the great trust he put in them, could not but be highly pleasing to those of *Palestine*.

But whatever was the cause of this change, the same author tells us, that *Antiochus* no sooner came with his army, than they cheerfully surrendered themselves to him; and that on his appearing before *Jerusalem*, the priests and elders went out in a solemn manner to meet him, and make their submission to him; they then received him into their city, and entertained both him and his army, his horses and elephants, and furnished him with arms and other necessaries for the war (50).

(45) *Grot. Colin. & al.* (46) *Frid. conneil. sub an. 216.* (47) *Euseb. Chronic. Theodoret. in Dan. xi. 7. Ashanaf. synopf. Nicephor. & al.* (48) *Abr. Zaccut, in Tuchasim. David Gantz, in Zemakh. Dav. Shalshel. Haccabal.* (49) *Vid. Frid. ubi supra, an. 202. Scalig. de emend. temp. Usher. & al.* (50) *Joseph. ex Polyb. antiq. l. xii. c. 3.*

their

- a their metropolis to its ancient splendor, liberty, and privileges, and to recall all those *Jews* who had been driven out of it : that out of his singular respect to the temple of their God, he granted unto them twenty thousand pieces of silver, towards the charges of victims, frankincense, wine and oil ; one thousand four hundred measures of fine wheat, and three hundred seventy-five measures of salt, towards their usual oblations : that the temple should be thoroughly repaired at his own cost : that they should enjoy the free exercise of their religion, restore the public service of the temple ; and the priests, levites, singers, &c. to their usual functions : that no stranger, or *Jew* that was unpurified should enter within the sept (T) of that sacred place : and that no flesh of unclean beasts should be brought into *Jerusalem*, not even their skins ; all these under the penalty of paying three thousand pieces of silver into the treasury of the temple. He further granted an exemption from all taxes for three years to all the dispersed *Jews* that should come within a limited time to repeople that metropolis : and that all that had been sold for slaves, within his dominion, should be immediately set free. By all these extraordinary favours, *Antiochus* did so fasten the *Jews* to his interest, that not only *Judea*, but all the other neighbouring provinces readily submitted to him, and that monarch having in the space of one campaign subdued and quieted them, returned to his capital, and passed the winter there.

- ABOUT three years after this died the high-priest *Simon* II. and was succeeded by his son *Onias* III. a person of great piety, clemency, and worthy to have lived in better times than those of his pontificate proved, and of a better end than he met with, as the sequel will shew. This is the pontiff, to whom our learned *Usher* supposes *Aræus* king of *Lacedæmon* sent a letter, of which an account has been given in a former volume * ; but we have there shewn the impossibility of his being the person, and that it could be no other than *Onias* the first of that name. In the eighth year of *Onias* III. the *Jews* lost their great friend and protector *Antiochus*, who was murdered by the people of *Elymais*, as has been related in a former volume †. They found as kind a one in his son *Seleucus* for some time. The *Jews* were then in such high esteem, that sovereign princes courted their friendship, and made magnificent presents to the temple ; and *Seleucus* furnished out of his own treasury all the expences of it. *Judea* enjoyed a profound peace, and their laws were observed with great strictness under their worthy high-priest, until a misunderstanding which happened between him and *Simon* a *Benjamite*, brought a series of evils on the *Jewish* state.

Onias had then enjoyed the sacerdotal dignity about sixteen years ; and *Simon* had been made governor of the temple. Perhaps that place was devolved to him from *Joseph*, the generous son of *Tobias* lately mentioned, whose son he is supposed to have been ; when an uproar happening in the city, caused this fatal breach betwixt those two great persons in the eleventh year of *Seleucus*. The author doth not tell us upon what account this tumult was raised. We shall give the best conjecture we can about it in the margin (V), it being a sequel of the history of *Joseph* and his son *Hyrca*n, and

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* Antiq. l. xii. c. 4 & 5. EUSEB. Chron. & Chron. Alexand. * Vol. II. p. 624. f. & not. † Vol. III. p. 544. a. 567. d. * 2 MACCAB. iii. 1, & seq. * Ibid. ver. 4, & seq.

(T) This inclosure, which the *Hebrew* called *Chel*, was that which separated the circumcised from the uncircumcised, within which therefore it was unlawful for the latter to enter (51).

(V) We have lately taken notice of *Joseph*'s progeny, and, among others, of his worthy son *Hyrca*n. The father being, before this time, grown so old, that he could not go down to congratulate the *Egyptian* king in person on the birth of his son, offered that office to all his other seven sons ; none of whom being willing to accept it, *Hyrca*n undertook the journey, having first obtained a letter of credit from his father on his *Alexandrian* agent, for what sums he should want to defray the charges of his commission.

It being then the usual custom to make those monarchs some considerable presents upon such occasions, *Hyrca*n having drawn one thousand talents from his father's banker, bought one hundred beautiful youths for the king, and the same number of the fairest damsels for the queen, which were presented to them with the addition of a talent which each of them brought in their hands ; so that this

single article amounted to four hundred talents. The rest he either bestowed in presents to the great ones of the court, or spent it in making a suitable figure during his abode there ; so that the whole expence of this expedition amounted to two hundred thousand pounds sterling ; whereas his father supposed that the one hundredth part of that sum would have defrayed the whole expence.

If *Hyrca*n therefore, by this uncommon munificence, secured to himself the favour of the *Egyptian* court, it did no less expose him to the anger and resentment of his old father and brethren ; inasmuch that the latter way-laid him in his return, with a design to murder him ; but *Hyrca*n, who had obtained the reversion of his father's farms, had provided himself with such a strong escort, that two of his brethren were killed on the spot, and the rest put to flight.

This increased still their enmity, especially when, after his father's death, he went to levy the yearly tribute in his stead ; and this raised him so many enemies, that he was forced to retire over *Jordan*, where he built himself a strong and stately palace, which

(51) Vide int. al. Lightfoot's prospect of the temple, c. 17.

Simon's treachery.

in no case foreign to that of the *Jews* we are upon. This contest, whatever it was, grew to such a height, that *Simon* finding he could not get the better of the strenuous pontiff, went away to *Apollonius* the son of *Tbrafeas*, who was then governor of *Cælo-Syria* and *Palestine*, the only two provinces the *Romans* had left untaken from *Seleucus* P, and acquainted him, that there were immense treasures laid up in the temple of *Jerusalem*, which might, at his pleasure, be seized upon for the king's use. The governor sent to inform *Seleucus* (W) of it, who dispatched immediately *Heliodorus* to fetch it away to *Antioch*.

Heliodorus endeavours to force the temple

Is punished by God.

Heliodorus, the better to conceal the purport of his commission, pretended that he was ordered to go and view all the cities of *Cælo-Syria* and *Phœnicia*, and only to take *Jerusalem* in his way; but when he came thither, where he was received by the *Jews* with singular honours, he acquainted *Onias* with the orders he had received from the king, and made a more particular inquiry after those treasures. The high-priest told him, that there was indeed such a treasure in the temple, tho' nothing so large as he had been informed; that besides those things that had been consecrated to God, the rest had been deposited there by, or for the widows and orphans for their security, whose property therefore they were; that a considerable sum had been likewise laid up there by *Hyrcaan* the son of *Joseph*, a man of great dignity; and that he being the guardian of this wealth, could never give his consent that it should be alienated from the right owners, to the disgrace of his dignity, and of that sacred place, which was revered by all the world: but all this not being sufficient to outweigh the positive orders which *Heliodorus* had received from the king, he marched directly towards the temple. The high-priest and the rest of the ministers of the place did in vain endeavour to obstruct his passage. Whilst the whole city was in the utmost confusion, the gates of the place were ordered to be broken down, and the *Syrians* were just going to enter, when God smote them with such a panic dread, that they fell down half-dead. *Heliodorus* among the rest, who saw a vision of a man on horseback sumptuously dressed, who flew upon him with the utmost speed and fury, and crushed him under his horse's feet, was forthwith carried out almost dead by his men, and continued some days in that condition. At length *Onias*, fearing lest this wonderful accident should bring the *Jews* under the suspicion of having made some unlawful

P LIV. l. xxxv. & seq. APPIAN. in *Syriac.* & al. 2 MACCAB. iii. per tot.

which he called *Tyre*, whence he continued to make inroads and depredations on the neighbouring *Arabs* (52).

During this time it is probable he had regained the high-priest's favour, by sending into the treasury of the temple two hundred talents of gold, and four hundred talents of silver (53), which *Simon*, the supposed eldest son of *Joseph*, seems to have challenged as his own, during *Hyrcaan's* abode on the other side *Jordan*; but the strenuous *Onias* refusing to deliver it up, because consecrated to the maintenance of widows and orphans; as he himself, confessed to *Apollonius*, this refusal might in all probability, so exasperate the angry *Benjamites*, that he chose to have the whole treasure of that sacred place betrayed to that governor, rather than *Hyrcaan* or *Onias* should reap the benefit of what the former had intrusted with the latter.

As for *Hyrcaan*, he found himself soon after in such danger of being called to a severe account for his depredations, by *Antiochus Epiphanes*, who had succeeded *Seleucus Philopator*, that, to avoid the worst, he ran himself upon his own sword (54).

(W) It is plain from this whole story, which is taken from the second book of the *Maccabees* (55), and confirmed by *Josephus* (56), that *Seleucus* had enjoyed *Palestine*, *Cælo-Syria* and *Phœnicia*, some time before his death; and how his father got these provinces from the king of *Egypt*, we have already seen; but how they reverted to that monarch, after they had been restored to *Ptolemy* upon his marriage with *Cleopatra*, we can nowhere find.

It is true, *Polybius* seems to intimate, that this restitution was never made to *Ptolemy* (57); but that both *Antiochus* and his son still kept those provinces in their hands after the marriage; and elsewhere he introduces *Antiochus Epiphanes* denying that his grandfather had ever promised to surrender them to *Ptolemy* the king of *Egypt* (58). Hence some have concluded, that they had never returned to the latter, but had been constantly kept by the three former.

But all this seems clearly contradicted by what *Josephus* affirms of *Hyrcaan's* being sent to *Egypt* to congratulate *Ptolemy* on the birth of a son by his queen *Cleopatra*. Shall we then say, that *Joseph* sent this compliment to him, not as to his king, but as to his quondam benefactor? But our Jewish historian adds, that all the nobility of *Cælo-Syria* flocked thither on the same errand; which plainly intimates, that he was in possession of those provinces.

We must therefore suppose, either that these compliments were paid to *Ptolemy* by the *Jews* and *Cælo-Syrians*, as to the son-in-law of *Antiochus*, to whom those provinces were shortly to devolve in virtue of the marriage; or else, that if they had been really surrendered to him, *Seleucus* took afterwards the advantage of his son *Philopator's* minority to divest him of them; since it is plain by the history of *Simon's* applying to *Apollonius*, of *Seleucus* sending *Heliodorus*, and of *Onias* applying himself, not to *Ptolemy*, but to *Seleucus*, for redress, that this last had possessed them some time before his death.

(52) *Joseph. antiq.* l. iv. iii. & iv.

(53) *Vide 2 Maccab.* iii. 11.

(56) *Lib. de Maccab.* c. iv.

(57) *Legat.* 72.

(54) *Joseph. ubi supra*, c. 5.

(58) *Idem*, 80.

(55) *Cap.*

attempt

a attempt against the Syrian minister, went to the temple, and offered some sacrifices for his recovery; which being obtained, he immediately left *Jerusalem*, and went to acquaint the king with what had happened to him. *Seleucus* however, whether he suspected the truth of his relation, or was resolved at any price to get the *Jewish* treasure, asked him further, whether he knew any man that was fit to be sent upon that expedition? *Heliodorus* answered, that if the king had any enemy that he would be glad to get rid of, he need but send him to rifle that sacred place, and he would see him come back in such a condition, as would convince him, that it was under the protection of some divine and irresistible power ^a.

b WHEN *Simon* found that he had missed his aim, he endeavoured to throw all the blame upon the good high-priest, pretending that he was the person who had called *Heliodorus* to *Jerusalem*; and drew such a party against him, that several persons were killed on both sides. At length *Onias*, fearing the consequences of such an intestine faction, especially seeing his rival in high favour with *Apollonius* the then governor, went to complain to the king at *Antioch*. He was well received, and *Simon* was thereupon banished ^r; but *Seleucus* dying soon after, was succeeded by his son *Antiochus*, surnamed *Epiphanes*, whose brutish character we have seen in a former chapter ^s, and who soon made his subjects repent of the joy they had expressed at his first coming to the crown. The *Jews*, of all others, were not long before they felt the dreadful effects of his fury, more through the ambition of some, and the factions and feuds which reigned then in that unhappy state, than the cruel temper of this new monarch.

c He was scarce settled on his throne before *Jason* (X), the brother of *Onias* the then high-priest, taking advantage of the king's penury, his treasury having been quite exhausted by the large tribute his predecessors had paid to the *Romans*; went to *Antioch*, and procured from him the high-priesthood at the price of three hundred and fifty talents, and obtained an order that his brother should be sent to, and confined to dwell at that metropolis. Without this last, there would indeed have been little likelihood of his enjoying his ill-gotten dignity with any satisfaction, since the very presence of the deposed pontiff, so highly admired for his singular piety, must of course have revived the resentment and hatred of the people against him, and have proved a constant check to his authority ^t. *Jason* finding how welcome this money was to the young monarch, and being desirous to lessen, as much as possible, the antipathy which other nations had against that of the *Jews*, offered him another sum of one hundred and fifty talents for the liberty of erecting at *Jerusalem* a gymnasium or place of public exercises, such as were practised in *Greece*; an academy for training up the youth after the *Grecian* manner; and for the liberty of making such *Jews* as he thought fit, free of the city of *Antioch*; all which was readily granted to him. He then set out for *Jerusalem*, and with these powers formed so strong a party in *Judæa*, as he thought would easily overbear that of his rival *Onias*, which was still very strong, especially in *Jerusalem*. Among those that joined themselves to this intruder, were the malecontent sons of *Joseph* lately mentioned, and a number of others, who, through a wanton inconstancy, were become excessively fond of the *Grecian* customs, and as weary of their own ^u. The freedom of the city of *Antioch*, a very valuable privilege, was another bait, which drew still greater numbers over to him. From this time a general apostasy from the *Jewish* religion overspread the greatest part of the nation; the academies were erected by the usurping high-priest both for their youth and for men grown; and as some of these exercises were to be performed naked, these vile apostates found means to efface the scar of circumcision, to prevent their being distinguished from other nations. The priests, as well as the people, from thenceforward neglected the service of the temple, to assist at these new heathenish exercises; and the laws, which the *Jewish* nation had obtained for the free exercise of their religion and rights, became of none effect, through the baseness of one single renegade, who sacrificed his religion and country to his ungovernable ambition.

Jason supplants his brother Onias.

^a Ibid. ver. 37, & seq.

^r EUSEB. in Chronic.

^s Vol. III. p. 571, & seq.

^t 2 MACCAB.

iv. 7, & seq. ^u Vide 1 MACCAB. i. 12, & seq. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xii. c. 6.

(X) This wretch was called *Jesus*; but as he was going to purchase the favour of the king and court at the expence of every thing that ought to have been valuable to an honest *Jew*, he began with changing

his name into that of *Jason*, which he thought more conformable and pleasing to the *Greeks*, whose customs he was then going to introduce into his nation.

As he stuck at nothing that could ingratiate himself to *Antiochus*, he sent the next ^a year a number of his partisans, on whom he had bestowed the freedom of *Antioch*, to assist at the olympic games, with a considerable sum to (Y) be spent in sacrifices to the *Tyrian Hercules*, in whose honour those games were celebrated *; but these men, whether out of conscience or fear, chose rather to make a present of it to the *Tyrians* towards the repairing of their fleet. *Antiochus* by this time understanding that the young king of *Egypt*, now of age, designed to attempt the recovery of *Palestine*, *Phœnice* and *Cælo-Syria*, made a tour into these provinces, and took *Jerusalem* in his way, where *Jason* received him with a magnificence suitable to the value he put upon that monarch's favour and friendship.

He did not however enjoy his ill-gotten dignity long before he was thrust out of ^b it by his own brother *Menelaus* (Z), whom he had sent to *Antiochus* with the usual tribute. *Menelaus*, instead of consulting the king about those matters which his brother had charged him with, took that opportunity to insinuate himself to him by the most flagrant flatteries; to which having added the sum of three hundred talents more than *Jason* had paid for the high-priesthood, he easily obtained it, and returned with his new commission to *Jerusalem* in the third year of *Jason's* pontificate. He soon got himself a strong party, at the head of which were the sons of *Tobias*, who were then very powerful in *Judæa*; but *Jason* was not without his powerful friends, who detesting *Menelaus's* treachery, soon forced him to retire, with the heads of his faction, into *Antioch*. Hither, the better to gain their point against *Jason*, they went, and acquainted *Antiochus*, that they were fully resolved to forsake their old religion, and wholly ^c to conform to that of his country; which so pleased that proud monarch, that he sent them back with a force sufficient to drive *Jason* out of *Judæa* into the land of the *Ammonites*. Being thus rid of his rival, and seated in his new dignity, his next care was to perform his promise to the king, and to outdo his brother in his apostasy ^d.

Menelaus summoned to Antioch.
BUT whilst he was endeavouring, by all wicked means, to ingratiate himself to *Antiochus* and to his court, he neglected one main article, the paying of the money he had promised to him, tho' *Softratus*, then governor of the citadel of *Jerusalem*, and receiver of the king's customs in *Palestine*, was continually pressing him to it. At length *Antiochus* suspecting some private intelligence between them, ordered them ^d both to come to *Antioch*, *Menelaus* leaving his brother *Lysimachus* his vicegerent at *Jerusalem*. At their arrival at *Antioch*, they found that the king had been forced to go and quell a sedition in *Cilicia* †, and had left the government of *Antioch* to *Andronicus*, one of the prime nobles of his court. *Menelaus* having exhausted his coffers, and finding that nothing but the payment of the king's money could recover his favour, sent private instructions to his brother at *Jerusalem*, to convey to him as many of the golden vessels as he could conveniently strip the temple of; which having received soon after, and caused to be sold at *Tyre*, and in the neighbouring cities, raised him a sufficient sum, not only to satisfy the king, but also to bribe his courtiers in his favour. All this however could not be transacted so secretly, but his brother ^e *Onias*, who had been, ever since his deposition, confined to that capital, had intelligence of his sacrilege. He made such bitter complaints against *Menelaus*, as were like to have raised all the *Antiochian Jews* against him. He was therefore obliged to have recourse to *Andronicus*, whom he had already bribed by his presents;

* De his vide supra, Vol. II. p. 264, c. 406, b. 598, not. & alib. ubi supra.

† See before, Vol. III. p. 574, a, b.

* MACCAB. ubi supra, & JOSEPH.

(Y) This sum, the common *Greek* copies say, was only three hundred drachms; but as the learned *Ussher* observes (59), this was too inconsiderable a sum upon such an occasion, it amounting to but a little above eleven pounds sterling; and therefore prefers the *Arundelian* manuscript, which calls it three thousand three hundred, which was a more likely present, considering the person who sent it, who was a man wholly devoted to that monarch's pleasure.

(Z) This apostate's right name was *Onias*, which he changed for that of *Menelaus*, in imitation of his brother, and in compliance to the *Greeks*. The book of the *Maccabees* (60) makes him the son of

Tobias, and brother of *Simon* above-mentioned; but if he had been of that family, he could not have entered into the sacerdotal office, without such a manifest violation of the *Mosaic* law, as would have set the whole *Jewish* nation against him; for tho' they proved but too complying to the *Grecian* customs lately introduced, yet they seem to have had an invincible attachment to the *Aaronic* family.

Josephus therefore is most generally followed, who expressly tells us (61), that he was the brother of the deposed *Onias*, and of *Jason*; and that he did but require the latter for having supplanted the former, in which case the high-priesthood was still retained in the right line.

(59) *Sub A. M.* 3830.

(60) 1 *Maccab.* iv. 23.

(61) *Antiq.* l. xii. c. 6

a and for a fresh sum of money engaged him to cut off the good old high-priest, who being by this time apprised of his intreagues, had taken sanctuary at *Daphne*, an asylum near the city of *Antioch*. *Andronicus* went to him, and, under some pretence or other, accompanied with the most solemn vows and protestations for his safety, had no sooner got him out of the place, than he put him to death ^w, without regard either to his oaths, the sacredness of the place, or the laws of hospitality (A).

Onias murdered.

THIS treacherous murder of a person so venerable for his age and exemplary piety, and so respected in that metropolis, both by *Jews* and *Gentiles*, drew the bitterest complaints against the sacrilegious assassin, as soon as the king was returned to *Antioch*; and that prince, bad as he was, could not forbear shedding of tears at the

b news of it. As soon therefore as he had taken full cognizance of the fact, he caused the murderer to be stripped of his purple, and to be conducted with infamy to the place where it had been committed, and there to be put to death. As for *Menelaus*, tho' the most guilty of the two, he found means to avoid the present storm, and to maintain his credit some time longer; but this obliged him to draw such large sums from *Jerusalem*, that *Lyfimachus* was forced to raise them by the most unheard-of violences and sacrileges, which ended in an universal mutiny, in which the *Jews* fell upon him, and the three thousand men he had got to defend him, with such desperate fury, that they killed a great number of them, and put the rest to flight. *Lyfimachus*, no longer able to resist, was pursued to the treasury of the temple, and there

Andronicus put to death.

c massacred by the enraged multitude. *Antiochus* coming soon after to *Tyre*, the *Jewish* sanhedrin resolved to send a deputation to him, both to justify the putting to death *Lyfimachus*, and to accuse *Menelaus* as the author and cause of all the troubles that had happened both in *Judaea* and *Antioch*. The three deputies pleaded their cause so well before the king, that *Menelaus*, not knowing which way to clear himself, and avoid the impending punishment, had recourse to his old secret of bribery. He applied himself to a favourite of *Antiochus*, named *Ptolemy Macron*, the son of *Dorymenes*, and promised him so large a sum, that that courtier, who knew the inconstancy of that monarch's temper, easily prevailed upon him not only to absolve the apostate high-priest, but also to condemn three *Jewish* deputies to death. This sentence, unjust as it was, was forthwith put in execution, and those venerable men were hurried to death, who, as the author of the *Maccabees* expresses it, would have gained their cause, had they pleaded it before even the *Scythians*; and indeed this piece of cruelty and injustice was so shocking to the *Tyrians*, that tho' they dared not openly exclaim against it, yet they ventured to shew their respect to those deputies, by bestowing an honourable burial upon them ^d.

Year of the flood 2829. Before Christ 170.

THIS unjust sentence gave the traitor *Menelaus* such a complete victory over all his opposers, that from thenceforth he gave himself up to all manner of tyranny and wickedness; *Jerusalem* became destitute of protectors; the sanhedrin, if there were any zealous men left among them, were so terrified by this last cruelty on their deputies, that they no longer dared to oppose him, tho' they saw that every step he took was with design to enslave the nation still more, and to overturn the small remains of their religion and liberties. These were the sad prognostics of those evils which soon after overtook that rebellious nation, and in which God chose to punish them for their apostasy, by means of that very monarch, whose favour they had bought at the expence of their religion and laws; and to convince them that these grievous calamities were the effects of his anger, they were pre-signified to them by the most terrifying apparitions in the air during the space of forty days, during which there were seen multitudes of armed men, both foot and horse, magnificently armed and apparelled, charging and fighting against each other in battle array, whilst their ears were f dinned with the clashing of swords, lances and shields; all which dreadful omens

Signs seen in the air.

^w Vide sup. ibid. c. JOSEPH. ubi supra.

^d 2 MACCAB. iv. 44. & seq.

(A) This worthy person, whose character is excellently well drawn by the author of the second book of *Maccabees* (12), is supposed to have been murdered in the the twenty-fourth year of his pontificate.

There is indeed some difference between *Josephus* and *Eusebius*, and the *Alexandrian* chronicle,

concerning the length of time between his accession to that dignity, and his being murdered at *Antioch*; but as the last quoted author assigns expressly twenty-four years to it, he has been preferred before the other two. The reader may see the reasons for it in our learned *Prideaux* (13).

(12) 2 Maccab. iii. 1, 2, 3.

(13) *Connest. sub an.* 171.

threw the whole city into the deepest consternation, whilst they all looked upon them ^a as the sure forerunners of some sad calamity, which they in vain endeavoured, when it was too late, to avert by their prayers, from that unhappy land ¹.

Jason forces
Jerusalem.

THIS fatal change was occasioned by an accident, which seemed at first of no great consequence, but proved in a little time the cause of all their miseries. *Antiochus* was then taken up with the conquest of *Egypt*, when a false rumour was by some means spread, that he had been killed before *Alexandria*. *Jason*, who had been forced to retire into the land of *Ammon* after his deposition, heard of it, and thought it was a fit opportunity to attempt the recovery of his dignity, and that his nation, tired with the *Syrian* government, and especially with the tyranny of *Menelaus*, would readily receive him again with open arms. To this end he got him a band of about one ^b thousand resolute men, at the head of whom he quickly appeared before the walls of *Jerusalem*, which, by the help of a party which he had within that metropolis, he easily entered, and forced his brother to retire into the citadel; after which minding nothing but his resentment, he committed the most horrid butcheries against such of the *Jews* as he suspected to have been of the contrary party. He was however soon after forced to leave both the city and country, at the news of *Antiochus* coming with a powerful army against him (B); for that prince, highly provoked at this rebellion, and especially at the news, that the *Jewish* nation had made some rejoicings at the report of his death, was actually coming with a great army against *Jerusalem*. The *Jews*, apprised of his will towards them, seem to have made a stout resistance, and ^c to have given him no small trouble in forcing his way into their metropolis (C); but the gates being at length forced open to him, perhaps by some of his friends from within, he spared no cruelty against its unhappy inhabitants, insomuch that within three days they reckoned no less than forty thousand killed, and as many taken captives, and sold for slaves to the neighbouring nations ².

Antiochus
takes it by
storm.

His cruelty.

Profanes and
plunders the
temple.

HIS fury did not stop here; he caused the traitor *Menelaus*, who, by this time, had by some means recovered his good graces, to lead him to the temple, which he entered, even to its most sacred recesses (D), laying his impious hands on all the vessels that were in it, and caused the golden altar of incense, the golden table of the shewbread, the golden candlestick, the censers, bowls and other utensils belonging to ^d that holy place to be seized, together with the golden shields, crowns and other ornaments which had been dedicated to it. He caused also the gold plating that covered the gates and other architecture of the temple, the veil that divided the holy

¹ Ibid. c. v. 2, & seq.

² Ibid. ver. 11 & 14. See before, Vol. III. p. 5, 75, & seq.

(B) Our historian says, that he retired at first to the *Ammonitish* king, where becoming soon after suspected by that prince, he was forced to withdraw, and to wander from city to city, being detested by all that knew him, as a betrayer of his country, and a monster of mankind (14).

He came at length into *Egypt*, and finding no safety there, he hoped he might at least find it among the *Lacedemonians*, in virtue of the pretended kindred between their nation and his own; but here he also missed of his aim, at least it seems as if he had not met with any favourable reception, since our author adds, that, at his death, his carcass was left to rot above ground, being denied even the common sepulchre that was allowed to other strangers (15).

(C) So says the book of the *Maccabees* (16), with whom agrees *Diodorus Siculus* (17), and even *Josephus*, in his wars of the *Jews* (18), where he expressly says, that he laid siege to that city, and represents him as enraged at the trouble it gave him; but in his antiquities he tells us, that he entered it without force; and that those of his party within did open the gates to him (19). The former is indeed the most probable, and *Josephus* might easily forget himself through the distance of time in which he wrote those two books; and this may in some measure atone for such-like inconsistencies which are to be met with in him.

(D) *D. Siculus*, in the place last quoted out of him, tells, upon some *Heathenish* report, that *Antiochus* being entered into the most sacred part of the temple, where the high-priest alone was to be admitted, he there found the statue of a man carved in stone, with a long beard, holding a book in his hand, and mounted upon an ass; and supposing it to have been the statue of *Moses* the *Jewish* law-giver, and founder of *Jerusalem*, he took it into his head to destroy the mutual hatred between the *Jews* and the rest of the world, by destroying of their law.

To this end he caused a large sow to be sacrificed on the altar of burnt-offerings to that law-giver, sprinkled the porch and the sacred books with the blood of it, caused the high-priest and others to eat of the flesh, and put out the lamp which burnt night and day in the temple. All which *Josephus* has sufficiently confuted (20), from *Polybius*, *N. Damascus*, and other authors better acquainted with the *Jewish* religion than this *Sicilian*. Only he adds, that *Antiochus*, not contented with rifling the temple of all its riches, caused it to be polluted, by sacrificing some swine upon its altar, and sprinkling the broth of them upon the *Jews* (21); but this circumstance, if true, has been omitted by the authors of the two books of the *Maccabees*.

(14) 2 *Maccab.* v. 5, 6, & seq.

(18) *L. i. c. 1.*

(19) *L. xii. c. 7.*

(15) *Ibid.* ver. 10.

(20) *Cont. Apion.* l. ii.

(16) *L. 2. c. v. 11.*

(21) *Antiq.* l. xiii. c. 16.

(17) *cap.* xxxiv.

from

- a from the most holy place, and in a word all that was valuable either for its metal or workmanship, to be carried off, besides one thousand eight hundred talents of gold and silver, which he forced out of the treasury. Having thus glutted his revenge and avarice, he returned in such a kind of triumph to *Antioch*, as if he had had it now in his power, to use our author's words, to make the land navigable, and the sea passable on foot^a. As a further mark of his spleen against that unhappy nation, he put it under the government of one *Philip*, a most barbarous *Perrygian*, and *Samaria* under that of *Andronicus*, a person of the same brutish disposition, and left the apostate *Menelaus*, the most hateful of all the three, in possession of the high-priesthood^b.
- b WHAT the Jewish nation suffered under those governors, or rather butchers, is more easily imagined than described; but their miseries were not to end there. Some time after *Antiochus* having received the mortifying letter from the *Roman* senate we have elsewhere taken notice of[†], he chose them above all other people to wreck his resentment against, and with as much cruelty as if they had been the cause of his disgrace. To this end he dispatched from his army, as he was marching through *Judæa*, *Apollonius*, at the head of twenty-two thousand men, with orders to plunder all the cities of *Judæa*, to murder all the men, and to save only the women and children for sale. *Apollonius* came accordingly with his army (E), and, to outward appearance, with a peaceable intention, which was not suspected by the *Jews*, because he was superintendent of the tribute in *Palestine*. He kept himself quiet till the next sabbath, when they were all in a profound quiet, when on a sudden he commanded his men to arms, some of whom he sent to cut all in pieces that were gone to the temple and to the other synagogues, whilst the rest going through the streets of the city, massacred all that came in their way, which they did without the least resistance from those unhappy wretches, who suffered themselves to be butchered in that merciless manner, rather than break their sabbath by standing on their defence. He next ordered the city to be plundered, and then set it on fire, pulled down all their stately fabrics, caused the walls to be demolished, and carried away captive about ten thousand of those that had been saved from the slaughter^c. From that time the service of the temple was
- d quite abandoned, that place having been every-where polluted both with the blood of the slain, and with many other defilements. From the ruins of the city the officers of *Antiochus* built a large fortress on an eminence in the city of *David*^{*}, fortified it with a strong wall, stately towers, and placed a garrison in it to command the temple, over-against which it was built; so that the soldiers could easily see and fall upon all those that ventured to come to that sacred place, so many of whom were continually plundered and murdered by them, that the rest not daring to stay longer in *Jerusalem*, went and dwelt in the neighbouring cities of the *Gentiles*. In this polluted and forsaken condition did this metropolis and its temple continue three full years and a half; that is, till *Judas Maccabeus*, having wrested both out of their hands, did
- e purify and restore them to their ancient splendor and use, as we shall see in due time^d (F).

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^a MACCAB. *ibid.* ver. 21. ^b *Ibid.* ver. 24. [†] Vol. III. p. 579, & seq. ^c 1 MACCAB. i. 30. & seq. 2 MACCAB. v. 24. & seq. JOSEPH. *Antiq.* l. xii. c. 7. ^{*} See the draught at, p. 57. ^d Vide 1 MACCAB. iv. pass. 2 MACCAB. x. JOSEPH. *ubi supra*, & præfat. in bell. Judaic. & histor. de bell. l. i. c. 1. l. vi. c. 11.

(E) *Josephus* seems to have confounded this slaughter with that which was made by *Antiochus* two years before, by making him present at this also (22); but it appears from the author of the *Maccabees*, who rightly distinguishes these two persecutions, that the one was executed in the presence of that monarch, and the other by his vicegerent *Apollonius*.

(F) In the time of this persecution under *Antiochus*, is generally supposed to have lived *Jesús* the son of *Syrac*, author of the apocryphal book of *Ecclesiasticus*. Some place him indeed in the time of *Onias* II. (23); but, by some passages scattered here

and there in his work, he seems rather to have lived about the time of *Onias* III. and at a time when his nation suffered some grievous persecution[†]. He praises the high-priest *Simon* II. as a person long since dead (24). His grandson did afterwards translate this book into *Greek*, under the reign of *Ptolemy Evergetes* (25), about the year 132, that is, about thirty-six years after this time we suppose him to have wrote it.

Who this author was, is neither agreed nor easily guessed. Some make him of the sacerdotal line, as descended from *Josbua* the son of *Josedech* (26). Some *Greek* copies give him for grandfather *Elean-*

(22) l. xii. c. 7. (23) Vide *Frid. Connell. sub ann.* 132. [†] Vide *Eccles.* xxxv. 17. & seq. & xxvi. pass. (24) *Ibid.* l. 1. & seq. (25) See his preface at the head of the book, which is the second in our bible. (26) Vide *Genebr. in Chron.* & al.

Jews persecut-
ed every-where.

Samaritans
policy.

A cruel perse-
cution in Ju-
dæa.

THE *Jews of Palestine* were not the only ones who felt the fury of this persecu-^a tion. *Antiochus*, resolved either totally to abolish their religion, or to destroy their whole race, as far at least as he could reach them, caused a decree to be issued out the following year, that all nations within his dominions should forsake their old religion and gods, and worship those of the king, under the severest penalties. To make his orders more effectual, he sent overseers into every province to see them strictly put in execution; and as the *Jews* were the only people who he knew would disobey them, so especial directions were given to have them treated with the utmost severity. Many therefore of them, either to avoid the effects of his rage, or to ingratiate themselves to him, did not only comply with great readiness, but having once apostatized, became the bitterest enemies of those who had the courage to refuse; ^b all which did but increase the already too general defection, as it did on the other hand the sufferings of those who stood firm to their religion^c. As for the *Samaritans*, a much less danger would have cooled all their zeal, either for the *Jewish* nation, or the *Mosaic* law. To convince the king therefore that they did not design to die martyrs to either, they sent a deputation to him, setting forth, that tho' they had hitherto conformed in many of the *Jewish* superstitions, in imitation of their forefathers, who had been persuaded to it for their own safety, yet they were now ready to forsake them all, and to embrace the king's religion. They added, that they had a temple on mount *Garizzim*, which was dedicated to a God without a name (G); but begged it might thenceforth be dedicated to the *Grecian Jupiter*, as *Josephus* has ^c it, or rather, as the author of the *Maccabees* calls him^d, the hospitaller, or, the receiver or protector of strangers, intimating thereby, that they were not originally natives of that country, but strangers settled there in times past. They concluded with a petition, that as they were not of *Jewish*, but *Sidonian* race, and were ready to conform in every thing to the king's will, they might not be involved in the same calamities with their wicked rivals. *Antiochus* readily granted them their request, and dispatched a letter to *Nicanor* his sub-governor there, with orders that they should be distinguished from the *Jews*, and that their temple should be dedicated according to their petition; all which was punctually observed.

WHILST the *Samaritans* peacefully enjoyed the fruits of their treacherous com-^d plaisance, *Athenas*, an old minister, well versed in all the *Heathenish* rites, as well as in cruelty, did make those of *Judæa* undergo the most severe punishments for their stedfastness to their religion. He began with dedicating the temple to *Jupiter Olympius*, and causing his statue to be erected on the altar of burnt-offerings (H), with another

^d JOSEPH. ubi supra. 1 MACCAB. vi. 21, & seq.

^c 2 MACCAB. vi. 1, 2. Vide & JOSEPH. antiq. l. xii. c. 7.

for the father of *Syrac* of *Jerusalem*; but we find nothing like this pretended priesthood or descent in those places of the book where he speaks more particularly of himself (27). Only it appears, that his great thirst after wisdom (28) made him pray fervently, study hard, travel much, and undergo many great dangers for it (29); that he had been unjustly traduced to the king (30); whence he is supposed to have retired into *Egypt*, and there composed his book. Lastly he tells us, that he was the last writer of the *Jewish* nation who treated of moral subjects (31). This is all that we know of the author.

As to the work, which was anciently called *Παραπτοε*, that is, according to the *Greek* energy, the store or treasure of all virtues, we shall have occasion to speak of it, when we come to the time of its being translated into *Greek*. Some ancients, particularly *St. Auspin* (32), thought once the same person the author of the book of *Wisdom*, as well as of this of *Ecclesiasticus*, but he owns his mistake in another place. And as to the latter of these, it is not known who wrote it, only it is generally believed, that it was never wrote originally in *Hebrew*, because there are none of those *Hebraisms* in it, which are every-

where found in other versions out of that language; and there are in it many *Greek* ones, which convince one, that it was originally written in that language. This might be sufficient to confute those who pretend it to have been originally written in *Hebrew*, and by king *Solomon* (33); but, besides this, we may urge against them the unlikeness of style with his other writings; its never being mentioned by *Jewish* authors; its being rejected out of their canon, and many more too obvious to be mentioned.

(G) We have, in a former volume (†), acquainted our readers, that the *Jews*, after their return from the *Babylonish* captivity, had left off pronouncing the name *Jehovah*, and substituted that of *Adonai* to it, where-ever it occurred in their reading of the sacred books. As therefore the temple was simply called the house or temple of God, and oftner emphatically the house or temple, without adding any proper name, the *Samaritans* made this a pretence for calling theirs the temple of a nameless deity, as the superstitious *Jews* called that name of God, *Αἰνδιον*, unutterable, or unlawful to be uttered.

(H) This idol was set up in the temple on the fifteenth of the month *Cisleu*, which answers to part of our *November* and *December*; but they did not begin

(27) Vide int. ad. *Ecclesiast.* c. i. 29. l. 27, & seq. li. pass. & alib. (28) Ibid. xxxiv. 10, & seq. li. pass.
(29) xxxiv. 22. li. pass. (30) Ibid. & seq. (31) xxiii. 16, & seq. (32) De doctr. Christi. l. ii.
(33) *Sext. Sem. bibl.* l. viii. *Salmer. chr.* a *Castro*, & al. (†) Vol. I. p. 484. (T).

- a another lesser altar before it, whereon they sacrificed to that false deity. All those therefore that refused to come and worship it, were either massacred out of hand, or put to some more lingering torments, till they either complied, or died under the hand of their butchers. At the same time there were altars, groves and statues set up in every city and town of *Judæa*, to which the inhabitants were compelled to come and sacrifice, under the same severe penalties; insomuch that the whole land was but a scene, either of the most abominable idolatries and debaucheries, or of the most horrid butcheries; and when the feast of *Bacchus* was come, they were either forced to assist at it, and to go about the streets with their heads crowned with ivy, in honour of that beastly deity, or exposed themselves to some cruel death. All this while it was made immediate death to be caught observing either the sabbath, the rite of circumcision, or any other branch of the *Mosaic* law; insomuch that two women having been found to have circumcised the children of which they had been lately delivered, were both led, with the infants hung about their necks, through several streets of *Jerusalem*, and cast headlong down from the highest walls of the city, and all that had assisted at the ceremony were put to death ^z.

- THESE unheard-of barbarities having obliged many of the *Jews* to leave their habitations, and to go and hide themselves among the cragged rocks in holes and caverns, and to live upon wild roots and herbs, to avoid either death or apostasy, some of them ventured to assemble themselves in a cavern near *Jerusalem*, to celebrate the sabbath. c But *Philip* their barbarous *Phrygian* governor having been informed of it, came against them with a sufficient force; and after having in vain offered them a general amnesty, if they would forsake their religion, and conform to that of the king, he waited, without any other hostilities, till the next sabbath; on which day entering the cave without resistance, he caused them all, men, women and children, to be massacred, to the number of a thousand ^b. As to the sacred *Jewish* books, *Philip* and his officers had taken care to burn and destroy all that they could lay hands on, whether in the temple, in their synagogues, or even in their private houses; after which, if any *Jew* was found to conceal any of them, he was dragged to immediate death ¹. They had several other ways of trying those who retained still a due regard d to the law of *Moses*; and in order to make as many as they could comply with the king's command, they spared neither flatteries nor caresses to encourage, nor threats and tortures to deter them; so that, tho' vast numbers were seduced by these means, yet there were still a sufficient number, especially in and about *Jerusalem*, who continued proof against them, to vex the tyrant for not being universally obeyed.

As soon therefore as he heard that there were such numbers who remained still inflexible, he resolved to come in person to *Jerusalem*, and to see either his orders

^z *MACCAB. & JOSEPH. ubi supra.*

^b *2 MACCAB. vi. 10, & seq.*

¹ *1 MACCAB. i. 56, & seq.*

begin to offer sacrifices to it till the twenty-fifth of that month, which was the king's birth-day; so that from thenceforth they continued sacrificing to it every twenty-fifth day of the month, till the *Jewish* religion and state were restored by *Judas Maccabeus*.

The profanation of the temple, and the setting up this idol in it, had been long before foretold by the prophet *Daniel* (34), under the name of abomination of desolation; but there are in that chapter many other strokes, which do plainly delineate this persecution, and the tyrant that caused it. We shall content ourselves with subjoining some of the plainest of them.

This expedition begins at the 19th verse of that chapter thus; *He shall return at the time appointed, and come towards the south (Egypt); but he shall not be as the former or as the latter; for the ships of Chittim (the Romans) shall come against him; therefore he shall be grieved, and return with indignation (or turn his indignation) against the holy covenants (the Jewish religion.) Thus shall he do, he shall get intelligence of those that forsake the covenant. Arms shall stand on his side, and he shall pollute the sanctuary of strength, and shall take away the daily sacrifice, and they shall place the abomination (or abominable thing)*

that maketh desolate; and such as do wickedly against the covenants, shall be corrupt by flatteries. But the people that know their God shall behave valiantly, and such as have understanding, and instruct the people, (divert them from apostatizing) shall fall by the sword, by flame, by captivity, by spoil. — And the king shall do according to his will, and shall exalt and magnify himself above every god. He shall speak wonderful things against the God of gods, and shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished; for that which is determined shall be done, &c. The same prophet points him out there by his scattering the prey, spoil and riches among his followers; and it is well known, that his extravagant largesses had not only emptied his coffers, but gained him the title of magnanimous and munificent.

The reader may remember, that whilst *Antiochus* was preparing himself for the conquest of *Egypt*, the *Romans* sent their deputies to him, who obliged him to set aside that enterprize; for which he vented his resentment on the innocent *Jews* in the manner we have related, and exactly as it had been foretold in the prophecy before us; so that it is impossible not to know that he was the person designed by providence to be the scourge of his people.

Eleazar mar-
tyred.

Seven brethren
and their mo-
ther martyred.

more punctually obeyed, or the recusants punished with the most exquisite cruelties. ^a One of the first that fell a victim to his fury was the venerable *Eleazar*, a man of ninety years of age, respected by all for his great learning, probity, and zeal for his religion, and whose example had preserved a great number of *Jews* from falling into apostasy. Him they brought upon the butchering stage, and endeavoured to force him to eat swines flesh; and when they could not prevail upon him by any means to comply, they desired him that at least he would, out of regard to his extreme old age, consent to eat some other unforbidden flesh, that they might make the king believe that he had obeyed. The good old man answered with a becoming courage, that the most dreadful death was preferable to such a base dissimulation, so unworthy his old age and character, and so dangerous in its consequence, since it might be a means of ^b seducing many of his nation to follow his example. As soon as he had ended this speech, which was interpreted as the effect of his pride rather than of his zeal, he was haled to execution; and when he was ready to expire under the strokes of his butchers, he gave a great groan, and expired with these words in his mouth, O Lord, thou knowest what pains I suffer in my body, from which I might have freed myself; but my soul feels a real joy, because I suffer them for the sake of thy law ^k. After him the seven brethren, whose martyrdom is related in the same book ⁱ, suffered, one after another, the most exquisite torments with invincible courage and constancy, whilst their heroic mother, divested of all the weakness of her sex, stood by encouraging and strengthening them in the *Hebrew* tongue, with the assurance of a glori- ^c ous recompence in the next life, for which she was, last of all, sacrificed to the tyrant's fury, and died with the same cheerfulness and intrepidity, which she had inspired into her seven sons (I).

It was about this time that *Mattathias*, an eminent priest of the family of *Joarib* (K), began to signalize himself by his brave zeal for his religion. He had been some time before forced to retire to *Modin* his native place, to shun the sight of those scenes of cruelty and profaneness, which were acted at *Jerusalem* by *Apollonius* and the apostate *Jews*. During his recess there, *Apelles*, one of the king's officers, came to oblige the inhabitants of the place to execute his commands ^m. Having got the people together, with *Mattathias* and his five sons (L), he addressed himself to him ^d on account of his dignity, and the great esteem he was in, hoping, that if he could persuade him to comply, his example would soon draw all the re... He made him in vain the amplest promises, that the king's favour and protection, both of him and

^k 2 MACCAB. vi. 18, & seq.

ⁱ cap. vii.

^m JOSEPH. ANT. l. xii. c. 8. 1 MACCAB. ii. 1, & seq.

(I) *Josephus* has likewise given us the history at large of those heroic martyrs, in a book by itself, which was intitled, *Of the empire of reason*. It is now better known to us by that of the book of the *Maccabees*; but as neither he, nor the author of the second book of that name, do expressly mention the place where this dreadful scene was acted, *Rufinus* has taken it into his head, that it was done at *Antioch* (35), because they shewed their tomb in that city in St. *Jerom's* time, and had there built and dedicated a church to them (36). But as *Josephus* seems to believe that it was done at *Jerusalem* (37), and is followed by many learned men, and *Rufinus* gives no better reason than that of his tradition, we see no reason for following him, as some others have done (38); it being more likely that *Jerusalem* should be the place, where, above all others, the *Jews* shewed the greatest firmness for their religion, and consequently where such severe examples were thought most necessary by that exasperated prince.

Josephus, in the book above-quoted, gives us the names of those seven brothers, and of their mother, whom he calls *Solomona*; but the *Jews* call her *Hannah*. He adds, that she flung herself into a large fire which was there kindled, to prevent the executioners laying their profane hands on her. The *La-*

tin version says, that she was dragged on the ground to execution, where having cut off her breasts, and scourged her naked body, they flung her into a boiling caldron. *Rufinus* is of the same opinion (39).

The *Arabic* version, and *Josephus Ben-Gurion* on the contrary say, that having lived to see her seven sons martyred, and lying dead on the ground before her, she flung herself in the midst of them, and prayed to God to take her out of this world; and that she immediately fell upon them, and expired. An ancient poet makes her die of excess of joy, in these words: *Solverunt gaudia matrem* (40).

(K) We have already spoken of this family, which was the first of the twenty-four classes appointed by *David* to officiate at the temple (41), and was one of the four that returned from the captivity. *Mattathias* was the son of *John*, the son of *Simon*, the son of *Asimoneus*, from whom descended the *Asimoneus* (42). From this *Mattathias* descended the *Maccabees*, so famed in history for their zeal and bravery, and of whom we shall speak in the following section.

(L) These were *Johanan*, surnamed *Kaddis*, *Simon*, surnamed *Thassi*, *Judas*, called *Maccabeus*, and the most famous of all the rest, *Eleazar*, surnamed *Avarani*, and *Jonathan*, surnamed *Apphus* (43).

(35) *Paraphr. in lib. de imper. ration.*
serm. de Maccab. i.

Calmes.

(37) *Antiq. l. xii. c. 7. & lib. de imper. ration.*

(39) *Paraphr. in lib. de imper. ration.*

(41) 1 Chron. xxiv. 7.

(42) *Joseph. antiq. l. xii. c. 8.*

(36) *Vide Hieron. loc. Hebr. sub voce Modin, & August.*

(38) *N. de Lyra, Serrav.*

(40) *Victorin. African. poem. in Maccab.*

(43) 1 Maccab. ii. 15, & 28.

^a his sons, would be the immediate reward of his compliance. *Mattathias* answered him, with a voice loud enough to be heard by all the assembly, that tho' the whole Jewish nation, and the whole world, were to conform to the king's edict, yet both he and his sons would continue faithful to their God to the last minute of their lives, and that no consideration should prevail on them to forsake the religion of their forefathers. In the mean time some of the king's officers had prevailed on some cowardly Jews to take another way, and one of them was just then offering himself to sacrifice to an idol, when the good old priest calling to mind what the law of *Moses* ordains against such transgressors, that they should be put to immediate death ^o, fell upon the man, and killed him upon the spot. His sons at the same time, being fired with the same zeal, killed the king's officer and his men, overthrew the altar and idol, and running about the city, cried out, that those who were zealous for the law of God should follow them; by which means they saw themselves at the head of a numerous troop, with whom they soon after withdrew into some of the deserts of *Judea*. These were presently followed by great numbers of others, who, to avoid persecution, flocked to him from other parts of the country ^p; so that the deserts of *Judea* were filled every-where with them.

As soon as *Mattathias* and his men were come into a place of safety, they set themselves on consulting the best means for standing on their own defence. Here the remembrance of those of their brethren, who had suffered themselves to be butchered by their enemies on the sabbath, soon made them sensible of their danger, unless they steered a different course; for as long as they continued in that scrupulous notion of nonresistance for fear of breaking the sabbath, they would be still liable to the same stratagems, and by that means, in a little time, be totally extirpated. Having therefore maturely weighed the matter, and consulted other learned priests and rulers that were come over to him, it was resolved, that, for the future, it should be lawful, nay obligatory, to take up arms in their own defence, whenever they were attacked, on the sabbath as well as on any other day ^p. This decree having been privately communicated to the Jews in and out of *Palestine*, together with their reasons for passing it, was universally received by all; and from that time they made no difficulty to defend their lives and properties at all times, and upon all occasions. Among those who resorted to, and did not a little strengthen the little flying army of *Mattathias*, were the *Assideans*, or rather *Hasideans*, a brave and strenuous sect, ^{The Assideans join Mattathias.} formed among the Jews soon after their return from the captivity. We have already given some account of them in a former volume [†]; the rest the curious reader may find in the margin (M). These being known to be the most strict observers of the Jewish laws and traditions ^q, their example did very much influence the rest in the late decision, and encourage them to set aside their scruples about the sabbath, whenever the safety of their lives came in competition with the observance of it.

^c *Mattathias* having by this time strengthened his little army with these and other stout and religious men, who daily resorted to him, began to come down with them into the plains, and to try his force not only against their persecutors, but also against his apostate brethren. As many of these as he caught, he put to death; the rest, in ^{Mattathias restores the worship of God.}

^o DEUTER. xiii. 6, & seq.
p. 732, (N).

^q JOSEPH. 2 MACCAB. ubi supra.
² 3 MACCAB. ii. 42.

^p Idem ibid.

[†] Vol. I.

(M) We have already seen what their doctrine was concerning *meum* and *sumum* ^{*}. They differed likewise from the *Zaddikim* their opposite sect, in that these contented themselves with observing all that was written in the *Mosaic* law, without troubling themselves with the traditions, comments and constitutions of the elders; whereas the *Assideans* insisted upon a strict observance of all.

Scaliger supposes them, not without some good reasons (44), to have been rather a fraternity than a sect of Jews, who had given themselves up more strictly than the rest to the service of the temple, to the keeping up the repairs of that place, and the divine worship in it. To this end, besides the half shekel which every man was to pay towards it, they contributed other voluntary sums. They likewise

sacrificed every day, except that of the grand expiation [†], a lamb, besides those of the daily sacrifice; and this was called the sin-offering of the *Assideans*. They practised greater hardships and mortifications than the rest, and their common oath was, by the temple. To their zeal and love for that sacred place, now polluted and profaned, was owing their coming to *Mattathias*, and that courage which they shewed from thenceforth under him and his brave offspring; for the book of the *Maccabees* expressly says, that they were mighty men of *Israel*, and wholly devoted to the law. Whether the sect of the *Essenians*, or any other, sprang from the *Assideans*, we shall have occasion to speak in another place.

^{*} Vol. I. p. 732.

(44) *Elench. Triharez.* c. 22.

[†] De hoc, vide Vol. I. p. 617, & seq.

much

much greater numbers, he forced to fly into foreign countries, to secure themselves ^a from his resentment. Having once injected an universal fear on all his enemies, he marched from city to city, overturned the idolatrous altars, opened the *Jewish* synagogues, which had, till then, been either shut, or appropriated to other uses; made a diligent search after all the sacred books which had escaped the fury of their enemies, and ordered fresh copies to be written of them; caused the reading and expounding of the scriptures, prayers, and other parts of divine worship to be resumed (N), and all the males born since the persecution to be circumcised ^r. In all these God blessed him with such success, that he had extended this reformation through a considerable part of *Judæa*, within the short space of one year; and had in all likelihood gone through with it, even to *Jerusalem*, where the strongest *Syrian* garison was kept, had ^b he not been prevented with death. But what he left unfinished, was soon after perfected by his worthy sons, especially by *Judas Maccabeus*, of whom we shall speak more fully in the next section.

His last speech
to his sons.

In the meantime *Mattathias*, finding himself quite worn out with age and sickness, called his sons together, and spoke to them to this effect, Hitherto pride and oppression have been suffered to prosper over us, for a punishment of our sins; but now be ye valiant and zealous for God's laws, and fear not to expose your lives in defence of God's covenant with your forefathers, if you expect the reward promised to it. Call to your remembrance the obedience of *Abraham*, the faithfulness of *Joseph*, the zeal of *Phineas*, *Caleb's* courage, *David's* constancy, *Elijah's* zeal, and the intrepidity of ^c *Daniel*, and his faithful companions. Let their miraculous deliverances inspire you with a sure trust in the Almighty's protection. Be not discouraged by the threats and weak efforts of the greatest men, who, tho' they seem to triumph now, will shortly be cut off, and become the food of worms; but arm yourselves with courage in defence of our laws, liberties and religion, and you will not fail of success. *Simon*, your eldest brother, has always shewed himself a man of consummate wisdom; let him supply the office of a father and a counsellor, and do nothing without his advice. *Judas* is well known to you all for his valour and conduct; let him be your general, and lead you against your enemies. And may heaven crown his and your valour with glory and success. Having thus said, he expired in a good old age, and was ^d buried at *Modin* with his ancestors, greatly lamented by all the faithful in *Israel* (O). He was, according to his desire, succeeded by his brave son *Judas*, in the command of the army; and by him the *Jewish* religion and state were soon after restored to their ancient splendor, as we shall see in the next section.

His death.
Year of the
flood 2833.
Before Christ
166.

^r 1 MACCAB. ii. 43, &c seq.

^b Ibid, ver. 49. ad fin.

(N) We have already taken notice, that the king's prohibition extended only to the five books of *Moses*; which had therefore been taken away from them, and been either burnt and destroyed, or polluted with blood, swine's broth, idolatrous pictures, and other such defilements, which rendered them unfit for future service, and to which therefore he substituted new ones, which he caused to be transcribed from the best copies.

But this had not obstructed the lecture of other sacred books, the *Prophets* and *Hagiographa*, amongst those who had persisted in the exercise of their religion, and who then substituted these to the pentateuch; so that when the public worship came to be restored, and the law to be again read and expounded as formerly, they still retained also the reading and explaining the other books; and this occasioned double lessons, one out of the law, and the other out of the prophets, &c. which continued ever after; and for the understanding of which, new *targums* or paraphrases in the *Chaldee* were compiled by proper persons, as we have elsewhere hinted in this chapter ^{*}.

(O) The first book of *Maccabees* doth barely tell us, that he died in the one hundred and forty-sixth Year, without mentioning whether of his life, or of the æra of the *Selencida*. Some therefore have taken it in the former sense; but the far greater part in the latter; for the one hundred and forty-sixth year of the kingdom of the *Greeks* falls exactly with the *Julian* year 166 before Christ, which is the year in which he died (45).

His deciding the point about the necessity of taking arms on the sabbath, has made several learned men, both *Jews* and *Christians*, fancy that he had been high-priest of the *Jews* (46); but it is plain he did not determine the case by his own authority, but by the advice of such learned men as were with him; neither doth the book of *Maccabees* or *Josephus* say any thing of this imaginary dignity. It appears on the contrary, that *Menelaus* was still alive, and in credit at the court of *Antiochus*, and was succeeded by his brother *Alcimus*, of whom we shall speak in the sequel.

^{*} *Supra*, p. 14. (Z).

(45) *Vide* *Klffer. & Prid. sub ann.*

(46) *Joseph ben-Gorion. Aben. Ezra.*

& al. Serrav. Enller. Genebr. & al.

S E C T. III.

The sequel of the Jewish history, from Judas Maccabeus, to the conquest of Judæa by the Romans.

- a **JUDAS**, surnamed *Maccabeus*, from whom the heroes of this epocha had the name of *Maccabees* (P), did not suffer his troops to continue longer idle than till they had ended the days of his father's mourning. His little army amounted to no

Judas Maccabeus succeeds his father.

(P) There are various conjectures concerning the etymology of this word, and not one of them to be depended upon; not only because nothing is more uncertain than etymologies, but because the book of the *Maccabees* being only extant in *Greek*, we have no certainty which were the original letters of the word; so that some have taken the middle letter to have been a *π*, others a *μ*, others the *β*, according to which the sense of the verb will vary exceedingly.

It might indeed appear at first sight, that the *Maccabees* were so called from the *Hebrew* מַכְבֵּה, *Muchabeh*, or *Meuchabeh*, hid, as a term of contempt, because they hid themselves in holes and caverns; and that having afterwards wiped off the reproach of it by their bravery, they retained still that appellation in memory of their former abscon- sion; or from the word *Makkebab*, which signifies a cavern; and so they might be called *caverners*, or *lurkers in caverns*.

Others derive it from the verba *macab* to wound, from *makab* to perforate, from *hakab* to supplant; all which they do, by some seeming analogy, apply either to those *Jewish* heroes who fought, or to those who suffered martyrdom for their religion, whether in *Judas* or out of it. *Rufinus* above-men- tioned tells us indeed, that the eldest of the seven brethren who suffered under *Antiochus*, was called *Maccabeus*; and that all the rest who fought or suf- fered for the same cause with him, were called *Maccabei*; but he gives us no authority for it but his own.

The most general opinion is, that it was taken from the four initial letters מַכְבֵּה of the 15th verse of the 15th of *Exodus*, *Mi camoca baelim Jehovah*, Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the gods? which four letters are supposed to have been em- broyded upon their standards and shields, in the manner of the *Romans* S. P. Q. R. That the *Jews* were afterwards fond of these abbreviations, appears from those of the treble or quadruple name of their learned *Rabbies*; such is that of *RAMBAN* for *Rabbi Moses Ben Maimon*; *RALBAG* for *Rabbi Levi-ben Gershom*, and many more (1); but whether or no these kind of abbreviations were so ancient as the *Maccabees*, it seems plain from the text, that *Judas* had that surname long before he displayed his stand- ards against his enemies (2); not by anticipation, but in the same manner as his other brethren had each his different one, of which it would still be more difficult to find the cause or meaning.

However that be, *Judas* the *Jewish* chief seems to have bore it by way of eminence; and from him it passed to his brethren and successors, and thence to all who took up arms, or died for the *Jewish* cause; and lastly, it was given to the books which contain the history of those wars and persecutions, and of which it will be therefore necessary to give our readers a short account, before we close this note.

The first book of the *Maccabees* was written origi- nally, either in *Hebrew* or in the *Chaldee*, which be-

came the current language of the *Jews* after the capti- vity. Its style and phrase come nearest that of the sa- cred historians of any of the *Apocrypha*, and its chro- nological computation is purely *Hebrew*, and begins al- ways at the month *Nisan*, answering to our *March* and *April*; whereas the *Syrians*, &c. began their year six months later. *St. Jerom* tells us, that he had seen it in the former (3); and *Origen* tells us, that it was intitled *Sharbis Sar Bene El*, or, the sceptre of the prince of the sons of God (4); or, according to others, (who read *Sarbene* in one word, and with the samech instead of the shin) the sceptre of the rebels against the Lord, intimating, that the *Maccabees* had main- tained the divine sceptre or power, against those who had rebelled against it; but the original has been long since lost, and the *Greek* version is now reckoned the most authentic.

It contains a clear and succinct history of what happened to the *Jews*, from the reign of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, to the death of the high-priest *Simon* (5); that is, of about forty years. It was partly com- piled from the memoirs which *Judas Maccabeus* had caused to be collected (6), and partly from those of the high-priest *Hyrannus* the son of *Simon*, who began his government where the book ends, and who is therefore by some supposed to be the author of it, tho' he be barely quoted in it as having tur- nished him the materials out of his chronicle (7), and seems therefore to have lived after him.

Theodotion is generally supposed to have translated this book into *Greek*; but it being quoted by some fathers as ancient as that writer, seem to argue this version to be of older date. It is however from this that our *English* version was made.

The second book of the *Maccabees* is, as we have observed in another section, an epitome of a larger history written by one *Jason*, but long since lost. Both the author and the abridger seem to have been *Hellenists*, by their manner of computation and style; or rather it looks like a collection of some valuable pieces relating to the *Jewish* history, from the attempt of *Heliodorus* upon the treasury of the temple, to the signal victory which *Judas Macca- beus* gained over *Nicanor* fifteen years after.

It begins with two letters from the Sanhedrin at *Jerusalem*, one to the *Jews* of *Alexandria*, the other to those in *Egypt*, to notify to them the purification of the temple, and dedication of the new altar, in- stead of that which had been polluted with the idol of *Jupiter*, and to exhort them to join in the cele- bration of the festival of it on the twenty-fifth of the month *Cisleu*. But both these letters are esteem- ed even more apocryphal than the rest of the history, and therefore neither of them need be longer dwelt upon.

We have already spoken of the third book of the *Maccabees*, as previous in time to these two, and in authority to the latter of them. We shall likewise refer the reader to what we subjoined in that note concerning the fourth book of that name.

(1) De his, vide Wolf. bibl. rabbin. & Buxtorf. tract. de abbreviatur.

(2) Prolog. galen.

(3) Apud Euseb. hist. eccl. l. vi. c. ult. & Comm. in Psal. Vol. I. edit. Huetian.

(5) Vide 1 Maccab. cap. ult. ver. 11. & seq.

(6) 2 Maccab. ii. 14.

(7) 1 Maccab. xvi. ver. ult.

more than six thousand men^a; but what they wanted in number, they made up in a zeal and bravery, and God gave them such success, that they quickly got into some of the strongest fortresses of *Judæa*, fell upon their enemies so suddenly, and with such courage, that they drove them out of their cities, villages and advantageous posts; insomuch that *Judas's* name began to become terrible to the *Syrians*, *Samaritans* and apostate *Jews*, whilst those who had forsook their country to avoid persecution, were encouraged to resort daily to him from their retreats, whereby his troops increased to a degree as to make *Apollonius*, the then governor of *Judæa* and *Samaria*, think it high time to suppress their growing power, before it was grown to a greater height. He hastened therefore to raise a considerable army, which chiefly consisted of *Samaritans*, *Jewish* renegadoes, and other neighbouring nations, with whom he b marched against the *Maccabean* chief. *Judas*, on the other hand, in no ways terrified with the superiority of the enemy, came out against him with his handful of men, and gave him a total defeat. *Apollonius* was killed on the spot, with a great number of his men. The rest were put to the rout, leaving a rich plunder behind them. Among the rest of the spoil, *Judas* took the slain governor's sword, and used it ever after in those wars which he waged against the enemies of the *Jewish* nation^b.

THIS defeat so enraged *Antiochus*, that upon his hearing the first news of it, he swore again the total extirpation of the *Jews*; and happy was it for them that his treasury was then so exhausted by his extravagant largesses, that he was forced to suppress his resentment, till he could raise a sufficient supply of money to renew the war against them; but before he could accomplish this, another of his generals c received likewise a signal overthrow. This was *Seron*, deputy-governor of *Cælo-Syria*^c under *Ptolemy Macron*, who took it into his head to come against *Judas*, in hopes, that if he could defeat that little army of his before the king sent more forces thither, he should gain no small glory by it. He advanced therefore with his troops as far as *Bethoron*, where *Judas* met him with a handful of his men. These seeing the superiority of the enemy, expressed a great reluctance to engage, fatigued as they were with marching and fasting (Q); but *Judas* soon dispelled their fears, by reminding them, that they fought the cause of God, who was not wont to save by strength or number, and whose glory, now concerned in their success, would display itself the more, by the disproportion there was between their two armies. Having thus put d new life into them, they fell upon the *Syrians* with such vigour, that *Seron* was overthrown and killed, with eight hundred of his men, on the spot. Some of the rest fled as far as *Bethoron*, and the greatest part saved themselves by running into the land of the *Philistines*^d. These continued successes of the new *Jewish* general made *Philip* governor of *Judæa* think it high time to acquaint *Antiochus* with the danger that province was in of being lost, if not speedily relieved. *Antiochus* had then left the government to *Lysias*, whilst himself was gone beyond the *Euphrates*, as we have seen elsewhere*. *Lysias*, who had orders to invade *Judæa*, and to destroy all the *Jews*, e dispatched immediately to *Ptolemy Macron*, governor of *Cælo-Syria* and *Phœnicia*, and to *Nicanor* and *Georgias*, two experienced officers, forty thousand foot, with orders to see the king's commands punctually obeyed against the *Jewish* nation. These came and encamped on the plains of *Emmaus*, not far from *Jerusalem*, about twenty miles from *Lydda*, where they were reinforced with seven thousand horse. *Nicanor*, who had resolved to raise, if possible, the sum of two thousand talents, which the king his master did owe to the *Romans*, caused proclamation to be made in all the cities and sea-ports round about, that he would sell his *Jewish* captives at the rate of ninety for a talent; and this brought a great concourse of merchants, who came with large sums of money to purchase those captives. Our author reckons no less than a thou-

*Nicanor and
Georgias sent
against Judas.*

^a 2 MACCAB. viii. 1.
^d Ibid. ver. 14, & seq.

^b 1 MACCAB. iii. 10, & seq. JOSEPH. ubi supra.
* See before, Vol. III. p. 582, ad 587.

^c MACCAB. iii. 13.

(Q) It was, it seems, this *Hebrew* general's method to keep a fast before they engaged the enemy (9); and here their march, fast and onset so closely followed, that his men began to despond of the victory, when they saw the superiority of *Seron's* army to theirs.

As for *Bethoron*, it was, according to St. *Jerom* and *Eusebius*, about twelve thousand paces from *Jerusalem* (10); but, according to *Josephus*, one hundred stades (11). It was situate northward of *Jerusalem*, and between that metropolis and *Shushem* (12).

(9) 1 MACCAB. iii. 17, & seq.
(12) *Hierom. ubi supra.*

(10) Loc. Hebr.

(11) *Conf. antiq. l. xx. c. 4. & bell. Judaic. c. 11.*

- a fand of them, besides a great number of servants, who brought chains and other materials to convey them away *.

Judas being thoroughly apprised of this bloody apparatus against his nation, gathered his little army together, consisting only of six thousand men, and reminded them, not only of his late signal victories, but of those which had been formerly gained in a more miraculous manner against *Senacherib*, and other powerful enemies of the *Jews*; and particularly of a recent one, which six thousand of their nation had gained over an army of one hundred and twenty thousand *Gauls* and *Macedonians* †. However, concluded he, remember, that, let the success be what it will, it is still more glorious to die sword in hand, in defence of our religion, lives and liberties, than to fall into the hands of an enemy fully determined to our utter destruction.

- b After this exhortation, he was obliged, by the *Mosaic* law, to make a proclamation, that all who had married wives, planted vineyards, &c. or whose hearts failed, should depart ‡; and this carried off near one half of his men, whilst the rest who remained intrepid, were scarcely furnished with weapons fit for so bold and unequal an enterprise †. However, he led his three thousand men to *Mizpa* (R), there to implore the divine assistance, by prayer, fasting and sacrifices, in confidence of which he marched with them against the enemy, and encamped as near them as he safely could, resolved to give them battle early on the next morning, of which he gave his troops notice that very night †. In the mean time news were brought to him by some of his scouts, that *Georgias* was coming at the head of five thousand of his choicest men, and one thousand horse, to surprise him in his camp; which gave him such an opportunity of countermining him, as gained him a complete and easy victory; for taking the advantage of *Georgias*'s absence, he and his three thousand men fell on a sudden on the *Syrian* army, killed three thousand of their men, and put the rest to flight, and into such confusion, that they could not be rallied again by any means, but left their camp, and all their baggage and spoil, behind them, and fled. *Georgias* having in vain fought for his enemy, whom he supposed to have retired again into the mountains, was returning back to his army, when he perceived his camp on fire, which threw his men into such a panic, that, in spite of all he could do to prevent it, they threw down their arms, and ran after the rest. *Judas* did not leave off pursuing them, till he had killed six thousand more of their men, besides a great number of maimed and wounded; after which he led his victorious troop to plunder the enemies camp, where, among other rich spoil, they found that money which the greedy merchants had brought to buy the *Jewish* captives with. This signal victory was gained on the *Friday*, and the next day, being their sabbath, was celebrated with suitable returns to the divine providence for their miraculous deliverance †.

- c THIS defeat proved doubly advantageous to the conqueror. It furnished him with quantities of arms and ammunition for his men, and his fame drew daily fresh reinforcements from all parts of *Judea*, whom his success encouraged to repair to him from all the places of their dispersion; so that he found himself soon after in a condition to attempt another action, which proved no less glorious and successful to him. *Timotheus*, governor of the country beyond *Jordan*, and *Bacchides*, another experienced officer of the *Syrian* army, had joined their forces, and were coming against him, with a design to retrieve their late defeat; but *Judas* was by this time so well reinforced, that he met and overthrew them in a set battle, killed twenty thousand of their men, enriched himself with their spoil, got a new supply of provisions for his men, and took presently after several strong fortresses from the disheartened *Syrians*,

* 1 MACCAB. iii. 41. 2 MACC. viii. 34. JOSEPH. l. xii. c. 11. † 2 MACCAB. viii. 19, & seq.
‡ Vide DEUT. xx. 5. § 1 MACCAB. iv. 6. † Ibid. iii. 57, & seq. * Ibid. cap. iv. post.
JOSEPH. ubi supra. 2 MACCAB. viii. 24, & seq.

(R) This place, which is famous in the Old Testament upon many accounts, and where the *Jews* used to assemble themselves to worship before the temple was built (13), was now made choice of upon this occasion, the temple being then polluted, and kept by a *Syrian* garison.

Here they fasted in sackcloth and ashes, whilst *Elezazar*, *Judas*'s brother, read and expounded to

them some proper portions out of the scriptures. The *Nazarites* likewise, who should have performed the conclusion of their vows at the temple †, assembled themselves with the priests in their robes; and, at the close of their fast and prayers, the priestly trumpets gave a signal, as a sure omen of their future victory; and the *Maccabean* chief gave for the watch word, the help of God (14).

(13) Vide int. ad. 1 Sam. vii. 9, & seq. 46, & seq. 2 Maccab. viii. 23, & seq.

† De his, vide Vol. I. p. 631.

(14) 1 Maccab. iii.

Divides the
spoil.

Calisthenes
burnt.

Nicanor's
shameful flight.

Lysias defeated
in Judæa.
Year of the
flood 2834.
Before Christ
165.

which he garisoned with some of his troops, and deposited in them the arms which they had taken from the enemy. In the distribution of all the spoil *Judas's* generosity outwent what was even prescribed by the *Mosaic* law, which intitled none to share it with the combatants, but those who were left to take care of the baggage †; but he caused a considerable part to be divided among his indigent brethren, so that the old, decrepit, the sick and lame, the widows and the fatherless, were made partakers of the fruits of his victories. In this battle was killed one of *Timotheus's* chief officers, named *Philarchus*, who had been a bitter enemy to the *Jews*; and whilst they were making their rejoicings for their success, news were brought, that *Calisthenes*, the man who had first set fire to the gates of the temple, had concealed himself in a little house not far from them; upon which *Judas* dispatched a detachment, who went and set it on fire, and burnt him in it, as a just retaliation for his sacrilege¹. As for *Nicanor*, he saved indeed his life, but lost his honour, being forced to retreat to *Antioch* in the disguise of a servant, and there excuse his late disgrace, by owning, that the *Jews*, when under the protection of their God, were invincible^m.

WHEN *Lysias* heard the news of the total defeat of the army he had sent into *Judæa*, he made all the haste he could to put himself at the head of sixty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, all of the choicest troops he could get; and entering *Judæa* with them through the territories of *Idumea*, was met at *Betbura* (S) by the *Maccabite* general, at the head of only ten thousand men. The two armies engaged, and *Judas*, tho' so much inferior to the *Syrians*, fell upon them with such courage, that he immediately killed five thousand of them on the spot, and routed the rest; and *Lysias* observing that the *Jews* fought like men determined either to conquer or die, dared not venture a second engagement with the remainder of his scared army; but returned to *Antioch*, with a design to bring a much greater force against them by the return of the year (T)ⁿ.

BUT

† Vide NUMB. xxxi. 25, & seq. 1 SAM. xxx. 24. 35, & seq. 1 MACCAB. & JOSEPH. ubi supra.

¹ 2 MACCAB. viii. 30, & seq.

^m Ibid. ver.

ⁿ 1 MACCAB. iv. 30, & seq.

(S) This was a very important fortress about that time. It was in the tribe of *Judah* (15), and had formerly been fortified by king *Rehoboam* (16), it being one of the keys of *Judæa* on the south-side of *Idumea* (17). The second book of the *Maccabees* places it at five furlongs distance from *Jerusalem* (18); but this must be a mistake either of the translator or transcriber, it being, according to *Eusebius*, full twenty miles from it, on the road to *Hebron* (19).

It is likely that this was one of the fortresses which *Judas* had retaken from the *Syrians*, and which *Lysias* came now to besiege; but was defeated in the attempt by the *Jewish* chief, who came immediately from *Bethoron* to its relief.

(T) This is one of the most signal victories that ever *Judas* yet gained against the *Syrians*, and at the same time the most difficult to be accounted for, from the imperfect relation which the *Jewish* authors give us of it. That which he gained against those two experienced generals, *Nicanor* and *Georgias*, was owing to a surprize, the *Syrian* army being attacked in the night, and in the absence of one of their generals, whilst the other, depending on his stratagem, did lie in profound security. In that which he gained over *Timotheus* and *Bacchides*, he killed twenty thousand of their men before they gave ground; neither is it said of either of these two actions, whether *Judas* attacked the two commanders jointly or separately; so that if we may guess, from his character, it is more likely he fell upon them in both, before they had joined their forces.

But in this, *Lysias* comes at the head of sixty thousand choice foot, and ten thousand horse, sets down before *Betbura*, is attacked by only ten thousand men, and has scarcely five thousand of his own killed, a small number out of seventy thousand; before he is routed and so disheartened, as to leave the pro-

vince, and retire to *Antioch*. Our authors do not tell us in what order either side disposed their troops; but from what we have formerly mentioned of the *Jewish* way of fighting †, and even by what we can gather from that of the *Maccabees*, who seem to have still followed the old way, the method was, (whenever their army was too small to make a front equal to that of the enemy) to divide their troops into four or five bodies of a considerable depth, and so fall on the enemy at proportionable distances.

As for the *Syrians*, we may reasonably suppose that they did, like other nations, spread their phalanges according to the number of their troops, and cover at least their two wings with their cavalry; and in this last respect *Lysias* had vastly the advantage, as well as in number, since we find not anywhere that the *Maccabees* made use of any cavalry; for, if they had, it is hardly to be supposed their historians would have omitted mentioning it, as well as that of the enemy.

Let us therefore suppose ever so great a superiority in the *Jewish* army, either in point of courage and experience, knowledge of the ground, advantage of situation, or the like, it will still appear next to a miracle, that seventy thousand choice men of horse and foot should be routed and broken, upon the death of five thousand of their men, and by so small a number as ten thousand, (suppose none of these were either killed or wounded) so as not to be rallied again by their old experienced officers; but that they should, one and all, be flung into such consternation, as to quit both the field and the country to so inferior an enemy.

If therefore the *Jewish* authors have not exaggerated the number of their enemies, we may very well suppose they have their character; and by their defeat,

(15) Vide Josb. xv. 58.

(16) 2 Chron. ii. 7.

(17) 1 Maccab. iv. 61. 2 Maccab. xiii. 19.

(18) chap. xi. 5.

(19) Loc. Hebr.

† Vol. I. p. 550. d.

- a** But all these successes seemed still too small to our *Jewish* general, whilst the sanctuary continued polluted with abominable idols, the temple garrisoned by idolaters, and the city a ruined heap. As soon therefore as their enemies were gone out of the province, *Judas* marched with his army to the metropolis, fully purposed to recover and purify it, and was as cheerfully followed by them. Upon their coming to mount *Sion*, and seeing the desolation in which it did lie, the houses, palaces and gates of the temple burnt down, the courts of the sanctuary over-run with shrubs and briers, the priestly apartments demolished, the altar and holy places profaned, and stripped of all their ancient splendor, they rent their cloaths, covered their heads with dust, filled the air with cries, and other tokens of the liveliest sorrow. As soon as *Judas* observed these first emotions a little assuaged, he posted some of his bravest troops to guard all the avenues of the city from surprize, and then appointed such of the priestly order as had best signalized themselves for their zeal and sanctity, to enter into the temple, and see it thoroughly rid of all its profane lumber, whilst the rest of the people were busy in clearing the streets and places of all their rubbish. Whatever old materials they found, that had undergone any defilement, they broke in pieces, and carried them out of the city, and buried them in some common place, especially the altar of burnt-offerings, which had been so notoriously profaned, that no part of it was fit for future use; and which was therefore demolished, and carried off, and another of unhewn stones substituted to it (V). There were still many things wanting before the divine service could be resumed; the altar of perfumes, the table of shew-bread, the seven-branch candlestick, censers, and other sacred utensils, all of the purest gold, had been carried off, as well as the rich veil which covered the holy of holies: all these therefore the *Jewish* chief caused to be made anew out of the spoils of their enemies; and all being set up in their respective places, and the holy and most holy place repaired, they began the divine worship with the dedication of the new altar, and other holy utensils, on the twenty-fifth day of the month *Cisleu*, it being the very same day on which it had ceased by the profanation of the temple three years before, and in the second year of *Judas's* government.

Comes and purifies the city and temple.

- d** This ceremony, which was performed with all imaginable solemnity, was ushered in with the earliest dawn, by the sound of the trumpets, by raising a fresh fire by the striking of two fire-stones; which was no sooner kindled, than they began with offering the lamb for the daily sacrifice, lighting the lamps, burning the usual portion of incense, and all other parts of the divine service, according to the *Mosaic* law; from which time it was never discontinued, till the destruction of the temple by the *Romans*. This festival was kept eight days with great devotion and joy, after which it was ordered to be solemnized every year in the same manner, by the whole nation, under the name of the feast of the dedications *v*. During this time the front of the temple was adorned with crowns, garlands, escutcheons, and other ornaments

* Ibid. ver. 43, & seq. 2 MACCAB. x. 6, 7.

† 2 MACCAB. iv. 58, & seq.

defeat, and their general's so suddenly retiring from *Judas*, it may be reasonably concluded, that his army, instead of consisting of such choice horse and foot, was only an undisciplined multitude, gathered up in haste, and easily scared at the sight of so brave and resolute an enemy. What confirms this conjecture is, that *Lysias* had much better success the next year, when he came against *Bethzura* with a fresh army, whilst that of *Judas*, as well his fame, and consequently the courage of his troops, increased by every one of these victories.

(V) It seems there arose no small difficulty among the *Jewish* doctors, about disposing of the materials of this old altar. On the one hand, it had been dedicated to, and had a long time been used in the service of God; so that they thought it unlawful to apply them to any common uses. On the other hand, the heathens had polluted it in so many ways, by sacrificing unclean beasts upon it to their idols and false deities, that the retaining any part of it would have been deemed to defile all their future offerings. At length a middle expedient was agreed on, that they should be deposited into some

convenient cavity of the mountain on which the temple stood, till some prophet arose that could direct them how to dispose better of them (20).

Among the sacred utensils which *Judas* caused to be made, instead of those which *Antiochus* had carried off, we do not read of an ark and mercy-seat to stand in the most holy place; nor is it said by *Exra*, *Nehemiah*, or even by *Josephus*, that ever they made a new one.

The *Talmudists*, after the author of the second book of the *Maccabees*, tell us indeed, that *Jeremiah* caused the old one which *Moses* had made, to be buried in so secret a place a little before the captivity, that it could never be found; and the former add, that it will never be brought forth, till God is reconciled to the people, and has gathered them all under the king *Messiah*. It is therefore reckoned one of the five things that were wanted in the second temple; but whether they made any thing like it after their return, is more than we dare affirm. We shall see in the sequel, that when the *Romans* plundered the sanctuary, they found it quite empty of all those utensils.

(20) 2 MACCAB. iv. 44, & seq.

of the best gold. Every house was likewise illuminated and adorned; and from a thence it was also called the feast of lights⁴ (W). The author of the second book of the *Maccabees* adds⁵, that in memory of their having kept the feast of the tabernacles whilst they lurked in their dens, and on the mountains, they repaired to the temple on this new festival with palms and other curious branches in their hands, and celebrated this wonderful deliverance with psalms and hymns suitable to the occasion.

AND now there remained but one obstacle more to be removed, namely, the garison which *Apollonius* had placed in the fortress of *Acra*, on the eminence over-against the temple (X), to annoy those that went to and from it; for whilst that was still kept by heathens and apostate *Jews*, it could not but obstruct their concourse to that place of worship. A siege would have took up too much time, had *Judas* been furnished with men and warlike instruments for it; because the place was very strong both by art and nature: and to have blockaded it would have taken up a greater number of men than he could spare. There was therefore but one way left, namely, to fortify the mountain of the temple with a high wall, and strong towers round about, and to leave a stout garison to defend it, and hinder that of *Acra* from disturbing those who resorted to *Jerusalem*. At the same time *Judas* caused some additional fortifications to be made to *Bethzura*, it being, as was lately observed, an advantageous fortress, to obstruct the entrance from *Idumea* (Y); for which reason it had been lately attempted by *Lysias*⁶.

BY this time all the neighbouring nations having heard what had been done at *Jerusalem*, were so exasperated against the *Jews*, that they resolved to join their forces to extirpate the whole nation. They began with murdering all those that chanced to live among them, and waited only the coming of *Antiochus* into *Judaea* to assist

⁴ JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xii. c. 11.

⁵ 2 MACCAB. x. 6, & seq.

⁶ 1 MACCAB. iv. 60, & seq.

(W) It was accordingly continued to be celebrated by lighting of many candles, some at their doors, and some in their houses. Even to this time they light a certain number of large wax-tapers in their synagogues during this festival; that is, one on the first day, two on the second, and so on to eight on the last day of the feast; the occasion of which, the *Jews* tell us, was, that when they came to light the lamps on the great candlestick, they could find no holy oil to feed them with, till, after much looking, they found a little vessel sealed, which contained just as much as would serve one day; but, to their surprise, burnt eight whole days. On this day they likewise celebrated the death of *Holophernes* by *Judith*, tho' they are not all agreed that it happened about this time (21).

It was lawful however to work during the festival, it being only observed by mirth and going to the synagogue. The *Jews* call it *hanuca*, which signifies restoration, or renewing. One of the evangelists calls it *encania* (22), which implies the same thing, and adds, that it fell in the winter, about the time of that solstice.

This circumstance is so much the more material, because Christ vouchsafing to assist at it, tho' appointed only by human authority, sufficiently proves the lawfulness of instituting festivals in memory of public blessings (23).

The *Jews* did indeed celebrate two other dedications, viz. that of *Solomon*, and that of *Zerubbabel*, which were properly founded on divine authority, because instituted by persons divinely inspired; but that this which our Saviour is observed to have been present at, could be neither of these, is plain, because that of *Solomon* was kept in the month *Tisbri*, which is about our autumn (24); and that of *Zerubbabel* in the month *Adar*, or the last month, which falls in the spring (25); whereas that of *Ju-*

das Maccabens was in the winter, which agrees with what the evangelist says of it in the place above-quoted.

(X) The word *Acra*, properly signifies an eminence, or fortress built on some eminent ground, which has the command of the country round about; and as this of *Acra* stood higher than that of *Sion*, it gave that garison the advantage of annoying all that passed to and from the temple, as was observed above.

(Y) It will not be improper here to remind our readers, that this *Idumea* is not the *Idumea* anciently so called in the sacred books of the Old Testament, otherwise the land of *Edom*, situate between the *Dead* and the *Red* sea, and known since by the name of *Arabia Petrea*; concerning which the reader may see what has been said in a former volume *.

But this we are now speaking of, was a portion of the inheritance of the tribes of *Simeon* and *Judah*, taken in possession by some *Idumeans*, during the time of the *Babylonish* captivity; who being driven out of their land by the *Nabatheans*, came and settled here, and enlarged their territory from the south part of the lot of *Judah*, as far as *Hebron*, which they made their metropolis, as it had been that of the tribe of *Judah*. These therefore, and not the ancient *Edomites*, are the *Idumeans* we shall have often occasion to mention in the sequel of this history.

Now *Bethzura*, lying on the road between *Hebron* and *Jerusalem*, at about twenty miles from the latter, as we have hinted in a former note, was an important barrier against the incursions of the *Syrian* troops that were in *Idumea*, and did well deserve all the care that *Judas* bestowed in the fortifying of it.

(21) Vide *Leo. de Moden. cerem. Jud. par.* 2. c. 9.
(24) 1 Kings viii. 2. 2 Chron. v. 3.
seq. & 568, 2, & nos. (E).

(22) John x. 22.
(25) *Exra* vi. 15, & seq.

(23) Vide *Grot. in Johann. x.*
* See before, Vol. I. p. 316, &

them

a them in the utter destruction of the *Jews*; but, happily for these, *Antiochus's* death, which happened soon after, broke all their measures, and freed them from the bloody designs which that exasperated tyrant had sworn against them, when he heard of their success against his three generals'. We have already given an account, both of his preparations and extraordinary death in a former chapter *, and to which nothing needs to be added here.

THE minority of the young *Antiochus* caused some alterations in *Palestine*, and gave the *Jews* a kind of respite, which proved however but short-lived. *Ptolemy Macron*, governor of *Cælo-Syria*, who had been an inveterate enemy to the *Jews*, and had made them suffer great hardships during the last reign, was now by some means become their friend; but he was soon after accused for it to the king, and deprived of his government by *Lysias*, who succeeded him in it, and came presently after with a powerful army into *Judæa*. In the interim, *Georgias*, who commanded the Syrian forces there, having gathered a fresh body of strangers, was making continual incursions against the *Jews*, whilst the *Idumæans*, who had joined with him, held the most advantageous posts, and received in them all the renegado *Jews*, in hopes to tire the rest by prolonging the war. But *Judas* having gathered his army together, went and attacked them in that part of their territories, which was called *Acrabatene*, and killed no less than twenty thousand of them †. From thence he marched against the children of *Ben* (Z), who had proved a great thorn in his sides, and drove them into two of their strongest towers; and when he understood they were furnished with every necessary thing to hold out a siege, he left his three brethren, *Simon*, *Joseph*, and *Zaccheus*, with a sufficient force to reduce them, whilst he led the rest upon a more important expedition. During the siege, some of *Simon's* head officers suffered themselves to be bribed with a sum of seventy thousand drachms, to let some of the besiegers escape. *Judas* being informed of it, ordered those traitors to be tried by the heads of the army, and to be put to death; after which he took the two fortresses by assault, put both garisons, which consisted of about twenty thousand, to death, burnt the towers to the ground, and past over *Jordan* into the land of the *Ammonites* ‡. These he found likewise in a good posture of defence, having *Timotheus* the Syrian general at their head, who had gathered a great number of forces out of *Asia*, and was coming to invade *Judæa*; he had several skirmishes with the *Ammonites*, before he could come at the Syrian commander, defeated and killed great numbers of them; after which he took the city of *Jazar*, put a garison in it, and marched back into *Judæa* §.

IN the mean time *Timotheus* had not been idle, but had gathered together an army from among all the heathen nations, who were now more than ever exasperated against the *Jews*, resolved, if possible, to wipe off the disgrace of his former defeat, with the extirpation of that people. To this end, he entered *Judæa* with his new forces. *Judas* did not let him penetrate far, before he met, and totally defeated him, killed twenty thousand five hundred of his foot, and six hundred horse, and forced him to retreat into the city of *Gazara* (A), which was commanded by his brother *Chereas*. Hither *Judas* pursued and invested him, and having carried the place in five days, slew him with his brother and another Syrian general named *Apollonides* ¶. This defeat, though very advantageous to the *Jews*, proved the cause of great numbers of their nation being murdered by the heathens, who could not brook the continual success of the *Maccabite* general. A thousand of them were sacrificed to their fury in the land of *Tob*, and their wives and children carried into captivity; the rest of their brethren must have undergone the same fate, had they not timely prevented it, by flying into *Dathema*, a fortress in the land of *Gilead*, and there timely provi-

* 1 MACCAB. V. 1, & seq. 2 MACCAB. X. 1, & seq. JOSEPH. antiq. l. xii. c. 14. EUSEB. CHRON. Vol. III. p. 567, & seq. † Id. ibid. ‡ 1 MACCAB. V. 1, & seq. § 1b. ver. 8. ¶ 2 MACCAB. X. 31, & ad fin.

(Z) Whether *Ben* was the name of a man, city, or tribe, is not certain; but most probably they were a tribe of *Idumæans*, of whom the text says, that they were a snare and decoy to the *Israelites*, and did lie in wait against them on the high-ways

(26), as they passed to and from *Jerusalem*.

(A) Probably the same with *Gadara* and *Gaderoth*, situate in the neighbourhood of *Dioapolis* and *Nicopolis* (27). *Eusebius* places it about five miles northward of the latter (28).

(26) 1 Maccab. v. 4, & seq. Conf. cum Gen. xxxvi. 27. & Numb. xxxii. 3. & xxxiii. 31, & seq. (27) Vid. Steph. Byzant. sub *Gadara*, *Reland. Palest. l. iii.* (28) Loc. Hebr.

Gileadites and
Galileans dis-
tressed.

ded for their own defence^a. From thence they sent letters to *Judas*, informing him of their condition, and that *Timotheus*, perhaps the son of him that was lately killed at *Gazara*, at the head of the *Tyrians*, *Sidonians*, *Ptolemaidans*, and others, was besieging them in it. *Judas* had scarcely done reading these letters, when he received others from other brethren in *Galilee*, who were also in the same distress. The general immediately convened a sanhedrin, in which it was resolved that *Judas* and his brother *Jonathan* should go to help the *Gileadites*, with part of his troops, making in all about eight thousand: that *Simon*, another of his brothers, should go with another part, to succour those of *Galilee*; and that *Joseph* and *Azarias* his other brothers, should stay to defend *Jerusalem* with the residue of their troops. To these latter, *Judas* gave strict charge in no case to act offensively, but to stand in their own defence, b till his or his brother *Simon's* return^a.

Delivered by
Judas.

UPON *Judas's* passing the *Jordan*, he was informed by the *Nabatbeans*, with whom he was then at peace, that not only the *Jews* of *Darbema*, but likewise those of *Bossora*, *Caspbon*, *Maked*, *Alema*, *Carnaim*, and other considerable cities of the land of *Gilead*, were likewise closely shut up by their enemies, and, if not timely relieved, were designed to be all destroyed in one day. As there was no time then to be lost, *Judas* immediately fell on *Bossora*, took it, and destroyed all the males; and having freed his brethren, set fire to the city, and marched directly to *Darbema*. Upon his arrival thither early on the next morning, he found *Timotheus* ready to storm the place; and fell upon him so unexpectedly, and with such force, that he c put all to the rout; for they no sooner heard the sound of their trumpets, and understood that *Judas* was at the head of their enemy, than they threw down their arms in the utmost confusion, and betook themselves to flight. *Judas* pursued them some time, and killed about eight thousand of them; but remembering the condition of his other brethren in the *Gileaditish* cities, he marched against and took them one after another, made them undergo the same fate as he had that of *Bossora*, loaded himself with the richest plunder, and returned with his victorious army, and delivered d brethren, to *Jerusalem*^b.

*Simon's suc-
cess in Galilee.*

ON the other hand, *Simon*, his brother, though inferior in strength, having but three thousand men, was no less successful in *Galilee*; he defeated his enemies in several rencounters, killed about three thousand of them, and pursued them as far as *Ptolemais*, enriched himself with their plunder, and delivered his brethren from their cruel thralldom; but finding it impossible with his handful of men to secure their longer abode there, by the total reduction of their oppressors, he chose rather to bring them with their families and valuable things to *Jerusalem*; whence *Judas* soon after sent them to new people the desolate cities of *Judæa*, where they might dwell in more safety. Whilst things went on thus successfully in *Gilead* and *Galilee*, the two brothers that were left at *Jerusalem*, unluckily took it into their heads to signalise themselves also by some brave exploit on their heathen neighbours, though contrary to *Judas's* express commands. *Jamnia* appeared to them a fair sea-port town (B), e and worth their conquering, before the return of their victorious brethren. Thither therefore they led their little army, but were unhappily defeated by *Georgias*, who commanded the place, and who sallied out against them, killed about two thousand of their men, and forced the rest to return with shame and loss to *Jerusalem*^c.

*Joseph's un-
lucky attempt
on Jamnia.*

This disgrace however did not hinder the fame of their worthy brothers increasing daily, and his valour being more and more dreaded by their enemies. This gave the *Jewish* chief a fresh opportunity of falling upon the *Idumeans*, who, as we have seen, had joined with the *Syrians*, and had been in some measure humbled by them. But as he found them still stirring against him, he led his forces into the south parts of *Idumea*, laid siege to *Hebron* their famous metropolis, took and demolished it, f with all the neighbouring towns, and carried off a considerable plunder^d. From thence he entered the territories of the *Philistines* and *Samaritans*, injecting terror

*Judas's success
against the
Idumeans.*

^a 1 MACCAB. v. 1, & seq.

^b Ibid. ver. 13, & seq.

^c Ibid. v. 22, & seq.

^d Ibid. v. 55.

^e Ver. 64, & seq.

(B) It was situate on the *Mediterranean*, between *Joppa* and *Azotus*, or *Asdod*, about two hundred and forty furlongs distant from *Jerusalem* (29). Its name is not to be found in the *Hebrew*, but the sep-

tuagint places it after the city of *Ekron*, mentioned in *Jeshua* (30). It is supposed to be the same with *Jabneh*, which *Uzziah* king of *Judah* is said (31) to have taken from the *Philistines*.

(29) 2 Maccab. xli. 9.

(30) Cap. xv. 45.

(31) 2 Chron. xxvi. 6.

where-

a where-ever he past, and discouraging those nations at least from acting offensively against him. In this expedition, some indiscreet priests that were in his army, endeavouring to signalise their valour by some exploit against the enemy, fell a sacrifice to their untimely ambition, being all slain in the attempt, and by their deaths convinced both him and his army, how dangerous it was to go one step beyond the orders of such an experienced general. *Judas* did not return into *Judæa* till he had taken a tour thro' the land of the *Philistines*, and destroyed, with their fortresses, all their altars, groves, and other instruments of idolatry *.

ALL these repeated successes raised such a jealousy and shame in the lately defeated Syrian governor, that he assembled an army of eighty thousand foot, together with
b all the horse and elephants he could get, and marched with them into *Judæa*, not doubting but speedily to reduce that unhappy kingdom into as miserable a condition as *Antiochus* had formerly done. After which his design was to extirpate the whole Jewish nation, and to repopulate their land with heathens, and to enrich his master and himself, both with the richest plunder of the land, and with the sale of the high-priesthood, and other dignities. Flushed with these great hopes, he marched through the southern territories of *Judab*, probably because the other was too mountainous and craggy for his elephants and cavalry and laid siege to the fortress of *Betbuzra*. *Judas*, who was then at *Jerusalem*, having first implored the divine blessing on his arms, set out with his little army to its relief. On the road there appeared to them a man on horseback in rich shining armour, and seemingly brandishing his spear against
c their enemies. This sight, whatever it was, gave his men such flush of courage, that they fell like lions on the Syrian camp, killed eleven thousand foot, and put the rest to flight.

Lysias, now more than ever convinced how impossible it would be to carry on the war against such an enemy with either honour or advantage, sent *Judas* some overtures of peace †, with a promise that it should be ratified by the king his master, and that the young prince should make him all the concessions he should with justice demand, and conclude an alliance with him. *Judas* accepted the proposal, and sent soon after *John* and *Abisolom*, two of his captains, with the conditions upon which he
d would agree to a peace, to *Lysias*, who caused them to be forthwith conveyed to *Antiochus*. They contained upon the whole a general amnesty for whatever had been done before; a total revocation of the late edict, which obliged the *Jews* to renounce their religion, and to conform to that of the *Greeks*; a free exercise of their religion and customs; and safe passports for commissioners to pass from *Jerusalem* to *Lysias*, or, if need required, to *Antioch*. These conditions, advantageous as they were to the hated *Jews*, were readily granted by the king, and two letters were sent, the one to the governor, and the other to the Jewish senate. *Lysias* likewise wrote to them, as did also *Q. Memmius* and *T. Manlius*, two Roman ambassadors to the Syrian court. All these four letters the reader may find in the chapter last quoted ‡; by which it
e appears how ready both the governor and his master were to agree to a peace with the victorious *Jews*, and how friendly those two Romans had interposed their good offices on their behalf (C). It appears also by the king's letter, that *Menelaus*,
VOL. IV. No. 1. S the

* 1 MACCAB. V. 67, 68.

† Ibid. cap. 11. 1, ad 13.

‡ Verf. 16, to the end.

(C) *Lysias*'s letter being dated from the month *Discorinius*, or, as the *Latin* version abridges it, *Discorus*, has very much puzzled the chronologists, because there is no such month to be found in the *Syro-Macedonian* calendar, or indeed in any other of those times. Those who suppose it to have been an intercalary one, placed between those of *Dysirus* and *Xanthicus* (32), answering in part to our *March* and *April*, have not given us any proof, that either *Syrians*, *Macedonians*, or even *Chaldeans*, had any such intercalary month; and the main reason on which they build their supposition, viz. that the ratification of the peace is dated from the month *Xanthicus*, immediately following, doth make rather manifestly against it.

For *Antioch* and *Jerusalem* being at least four hundred miles asunder, it is hardly credible that these

articles of peace could have been sent for, transmitted and ratified in so short a space as a month. We must therefore either suppose some mistake in the text occasioned by the inadvertency of the transcribers, or suppose that the king was not then at *Antioch*, but either in *Phœnicia*, or some other place nearer *Jerusalem*; and this latter seems indeed the most probable, if we consider, that according to the king's letter (33), those *Jews*, who were to transact this peace, and to go from *Jerusalem* to *Lysias*'s camp, or as was observed above, to the Syrian court, had but fifteen days allowed them, viz. from the fifteenth to the thirtieth day of *Xanthicus*, which would have been too short a space to have gone to and from the king, and makes it reasonable to suppose he was nearer *Judæa*.

In

(32) Scalig. de emend. temp. l. ii. Usser. sub A. M. 3841.

(33) 2 Macc. xi. 30.

the apostate high-priest, who in all likelihood was then at the Syrian court, had also laboured to promote this peace, and was desirous to be included in it, since he was sent back to Jerusalem by Antiochus, as his letter terms it, to comfort or confirm the Jews^a.

This peace however, which seems to have been obtained from the young king by the sole interest of Lysias, unless we join with him the high-priest above-mentioned, could not be brooked by the other Syrian generals; so that, as soon as Lysias was retired to Antioch, Timotheus, Apollonius (D), Hieronymus, Demophon, and Nicanor governor of Cyprus, began to renew their hostilities against the Jews. The neighbouring nations, whether out of innate hatred against them, or by the suggestion of the Syrian officers, were equally forward to infect them. Some instances of which the author gives us in those of Joppa, who treacherously invited, upon some pretence, a number of Jews, with their wives and children, who lived in the place, on board some barges by the sea shore, rowed them further into the deep, and flung them over-board, to the number of about two hundred. This barbarous action was soon after heard of at Jerusalem; and Judas, justly provoked at it, marched against those murderers, came upon them in the dead of night, set fire to their boats and port, and killed all those that had saved themselves from the flames. He would have done the same to the city itself, but they had timely shut their gates upon him; and when he was resolving its utter destruction, he heard that those of Jamnia had hatched the same cruel mischief against those Jews that lived with them; he turned his arms thitherward, and came suddenly upon them, burnt their ships, port, and magazines, insomuch that the flames were seen from Jerusalem, though, as we hinted before, at near two hundred and forty furlongs, or about thirty miles distance^b.

Judas defeats
the Arabians.

Judas staid not to take a further revenge of those two perfidious towns, because he heard that Timotheus, who had by this time got a fresh army, was entered the land of Gilead; but marched directly to their assistance; he had scarce gone nine furlongs, before he was attacked by a band of Arabian nomades (E), in number about five thousand foot, and five hundred horse. A fierce engagement immediately ensued, in which Judas having got the better, forced those booters to sue for peace, and granted it to them the more readily, that his march into Gilead might not be stoppt^c. However, he obliged them to furnish him with a certain number of cattle and provisions, and extorted a promise that they should assist him in any thing he should require of them, after which he marched in all haste to the other side Jordan to attack the Syrian general. However, he met with several other obstacles, and was forced to take some places in his way. The first of them was Caspis, a city well fenced with high walls, and so well provided within, that the inhabitants, trusting to their own strength, threw many scornful and blasphemous sarcasms at the Jewish army; but Judas assaulted it with such an unexpected bravery, that he made himself master of it, and put all the inhabitants to the sword, insomuch that a neighbouring lake about two furlongs broad, was seen running with blood^d.

^a Ibid. ver. 32. ^b 1 Macc. c. xii. r, & seq. ad p. ^c Ibid. ad ver. 12. ^d Ibid. ad ver. 16.

In this case *Diofcorinthius* and *Dioforus* may be probably enough either a corruption, or more likely, other names for *Dysurus*, immediately preceding *Xanthicus*, or, if the former be derived from *Δις* *noqivbie*, as who should say the month *Dius* of the *Corinthians*, because *Dius* among the *Bithynians* answered the *Dysurus* of the *Syro-Macedonians*, which is not improbable, then the *Dioforus* of the *Latin* version will be only an abbreviation or corruption of the *Diofcorinthius* (34).

These letters bear moreover the date of the hundred and forty-eighth year, viz. of the *Seleucide*, which the learned author last-quoted has proved to answer to the year before Christ 163, and the rest in proportion accordingly; to which we refer the reader.

(D) Not the general that has been spoken of in

the former section, who was the son of *Thyrseus*, and was killed by *Judas*, but another, who is here called the son of *Gennaeus* †.

(E) These were a kind of wandering people, living in tents, and staying in a place no longer than it afforded them provision for themselves and cattle. They were the descendants of *Ishmael*, and according to the angel's prediction of them (35), their hands were against every man, and every man's hand against them; for they lived chiefly upon plunder, especially of the caravans, who did therefore go well armed, and whenever they met, they seldom gave quarter to one another; and as those plunderers were stout, warlike, and well acquainted with the course of all those countries, it was no ill policy in the Jewish chief to secure their friendship and future services.

(34) *Vid. Præf. sub an. 163.* † See Vol. III. p. 597, (1). (35) *Gen. xvi. 12. See also, Vol. I. p. 426.*

FROM

- a FROM thence he marched into the land of *Tob*, where the *Jews*, called from thence *Tubieni*, had shut themselves up in the fortrefs of *Cbaraca* (F); and whence *Timotheus* having in vain tried to dislodge them, was gone, after having left a good garifon in a place strongly fittuate within its neighbourhood to keep them in awe. As soon therefore as *Judas* found him gone, he sent two of his generals with a detachment to take that garifon, whilst he with the rest of his army, marched in search of the Syrian chief. *Dositheus* and *Sosipater*, the two *Hebrew* generals, soon after forced the garifon, and put it to the sword to the number of ten thousand. By this time *Timotheus* had got an army of a hundred and twenty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse; and when he heard that *Judas* was in full march against him, he sent all the women, children, and other luggage, into *Carnion*, a strong city of *Gilead*, and very difficult of access, whilst himself incamped his army in the neighbourhood of *Rapbon*, upon the borders of the river *Jabboc*. As soon as *Judas* was come near enough for his van-guard to be seen by the enemy, they seem to have been seized with a panic fear, for they made such haste to fly from him, that they wounded one another with their own weapons in the flight. In this running fight *Timotheus* lost thirty thousand of his men, and unable to rally the rest, betook himself to his heels. Those who escaped the slaughter, finding themselves closely pursued, fled into *Carnion*, and a great number of them went and took refuge in the temple of *Atargatis* (G). *Judas*, who came close after them, burnt the temple, and them in it; then setting fire to the rest of the city, they all perished likewise, either by the flames, or by his sword, to the number of twenty-five thousand. As for *Timotheus*, he fell in his sight into the hands of *Dositheus* and *Sosipater*, who were halting from the land of *Tob* to join their commander. These two captains however were persuaded by him to give him his liberty, upon promise that he would do the same to a great number of *Jews*, whom he held prisoners, many of whom were very nearly related, either to some of those officers, or to some of their troops there present^m. This victory quite completed the reduction of the land of *Gilead*, and put it out of his enemies power to undertake any thing against him there. However, as the cities of *Judaea* were still in great measure unpeopled, he chose rather to follow his brother *Simon's* example, and bring the *Jewish Gileadites* to inhabit and fortify themⁿ.
- d I n his way to *Judaea*, he was of necessity to pass through *Ephron*, that city being so advantageously situate, that he could neither turn to the right nor the left hand of it. It was moreover well fortified and peopled by strangers of all nations. He therefore sent in a peaceable manner to demand a passage through it; but they instead of opening their gates to him, did shut, and even wall them up, and prepared themselves for a siege. *Judas* therefore caused it to be proclaimed through his camp, that every man should scale the walls in the place that chanced to be over-against him. On the other hand, the city, which had been well garifoned by *Lysias*, had placed their choicest men on the battlements of it. The assault was fierce, and lasted the whole day; at length *Judas* carried it, and took the city, put all the males, about twenty-five thousand, to the sword, took their wives and daughters captive, seized all the richest plunder, and burnt and quite erased the place. From *Ephron*, crossing the *Jordan*, he spread his army along the plains of *Bethshan*, then called *Scythopolis*, a considerable city, about a hundred furlongs from *Jerusalem* †. Here he inquired of the *Jews* how they had been treated by the *Scythians*, and they answering much to

^m Ibid. ad ver. 24.ⁿ Ibid. v. 24, 25.

† De hac vid. sup. Vol. II. p. 282.

(F) Probably the same with *Charac*, *Moab*, as *Carnion* may be reasonably supposed the same which in the *Hebrew*, and the first book of the *Macchabees* is called *Carnaim*, al. *Ashtaroth Carnaim*, or *Ashtar*, with two horns (36), which city was the residence of *Og* king of *Bashan* †. We find a city mentioned by *Strabo* and *Ptolemy* by the name of *Carno* in *Arabia*. *Eusebius* mentions one near *Jerusalem* (37); and there might be many more of the same name, if *Ashtar* was either the moon, worshipped under that name, or the *Egyptian Isis*, repre-

sented by a bullock's head with two horns (38).

(G) Supposed to be the same with the *Astarte* mentioned in the last note. *Diodorus* says (39), she was worshipped at *Ascalon*, under the figure of a woman from the navel upward, and fish downward, like the *Dagon* of, if not the same with that of the *Philistines*; for she was worshipped under several names, though under the same form, being called *Derceto* at *Joppa*, *Ashtaroth*, *Atargatis*, and *Atergata* in other places (40).

(36) De his vid. *Byzant. Reland. Palest. tom. 1. p. 212.* & seq. & alib. *Bochart. & al.* † Supr. Vol. I. p. 330, d. 343, d. (37) Vid. *infra*, in seq. (38) Vid. *Sanchonias. ap. Euseb. Prep. lib. 1. c. ult.* (39) *Bibl. l. ii.* (40) Vid. *Strab. Geogr. l. xvi. Plin. l. v. c. 23. Selden. de diis Syr. & sup. Vol. I. p. 398, & seq.*

the commendation of that people; *Judas* returned them thanks for their kindness to his brethren, exhorted them to live in friendship with them, and assured them of his own^o, and then continued his journey towards *Jerusalem*. During their march, *Judas* kept still in the rear of his army, encouraging those that lagged behind, and brought them at length to that metropolis about the time of pentecost. Here they went to the temple to return thanks to God for their quick and wonderful success (H), and particularly that they were all returned safe and victorious without the loss of one man^p.

Judas had still a powerful enemy left: *Georgias*, governor of *Idumea*, was at the head of that nation, and had harassed the *Jews* for some time. He therefore made no longer stay at *Jerusalem* than the ending of that festival, immediately after which he marched at the head of only three thousand foot and four hundred horse. The two armies met, and the onset was so fierce on both sides, that *Judas*, till then so victorious, had the mortification to see some of his men killed on the spot. *Dositheus* likewise, a brave captain of his, whom we have lately mentioned upon another occasion, having seized the *Idumean* general alive, had his arm cut off close to the shoulder by a *Thracian* horseman, and was forced to quit his prisoner, who took that opportunity to fly into *Maresa*, a fortress near *Eleutheropolis*. Another part of his troops commanded by *Esdra*, had sustained the shock so long, that they were quite exhausted. At length *Judas* having again revived his men by fresh prayers, and warlike canticles, the enemy took fright and fled, which gave him an opportunity of rallying his scattered forces to *Odollam*, a town near the field of battle, where they purified themselves for the sabbath then ensuing. On the day following, when he and his men came to view the slain, in order to bury them, they found upon every one of them some gold and silver idols, which had been consecrated by the *Jamnites*, and which, though taken in plunder, were forbidden to be worn by the law of *Moses*^q. It was then easy for them to discover the true cause of their late defeat, and the just punishment of those wretches, who had ventured to transgress in that clandestine manner. *Judas* did not lose so fair an opportunity of inspiring the survivors with an abhorrence against all such heathenish superstitions, and with a sure confidence in God, as long as they kept themselves free from them. He then ordered a voluntary collection to be made among them, which amounted to two thousand drachms of silver, which he sent to *Jerusalem*, and caused an expiatory sacrifice to be offered up for those that had thus died in their sin, and to avert any further punishment being inflicted on them for it in the other life (I)^r. From thence *Judas* fell upon the southern parts of *Idumea*, took *Hebron* and other fortresses; after which he went and took *Azotus* from the *Philistines*, and pulled down all their images and altars where-ever he passed, and so returned to *Jerusalem* laden with fresh laurels and plunder.

Offers sacrifices
for the slain.

ALL this while the fortress of *Acra* was in the hand of the enemy, and not only hindered many of the *Jews* from resorting to the temple, but annoyed those that did,

^o 2 Macc. ubi supra, v. 30, & 31. ^p 1 Maccab. v. 46, & seq. 2 Maccab. xii. 30, & seq.
^q Deut. vii. 25, & seq. ^r 2 Macc. ubi supra, vers. 38. ad fin.

(H) Quick and wonderful indeed! if we consider that the peace could not be broken as soon as made, and that it was concluded on the fifteenth of *Xanthicus*, answering to the beginning of our *April*; and that the feast of pentecost fell either on the latter end of *May*, or beginning of *June*; so that in less than two months time they burnt the two havens and fleets of *Joppa* and *Jamnia*, beat the *Arabian* nomades, took the city of *Caspis*, defeated *Timotheus* and his numerous army, burnt and destroyed *Carnion* and *Ephron*, besides several other strong fortresses, released a vast number of their brethren, and were returned to *Jerusalem* laden with spoils, and a vast multitude of female captives, and all this without any loss on their side.

(I) This is certainly the meaning of the historian (whatever might be that of the *Jewish* chief in causing this sin-offering, or reconciliatory sacrifices and prayers to be made for those dead sinners); for

he adds (41), that *Judas* gave thereby a signal proof of his belief of a resurrection; for, says he, if he had not hoped that those slain men would have risen again from the dead, it had been vain and superfluous to have caused prayers to be made for them.

Judas might, in all likelihood, have in his eye the defeat which the *Israelites* had formerly had upon such another occasion, in the case of *Achan's* sacrilege (42); but it may as well be likewise, that the notion of praying and offering of sacrifices for the dead might be then in use, if not of longer standing. However that be, it must have been so in the time in which the historian wrote it, unless we will suppose with some interpreters that the passage above quoted was a gloss of the translator (43).

We may further observe, that the *Arundelian* copy, and *Syriac* version, mention three thousand drachms, and the *Latin* one twelve thousand (44).

(41) 2 Maccab. xii. 44.
al. Tremel. in loc.

(42) Josh. vii. 16. & seq. Vid. & Vol. I. p. 557, c.
(44) Vid. Usser. ann. sub A. M. 3841.

(43) Vid. int.

especially

- a especially in *Judas's* absence. Upon his coming therefore from *Odollam*, he resolved to form the siege of it, and to that end gathered together his whole army, furnished himself with engines for throwing of large stones, and with other instruments for the siege. The place being very strong, and the garison numerous, and well furnished with arms and provision, made it likely to hold out a considerable time. But the renegado *Jews*, a great number of whom were then in the place, and knew the valour and stoutness of *Judas* and his troops; finding that they should be forced at length to surrender, and knowing how little mercy they had to hope for from the conqueror, advised the commanders to make a vigorous sally, in order to give an opportunity to some of their brethren to go to *Antioch*, and inform the young king of their distress. Their advice was taken, and the sally so well managed, that a number of those renegadoes, with some officers, found an opportunity to divide from the rest, and to take the way to the court unperceived. Upon their arrival they went and informed the king of all that *Judas* had done. They added, that he persecuted with the most merciless hatred all that dared shew any fidelity to the *Syrians*, that he plundered, sacked, and put to fire and sword all that came in his way; and lastly, that to shake wholly off the *Syrian* yoke, he had besieged the garison of *Acra*, which had been placed there to keep their metropolis in awe, and that it must undergo the fate of *Bethzura*, and other of his cities and fortresses, if not speedily relieved. This news failed not to alarm the *Syrian* monarch, who ordered immediately all his generals to assemble his troops, and if they were not thought sufficient, to hire a number of auxiliaries, and to march with utmost dispatch into *Judaea*. His orders were punctually obeyed, and a vast army was drawn together, consisting of a hundred thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse, thirty-two elephants, and three hundred armed chariots. These having the young king and his uncle *Lysias* at their head, marched to the borders of *Idumea*, where they laid siege to the fortress of *Bethzura*. We have already given an account of this war in a former volume †, and of the miraculous deliverance of the *Jews*, which ended in an advantageous peace to them, though dishonourable to *Antiochus*, who, contrary to the articles of it, caused the fortifications of their metropolis to be demolished.
- d *Menelaus*, the apostate high-priest, who had accompanied the king in this expedition, in hopes of being restored to his ill-gotten dignity, and perhaps of obtaining the government of *Judaea*, left no stone unturned to ingratiate himself to the young monarch, though at the expence of his nation and religion; but his wicked policy failed him, and *Lysias*, tired with so dear and dishonourable a war, and fearful, lest, if that wretch was left at *Jerusalem*, and invested with any power, he should stir up a new revolt, either to ingratiate himself to the *Jews*, or to maintain his own authority against a people who he foresaw would never brook it; thought it more adviseable to find out some expedient to rid himself of so dangerous a wretch. He easily compassed his end, and his great credit with the young monarch, to whom he accused him as the author and cause of all the late mischiefs, soon prevailed upon him to condemn him to such a death as his treason, if not to *Antiochus*, yet to his God and nation, had deserved. He was accordingly sent under a strong guard to *Beræa*, and there made to undergo the cruel punishment of the ashes ‡, a death we have already described in a former volume §.
- e *Menelaus put to death.*

THE *Jews*, though glad at the death of that monster, did not however gain much by the change. *Lysias* found means to persuade the young monarch, that there was a necessity of bestowing the high-priesthood on one that was not of the pontifical family; so that that dignity which of right belonged to *Onias*, the son of that worthy high-priest, who had been murdered at *Antioch*, was bestowed on *Alcimus*, or *Jacimus*, as he is called by *Josephus*, who was of another family, though of the *Aaronic* race, and a person no less wicked than his predecessor. As for *Onias*, when he found his right given to one who had neither title nor merit, he repented the wrong to such a degree, that he retired into *Egypt*, in hopes by some other way to recompense himself for his loss. Accordingly, upon his coming to that court, he found means to ingratiate himself so well to *Ptolemy Philometor*, and to his queen *Cleopatra*, that they granted him, some time after, the liberty of building a temple at *Alexandria* like unto that of *Jerusalem*, of which he secured the priesthood to himself and descendants, as shall be seen in the sequel ¶.

* 1 Macc. vi. 18, & seq. 2 Macc. xiii. 1, & seq. xiii. 3, & seq. † Vol. II. p. 134, d, & note. c. 11. xx. 8.

† Vol. III. p. 587, & seq. ‡ 2 Macc. 2 Macc. xiv. 9, &c. JOSEPH. antiq. l. xii.

Demetrius re-
covers Syria.

Judas accused
by Alcimus.

WE have elsewhere seen how *Demetrius*, the lawful heir of the *Syrian* crown, had found means to escape from *Rome*, where he had been long kept as an hostage; and being arrived at *Antioch*, had put to death both *Antiochus Eupator*, and *Lysias*, and had made himself master of that capital, and soon after of the whole kingdom *. In the mean time *Alcimus*, whom the *Jews* had refused to admit to the high-priesthood, because he had obtained and sullied that dignity by open apostasy, and conforming to the religion and customs of the *Greeks*, came to complain of it to the new monarch; he brought with him a number of other *Jewish* renegadoes, whom *Judas* had caused to be banished *Judaea* for the same crime. At the head of these miscreants he applied himself to the king, accused *Judas*, and the rest of the *Maccabean* or *Asmonean* race, of having destroyed those that stood firm to their allegiance to him; of banishing others for not joining with his revolted party, and of other such crimes as they thought would render them odious to the court. They added, that their present distress was owing to their readiness in obeying the edicts of the late king his uncle; and in the end, *Alcimus* forgot not to beg to have the high-priesthood confirmed to him by *Demetrius*. This accusation, carried on with such seeming zeal for the king, did so exasperate him against the *Jews*, that he sent back the apostate, and with him *Bacchides*, governor of *Mesopotamia*, at the head of a considerable army, and with orders both to reinstate *Alcimus* to his dignity, and to carry on the war against the *Maccabees*. These two were joined in the same commission, and *Alcimus*, impatient to see himself restored to his dignity, hastened the *Syrian* general, who was wholly devoted to him, to march forthwith into *Judaea* †.

UPON their arrival, the two colleagues, who knew what an enemy they had to deal with, endeavoured at first to decoy him by some treacherous stratagem; and to this end sent deputies to the *Jewish* chief to invite him to a conference, in order to end their dispute in an amicable way. They spared no promises nor vows, that he should come and go with utmost safety. *Judas* easily suspected their design, and rightly judged that such a powerful army was intended rather to surprise him, than to decide the title of an intruding priest, hated and rejected by the whole nation. Instead therefore of accepting of their invitation, he set himself about preparing for a vigorous defence. His behaviour however was disapproved by several doctors and scribes, and particularly by some of the *Assideans*, whose sect we have spoken of in a former section. These pretending to a greater degree of sanctity than the rest, insisted that an amicable way was preferable to an hostile one, and that *Alcimus* being of the race of *Aaron*, ought not to be lightly suspected of treachery against them. But finding *Judas* unmoveable, they took it into their heads to try how far their mediation would work towards the desired peace; and having obtained an oath of safety from the treacherous high-priest, they came to him accompanied with some of their doctors and scribes. *Alcimus* gave them at first a friendly reception, but as soon as he had got them into his power, he caused sixty of them to be seized, and put to death ‡. This action proved of singular service to *Judas* and his council, and sufficiently justified his refusal; and his whole army being now fully convinced that nothing but the blackest perfidy was to be expected from that base pontiff and his colleague, resolved to stand up for their general, their religion and liberty. Some few indeed, being terrified either at the news of *Alcimus's* perfidy, or at the sight of so great an army, left *Jerusalem*, and retired into the country; but there stayed with him a sufficient number to suppress the power of the treacherous pontiff, in spite of his daily reinforcements from the renegado *Jews*, who resorted to him, especially after *Bacchides's* departure. For that general, whether stung with the reproaches, which his late perfidious action brought upon him, or with shame for not having been able to subdue an enemy by treachery, whom he dared not attack openly, left *Judaea*, and returned to *Antioch*, leaving *Alcimus* what he thought a sufficient number of troops, to maintain himself in his new dignity. However, whilst he was in his way to the *Syrian* court, he could not forbear committing some cruelties against those *Jews* that came in his way. Particularly at *Beseth*, or *Bethsetha*, he caused a considerable number of them to be seized and killed, and their bodies to be flung into a well §.

Alcimus on the other hand spared neither pains nor cost, flatteries nor cruelties, to strengthen himself. Those that were of greatest service to him were the *Jewish* renegados and malecontents, whom his caresses and generosity drew daily to his side.

* Vol. III. p. 596.

† 1 Maccab. vii. 8, & seq.

‡ Ibid. ver. 12, & seq.

§ Ibid. v. 19.

- a For with these, supported by the *Syrian* troops, he was making continual excursions into some part or other of the country, plundering, burning, and destroying all that refused to acknowledge him. *Judas* on his side was no less watchful of all opportunities to oppose and suppress him; he defeated him in several rencounters, and took such a severe vengeance on as many of the revolted *Jews* as fell into his hands, that the rest dared no longer act against him. *Alcimus* being by this time convinced of the impossibility of mastering his enemy, and of ever being admitted to approach the sacred altars, unless he procured a much greater army to force the *Jews* into a compliance, returned to the *Syrian* court, renewed his former accusations and complaints, which failed not to be backed by all the enemies of the *Jews* that were then at *Antioch*; and having presented *Demetrius* with a rich crown of gold, and other valuable presents, obtained of that incensed monarch a fresh army, the command of which was given to *Nicanor*, one of the bitterest enemies the *Jewish* nation had, with express orders to cut off *Judas* and his party, disperse his army, and to settle *Alcimus* in his power and dignity beyond the possibility of any future opposition². But *Nicanor*, who had lately been so feelingly convinced of the strength and bravery of the *Jewish* chief, and justly reckoned that one defeat more would complete his disgrace, entered *Judæa*, with a numerous army indeed, but with a full resolution, if possible, to bring *Judas* to accept of a peace rather than hazard any more battles with him.
- c HOWEVER, upon his first coming into that province, all the apostate *Jews*, and the heathen, whom *Judas* had driven out of *Judæa*, came in shoals to list under him, in hopes to be soon resettled in their former habitations, so that his army was increased exceedingly, before he reached the neighbourhood of *Jerusalem*. On the other hand, the *Jews* being informed of his approach, went to the temple to implore the divine assistance by fasting and prayers, and then prepared themselves for a vigorous defence. *Nicanor* advanced as far as the fortress of *Dessau*, where *Simon*, *Judas*'s brother, having attempted to come out against him, was so terrified at the sight of his numerous army, that he was glad to retire to *Jerusalem*³. All this however could not induce the *Syrian* general to begin any hostilities against the valiant *Judas*; on the contrary, he sent three of his head officers, *Posidonius*, *Theodosius*, and *Matthias*, to make overtures of peace to him. *Judas*, who had so lately observed the propensity of his men to a peace, acquainted them with the proposals made to him by *Nicanor*; which were so well approved by them, that a day and a place for an interview was agreed on by those two generals to give it the finishing stroke. *Judas* however, justly suspecting the sincerity of the *Syrians*, caused a certain number of his stoutest men to be so advantageously posted, that they might come to his relief, in case any violence were offered to him. But his precaution at this time was needless, and *Nicanor* was so bent upon clapping up a peace with him, that their conference was carried on to the satisfaction of both parties; the articles were agreed on, after which *Nicanor* went and stayed some time in *Jerusalem*, without giving the *Jews* the least cause of complaint; so far from it, that to avoid giving them any umbrage, he disbanded the greatest part of his army, and lived in perfect friendship with the *Jewish* nation^b (K).

Nicanor sent against the Jews.

Makes peace with them.

THIS

^a Ibid. 11, & seq.

² 2 Macc. xiv. 12, & seq.

^b Ibid. ver. 16, & seq.

(K) In this year some chronologers (45) place the introduction of the cycle, or rather period of eighty-four years, in order to settle the return of their new moons and festivals depending on them. We have shewn in a former volume †, what a wretched method they had used before the captivity, for discovering those new appearances without the help of astronomical tables. The inconvenience they found in it after their dispersion, obliged them to fall upon some surer method, that the whole nation might, in every place, observe them and the other festivals on the same day.

This method was the period of eighty-four years, which in all probability was only the period of *Callippus*, which that learned astronomer had published about a hundred and seventy years before, and consisted of seventy-six *Julian* years, and to which they added the *Ostoteris*, either thinking it answered

their purpose better, or, which is more likely, as dean *Prideaux* conjectures (46), to make it look like a discovery of their own. For the *Jews*, who were always very jealous of being suspected to borrow any things of the heathen nations, may be supposed to have been more so at this time, when they had just gone through so great and general a reformation in their church.

But whether *Judas* and his sanhedrin, harassed as they were on all sides by their enemies, could have leisure enough to find out and settle this new method, or whether they had not brought already something like it, either from *Babylon*, or from some of the *Greeks*; one thing is certain, and worth observing, that this period of eighty-four years was peculiar to the *Jews*, and has been used from thence downward to the time of the famous *Hillel*, who corrected their calendar in the year of Christ 360. It

was

(45) Vid. Bocher. de antiq. Pascal. Cycle. ap. Frid. connect. sub an. 162.

(46) ubi supra.

† Vol. I. p. 610, (H).

Year of the
flood 2838.
Before Christ
161.

Ordered to re-
new the war.

Attempts to
surprise Judas.

Threatens Je-
rusalem.

THIS harmony was however interrupted soon after by the perfidious high-priest, ^a who thinking the peace not sufficiently advantageous to him, went a third time to *Antioch* to complain against *Nicanor*, as a betrayer of his master's interest, and a friend to his mortal enemies; in testimony of which, he urged the peace lately concluded between them. *Demetrius*, though justly surprised that his general should venture to take such a step, not only without his leave, but without informing him of it, would not however recall him: he contented himself with refusing to ratify the articles, and sending him fresh orders to renew the war against the *Jewish* chief, and not to sheath his sword, till he had killed him, and wholly suppressed his party. Upon receiving this unexpected order, *Nicanor* was extremely displeased; on the one hand, he was loath to violate the peace, which had been so strictly kept by the *Jews*; ^b on the other, he feared the resentment of the king, if he disobeyed such an express command. This last motive having at length determined him, his main study was now to find out some plausible pretence for laying hold on the *Jewish* chief. To this end he began to alter his behaviour towards him, and instead of their former intimacy to treat him with coldness, and an air of superiority. This soon gave *Judas* to understand, that it was high time to look to himself, which he accordingly did, with such speed and secrecy, that he was quite disappeared before they had the least suspicion of it. *Nicanor*, surprised to find him gone out of his reach, endeavoured, as well as he could, to conceal his resentment: he found himself now obliged to raise a new army, and to act against him as an open enemy, and yet was both afraid and unwilling to do it. At length having gathered a sufficient number of forces, and come towards *Jerusalem*, he resolved once more to try to surprise him by some foul stratagem, before he ventured upon an open rupture. To this end he sent some deputies to acquaint him that he was not come to make war against him, but to treat of peace with him, and to invite him to a new interview. *Judas* came accordingly to the place agreed on, where their first greeting was in all appearance very friendly and peaceable; but having discovered his treacherous intent, he withdrew, and from that time refused to meet him any more. *Nicanor* then ordered his troops to advance towards *Capbarsalama*, not far from *Jerusalem*, where being met by the *Jewish* army, ^c a battle was fought, in which he lost five thousand men. But the *Jews* finding ^d themselves unable to make head against the enemy's superior forces, retired, some to the city of *David*, and some into the temple ^e. *Nicanor* then led his army strait to *Jerusalem*, and getting upon the eminence of mount *Sion*, was addressed by some of the priests and heads of the people, who came in a submissive manner to him, and shewed him from that place the sacrifices which were then offered up in the temple for the prosperity of king *Demetrius*. But the exasperated general having cast many insolent and blasphemous reflections on what he called their base superstition, swore the utter destruction of them and their temple, unless *Judas* was immediately delivered up to him. But *Judas* had happily put it out of their power, having betimes withdrawn himself into the land of *Samaria* with some of his faithful troops. However, it was in vain for the priests to urge this or any thing else in their own defence, to a man who was now determined to make them feel the effects of his resentment, for having missed his blow. The poor priests seeing an exasperated enemy at the head of a powerful army at the very gates of the temple, and their valiant protector forced to abandon them to his mercy, had no other recourse but to their prayers and tears; whilst *Nicanor*, still bent rather upon stratagem than open war, bethought himself of a hellish expedient to oblige the *Jews* to apostatise both from their God, and their brave deliverer ^f.

THEY had at that time an aged member of their sanhedrin, named *Razis*, a man highly esteemed by the nation for his strict piety and virtue, and whose inviolable fidelity to his religion and nation, had gained him the title of father of the *Jews*. *Nicanor* having heard so good a character of him, and that his example had preserved numbers of his people from apostatising, conceived a design, either to force him to it by fair or foul means, or else to do a despite to the nation, by putting him to some cruel death. To this end he dispatched five hundred of his soldiers to take and bring him to him. These finding his castle strongly guarded, were endea-

^c 1 Macc. vii. 27, & seq.

^d Ibid. ver. 32, & seq.

was afterwards followed by the primitive fathers in the christian church in the setting of their *Easter*,

till new disputes arose, and new corrections were introduced; which are foreign to our present subject.

vouring

- a vouring to break open the doors, or to force him out by setting it on fire, when the old man, after a long and stout defence, finding himself on the brink of being either taken, or burnt, rushed on the point of his sword, and pierced himself through. However, the wound not proving mortal, and he seeing the soldiers rushing into the house, ran to the top of one of the turrets, and flung himself headlong down. This fall not having put an end to his life, he raised himself up, ran through the midst of them to a neighbouring steep rock, leaving a rivulet of blood behind, which issued out of his wounds, and having gained the top of it, he opened his wound with his hands, tore out his bowels, and flung them at his agashed enemies^e. Thus *Kills himself.*
- b The *Jews* however have made no scruple to canonise him a martyr, though his death was rather that of a madman, or a desperado.

- WHILE this was doing at *Jerusalem*, *Nicanor* having heard that *Judas* was in the land of *Samaria*, marched against him with an army of thirty-five thousand men; and as he still trusted more to his political stratagems, than to his strength, he resolved to attack him on the sabbath, not doubting but they would, as they had formerly done, chuse to be all murdered, rather than fight on that day. He was however assured of the contrary by some of that nation, who were in his army, and who begged that he would pay a regard to that sacred day, which the God of heaven had consecrated to his service. *Nicanor* asked them, with a scornful taunt, Whether
- c there was indeed a mighty God in heaven, who had ordered the sanctification of the sabbath? And being answered in the affirmative, he replied, And I, who am powerful upon earth, do command you to fight for the king your master, and to obey his orders. This blasphemous arrogance, as well as his former threatenings against the temple, did not go long unpunished; for whilst he was incamped in the neighbourhood of *Bethoron*, *Judas* marched immediately against him with his three thousand men, and incamped near *Adasa*, a place about thirty furlongs distant from the enemy. The first thing he did was to encourage his little army with proper texts out of the sacred books, and to assure them further of the divine assistance, he acquainted them with a comfortable vision, which he had lately had, in which he
- d saw *Onias*, the late worthy high-priest, and after him the prophet *Jeremiab*, interceding for the *Jewish* people, and that the latter had presented him with a splendid sword, and given him at the same time an assurance of a complete victory. This speech had the desired effect, and his men were on a sudden fired with such courage, that they routed the enemy on the very first onset; for *Nicanor* being killed one of the first, his men were seized with a panic, threw their arms down, and sought in vain for a shelter; for *Judas* pursuing them, and the *Jews* of the neighbouring cities hearing of this victory, stopping their flight, killed them all to a man, inasmuch that there was not a single person left to carry the news to *Antioch*. This battle was won on the thirteenth day of the month *Adar*, answering to our *February*; and on
- e the next day, the body of *Nicanor* being found among the slain, *Judas* ordered his head, and right hand, which he had so lately lifted up with threatening oaths against the temple, to be cut off, and carried in triumph to *Jerusalem*; where being arrived with his army, he caused them to be expoted to the view of *Jews* and *Gentiles*, reminding them at the same time that those were the head and hand of the profane *Nicanor*, who had sworn the total destruction of their sacred temple. His tongue he likewise ordered to be cut out, and minced, and to be thrown to the birds, and his head and hand to be hung up on some of the highest towers of that city. After the usual rejoicings for their late success, a public anniversary was instituted by the sanhedrin, to be kept by future generations on the thirteenth day of *Adar*,
- f by the name of the day of *Nicanor*^f, which has been kept ever since.

THIS victory gave the *Jewish* nation some peaceful intermission, and their enemies being justly terrified at the continual successes of their leader, suffered him to return, and take quiet possession of the city, which his successors was however forced to quit soon after to the then superior power of the *Syrian* general and apostate *Alcimus*, who held it but a short while, and for the last time, as the sequel will presently shew. During this peaceful interval, *Judas*, always intent on the interest of his religion and nation, observing how powerful the *Romans* were now grown, and how faithfully they protected and assisted their friends, resolved to procure an alliance with them, which

^e Ibid. 37, & seq.^f Ibid. ad ver. 50. 2 MACCAB. XV. 1, & seq. Vid. & JOSEPH. antiq. l. xii.

might prove a bulwark against the oppressive power of the Syrians. *Eupolemus* the son of *John*, and *Jason* the son of *Eleazar*, who had been already sent with success to *Seleucus Philopator*, were likewise chosen for this embassy. Their proposals were readily accepted by the Roman senate, and a decree was accordingly made, and engraven on copper, in order to be sent to *Jerusalem*; importing that the Jews were thenceforth acknowledged as friends and allies of the Romans; that both nations should be ready to succour each other, and the allies of either with all their power, and in no case should assist their enemies; and for as much as *Demetrius Soter* had been complained against to the senate, as an oppressor of the Jewish nation, they sent a letter to him, injoining him for the future to forbear all hostilities against them, and threatening him with an invasion of his country by sea and land, in case he did not comply with the purport of their decree ^a. This alliance was made in a lucky time; for whilst it was transacting at *Rome*, *Demetrius*, having received the news of *Nicanor's* defeat and death, was sending the right wing, that is to say, the flower (L) of his army, into *Judaea*, with *Bacchides* and *Alcimus* at their head. It consisted of twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse, and with these *Bacchides* entered *Galilee*, and took the city of *Mafeloth* or *Massadoth* in the territories of *Arbela*, where he killed a great number of Jews. From thence they marched towards *Jerusalem*, but being told that *Judas* was retired into the neighbourhood of *Eleasa*, they went to attack him there. *Judas* had then but three thousand men, and when these beheld the superiority of the enemy's army, their hearts failed them so far, that only eight hundred of them stayed with him, and the rest conveyed themselves away, to the great regret of their valiant chief, who was now so sorely pressed, that he had no time to get a new reinforcement, but must either fight or be cut in pieces. However, trusting in that superior assistance which had accompanied him hitherto, he encouraged his men the best he could; a dreadful fight ensued, which lasted from morning till evening; and *Judas* observing that the enemy's right wing, commanded by *Bacchides*, was the strongest, made a stout push at it, broke and pursued it as far as mount *Azotus*; ^b

^a *Ibid. ibid.*

(L) It was usual in those days for the kings to command the right wing of their army, so that the best of their troops were generally placed there.

With relation to the alliance above-mentioned, *Josephus* observes (47), that it was the very first that ever the Jews made with *Rome*, which is very probable also from the manner in which the author of the first book of *Maccabees* prefaces his account of it (48); for it appears from it that the Jews till then knew but little of the Roman state.

And here it will not be amiss to inquire how far the account which *Josephus* gives of this alliance (49) is liable to the reproof which our learned *Usher* gives it (50); that historian tells us, that the decree of the senate was written by *Eupolemus* and *Jason*, when *Judas* was high-priest, and his brother *Simon* general of the Jews. That *Judas* died before *Alcimus*, and so could not be chosen by the people to succeed him in that dignity, as he there affirms a little before, is plain, not only from the first book of *Maccabees*, but even from *Josephus* himself, who tells us in another place, that *Alcimus* had no successor till seven years after his death (1), but that the superscription abovementioned was therefore forged by him, doth not so clearly follow. It is probable on the contrary, that his finding it in those very terms, in the Roman records, which he was then consulting, might lead him for the present into that mistake, that *Judas* had been chosen to the high-priesthood after *Alcimus's* death.

If it be asked how it came to be so worded, we answer, that the Jewish nation being known to have had a high-priest at the head of all their affairs both religious and civil, such an alliance could not be well contracted without one. On the other hand, *Alci-*

mus having been constantly rejected by reason of his apostasy, it is not likely that they would make use so much as of his name in so public a transaction. What other expedient could then be found, but that *Judas*, who was then at the head of all affairs, should take that title upon him, at least in the transacting of this alliance?

We might add, that it is not easy to guess how the nation could be so long without a high-priest; for setting aside those religious functions which were peculiar to that dignity, and which might, for ought we know, have been suspended during this interval; it is plain, the sanhedrin, or grand Jewish senate, could neither assemble nor make any authentic decrees without him; so that we must suppose, either that every thing went irregular, or that they chose some person to that dignity; in which case, why might not the choice of the nation, or at least of the heads of it, be deemed as valid at least, as that of a heathenish king, or rather, tyrant and usurper? for such the Jews deemed even the best foreign princes that ruled over them.

How the generalship came to be given in this inscription, rather to *Simon* the third brother, than either to *Judas*, or to *Jonathan* the next in birth, can only be guessed at. *Judas* treating then with the Romans as high-priest, might think the quality of general incompatible with it, and *Simon* might for some signal exploit or other have been at that time more famed than his brother.

One thing may be added, that this supposed inscription might imply no more in the Jewish historian, than that *Eupolemus* and *Jason* wrote, or sent the written decree to *Judas* the high-priest, and to *Simon* the general.

(47) *Antiq. l. xii. c. 17.*
(50) *Sub A. M. 3843.*

(48) *Cap. viii. 1, & seq.*
(1) *Antiq. l. xi. c. 8.*

(49) *Antiq. l. xii. sub fin. cap. 17.*

a but in the mean time, the left having quite surrounded him and his men, he was at length over-born by their numbers, and slain, after a long and vigorous defence ; so that he fell down on a heap of his enemies, which he had killed round about him. As soon as the news of his death had reached *Jerusalem*, the whole city was filled with the most lively sorrow. An universal mourning was made for him for some time, and in imitation of that which *David* made for *Saul* and *Jonathan*, they sung these lines of his, *How is the mighty fallen ? How is the preserver of Israel slain ?* However, his body did not fall into the hands of the enemy ; for whether the *Syrians*, after this victory, which redounded less to their honour than a defeat, left the field of battle, or whether a truce was made for the burying of the dead, the author tells us that it was taken and carried off by his two brothers, *Jonathan* and *Simon*, and buried in the sepulchre of his father at *Modin* ^b. Thus died the brave *Jewish* general, six years after his father *Matthias*, and was succeeded by his brother *Jonathan*. The *Maccabite* historian adds, that the rest of his victorious wars were omitted, because they were too numerous ; and *Josephus*, that he never departed from the precepts of his father, who enjoined him never to shun any labours or hazards for the service of his country, and that he died on the third year of his executing the office of high-priest ^c, which confirms what was observed in the last note ; so that for ought appears his only mistake was in making him die so long after *Alcimus*.

c THE news of his death was no sooner spread through *Judea*, than it gave a new life to all the enemies of the *Jews*, so that the greatest part of these found themselves obliged, partly for want of a chief of known valour and conduct, and partly through a grievous famine, which then raged in the land, to acknowledge *Bacchides* their governor, and to submit themselves to him. Whilst therefore this general was taking all proper measures to secure his own government, some of the chief officers that served under him, were ordered to make a diligent search after the principal friends and adherents of the *Maccabees*, and to put them to the most torturing deaths ; insomuch that this persecution did seem to exceed all that they had suffered since their return from *Babylon*, and caused as general a defection. Under these dismal circumstances, those few who retained still a love for their religion and country, had recourse to *Jonathan*, surnamed *Apphus*, and desired him to take upon him the command of the *Jewish* forces, and to endeavour to stop the cruel progress of the *Syrian* general. *Jonathan* was easily prevailed upon, and was gathering what forces he could get. But *Bacchides* being informed of it, and coming against him with a design to surprise and put him to death, forced him and his few followers to retire into the desarts of *Tekoa*, where they encamped near the lake *Asphar*, being fenced by a large morass on the one side, by woods on the other, and the *Jordan* before him ^d. This situation, which he thought very advantageous to his handful of men, because there was but one narrow way to come at them, proved the very reverse, when they came to engage the enemy, as we shall soon see.

Jonathan succeeds him.

c IN the mean time, as soon as he heard that *Bacchides* was in full march against him, his first care was to secure their goods and equipage, which were very numerous, till better times. The *Nabatheans*, as we observed before, were then at peace with them. *John* therefore, the brother of *Jonathan*, was sent at the head of a convoy to go and deposit it with them. But in his way he was surprised by the *Jambrians* (M), who issuing out of their city, fell upon him, slew him and his men, and carried away all their baggage. This injury did not go long unrequited. *Jonathan* being informed soon after that a great wedding was to be celebrated at *Medaba*, between one of the *Jambrian* chiefs, and a daughter of a *Canaanitish*, or perhaps rather a prince of the *Arabians*, now settled there, and having got notice of the day on which the bride was to be conducted to her new home, he and his men laid in ambush behind a hill ; and as soon as the company, which was very numerous, and of both sexes, was come nigh enough, they fell upon them, killed them to the number of four hundred, and carried away the plunder to their camp.

John killed by the Jambrians.

^b 1 MACCAB. ix. 1, & seq. ad 22. JOSEPH. ANTIQ. l. xii. c. ult. ^c Id. ad fin. ^d 1 MACC. ix. 23, ad 45. JOSEPH. ANTIQ. l. xiii. c. 1.

(M) These were a tribe of the plundering *Arabs*, cities which the *Moabites* took from the tribe of *Reuben* (2.), and afterwards the *Arabs* from them.

(2) Conf. *Josh.* xiii. 16. *Isaiah* xv. 2. & *Joseph. ant.* l. xiii. 1.

Bacchides
comes against
the Jews.

As soon as *Bacchides* heard of this retaliation upon the *Jambrians*, he hastened his army, with a resolution to attack the *Jewish* general on the sabbath, at which *Jonathan* found himself in no small distress. On the one hand, he was hemmed in on all sides, and on the other his men were with difficulty prevailed upon to stand in their own defence, partly at the sight of their superior enemy, and partly out of respect to the day; whether they had forgot the resolution and example of their late chiefs to the contrary, or whether they scrupled the validity of it. At length, *Jonathan* finding himself pressed by the enemy on the one side, and on the other by the reluctance of his men to engage them, he addressed himself to the latter in the following short, but pathetic speech; "Come on, and let us fight for our lives; for it is not now with us, as it was in time past; for you see plainly, that the battle is both before and behind us, and the *Jordan* on this, and the morass and the wood on that side. Neither is there a place left for us to turn aside to. Wherefore cry ye now unto heaven, that ye may be delivered out of the hand of your enemies". As soon as he had done speaking, his men, what through his encouragement, and what through despair, made a bold push at the enemy, and killed a good number of them on the first onset. *Bacchides* all the while seemed to aim solely at *Jonathan*, which being perceived by him, he attempted to make a full and effectual blow at him, but was prevented by his address. The *Jews* finding themselves at last unable to cope with such an army, cast themselves one and all into the river (MM), and swam to the other side, after having killed about a thousand, or according to *Josephus*, two thousand of the enemy¹.

*Jonathan put
to flight.*

Bacchides, now convinced that they would fight on the sabbath, as well as on other days, did not think fit to pursue them farther, but returned with his army to *Jerusalem*, and there gave orders for the fortifying and garisoning such places as were most likely to keep the *Jews* in awe, and to oblige the *Maccabite* party, either to submit, or at least to forbear all future attempts against him. Among these were *Bethoron*, *Jericho*, *Emmaus*, *Bethel*, *Thimnath*, *Bethzura*, and some others, especially the fortress of *Acra*, into which, besides a new supply of men, arms, and provisions, he sent the children of some of the principal *Jews* to be kept as hostages there, to prevent their parents and relations going over to *Jonathan* and his party. At the same time the apostate *Alcimus*, finding himself master of *Jerusalem*, gave orders for demolishing the wall of the temple, which inclosed the court of the priests from that of the people (N), and which had been formerly built by the direction of the prophets *Haggai* and *Zachary*. But he had scarce began the work, before he was struck with a dead palsy, which took his speech from him, so that he died without being able to speak a word, or to take any care of his house. After his death *Bacchides*, having by that time brought all *Judea* into subjection, thought he had no further business there, but returned to *Antioch*, and left the *Jews* and heathens to live in peace there, which they did for about two years^m (O).

Year of the
Jlood 2829.
Before Christ
160.

Jonathan

¹ *Iid. ibid.*

^m *Iid. ibid.*

(MM) Whoever compares the situation of these places with the abstruse and imperfect account which the author of it gives of this action, must confess, with the judicious *Calmer**, that *Jonathan* must have crossed the *Jordan* twice, instead of once, else he could never have had that river before, and *Bacchides* behind. For when he retired to *Teckoa*, the river must then have parted them, and he must have crossed it again to come to *Medeba* to punish the *Jambrians*; for *Medeba* was on the east side, and *Teckoa*, where they had incamped at first, was on the west side of that river.

Had he then crossed it again, after this bloody expedition, which would have been the third time, he could not have had it before, and *Bacchides* behind him, unless we supposed that he also crossed it either higher or lower, and so fetched a long compass about to inclose him; in which case there would be three crossings omitted, viz. two of *Jonathan's*, and this of *Bacchides*. But it is more probable, considering what haste the latter was in to fall upon him, that he overtook him as they re-

turned from *Medeba*, and before he could cross again to return to *Teckoa*; and this may be the reason, when they found themselves overpowered, of their flinging themselves into that river, and swimming across it, in order to recover their camp, which might be so well situate and fortified, that it discouraged the *Syrians* from pursuing them further.

(N) Or more probably that which divided the court of the circumcised from that of the uncircumcised. For as his apostasy had made him incur the hatred of all the sincere *Jews*, it is not unlikely that he caused this partition wall to be pulled down to mortify them, and to ingratiate himself with the heathen and the renegados of his nation. However, the book of *Maccabees* calls it the wall of the inner court of the sanctuary (3); and *Josephus* (4), the wall of the old sanctuary, and adds to it the works of the prophets.

(O) It may be also likely enough, that he was privately recalled by *Demetrius*; for that prince at this time stood in great need of the friendship of the *Romans* (5), and had probably received their letter,

* *Sub voce Jonathan IX.* (3) *1 Maccab. ix. 54.* (4) *Antiq. l. xii. c. 17.* (5) *Iid. Polyb. legat. 120.*

■ Jonathan and his party made the best of this short interval to secure themselves, so that they lived quietly, and without any mistrust. This gave his enemies an opportunity to make a fresh attempt upon him, by inviting *Bacchides* to surprise and destroy the whole party, which they sent him word might be done in one night. *Demetrius*, who had been by this time acknowledged king of Syria by the Romans, and had made a new alliance with them, having now nothing to fear from that side, was easily persuaded to send *Bacchides* with a powerful army into *Judæa*. As soon therefore as this general was got there, he sent letters to those of his party, with orders to seize Jonathan and his men, and to bring them to him, as had been agreed before. This plot however had not been carried on with such secrecy, but that vigilant chief had notice of it time enough, both to disappoint it, and to punish those traitors that had hatched it; for he came suddenly upon them, took fifty of the chief conspirators, and put them all to death; after which the rest were soon dispersed, and the whole design discomfited.

A plot against Jonathan.

Defeated.

AFTER this signal escape, Jonathan being informed of *Bacchides*'s coming against him, and finding himself by far too weak to withstand so great a force, retired to *Bethbasi*, or, as *Josephus* calls it, *Bethlagan*, a place strongly situate in the desert of *Jericho*, which he and his brother *Simon* fortified, and filled with all necessary provisions for a siege. *Bacchides* came according to his expectation, and laid close siege to the place with his numerous army, which he had increased with all his adherents in *Judæa*, whom he summoned to repair to him thither. As the siege was like to last long, Jonathan, after a vigorous defence, left the place under the care of his brother, and with a small brigade went out to reinforce his army; and crossing the country, defeated *Odonarches*, and his brethren, and the sons of *Phasiron* in their tents. These we suppose were part of the besieging host. From thence he went on, attacked and annoyed other parts of their camp, and forced *Bacchides* to come to their assistance; which being perceived by *Simon* from within, he made a vigorous sally, burnt their engines, then falling upon his army, discomfited it on one side, whilst his brother did the same on the other. *Bacchides*, vexed at the heart to meet with such a defeat, where he expected an easy victory, vented his rage on those who had invited him out of Syria, and put many of them to death, resolved to raise the siege, and to return to *Antioch*. The only difficulty was how to do it, if not with honour, at least with as little disgrace as might be; which as soon as Jonathan understood, he sent him some messengers with proposals for a peace; which were gladly accepted, and soon after ratified by both parties. By these articles all prisoners were to be released on both sides, which was accordingly done; and *Bacchides* having sworn never more to act hostilely against Jonathan, departed into Syria, and punctually kept his oath to him as long as he lived. It seems likewise that by these articles Jonathan was left, if not governor, at least deputy governor of *Judæa*; for as soon as *Bacchides* was gone, he went and settled in *Michmasb* (P), where he judged *Israel*, pretty near like the ancient Judges. He began with making a severe example of all the apostate Jews, who were the cause of all the wars and persecutions that fell upon their nation, from the reign of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, downwards to that time. After this he set about reforming the Jewish church and state. So that from this time *Judæa* began to enjoy a perfect peace, and free exercise of their religion, the happy effects of their general's valour and piety.

Jonathan besieged by Bacchides.

Defeats him

Makes peace with him.

Judges the Jews.

Soon after this, the troubles that happened in Syria, and of which we have already spoken in the last volume †, gave the Jews a fair opportunity of wholly recovering their liberty, and not only of raising themselves into a state of independency, either from that kingdom, or that of *Egypt*; but of being highly courted by both. But above all, *Demetrius*, who so feelingly knew their strength and bravery, had most

■ 1 Maccab. ubi supra. v. 57. ad 61. JOSEPH. ubi supra. * Id. ibid. & seq. † Macc. ubi supra. verſ. 62. ad fin. antiq. l. xiii. c. 2. ‡ Vol. III. p. 593, & seq.

letter, which ordered him to cease all hostilities against the Jewish nation; so that he was forced to recall him, yet so privately, that the Jews should not be too elated by it; and this may be the reason why neither *Josephus* nor the book of *Maccabees* mention it.

(P) This town was in the tribe of Benjamin east of *Betharen* (6), about nine miles from *Jerusalem* (7), and between it and *Gibeon*. *Eusebius* tells us in the place last quoted, that it was still very considerable in his time.

(6) 1 Sam. xiii. 5.

(7) Loc. Hebr. sub voce.

Year of the
flood 2846.
Before Christ
153.
Demetrius's
letter to Jona-
than.

cause to use all possible means to prevent their declaring for his competitor *Alexander Balas*. To effect which, he wrote a letter to *Jonathan* full of expressions of the sincerest friendship and confidence, and in which he gave him full power to levy what forces he should think fit, and to cause new arms to be fabricated, and declared him his new friend and ally. In the end, he added an order for setting at liberty all the hostages which had been sent by *Bacchides* into the fortress of *Acra*, and had been detained there ever since, notwithstanding the late peace concluded with him. As soon as *Jonathan* had received the letter, he brought it to *Jerusalem*, caused it to be read before that garison, and demanded the hostages to be delivered unto him according to the tenor of it. The people seeing how great a power he was now invested with, dared not hesitate about the matter, but immediately complied with his demand; after which *Jonathan* found his army increase exceedingly, there being now no check nor danger in joining him. On the other hand, those garisons which *Bacchides* had left in several strong places of *Judaea* above-mentioned, not finding themselves strong enough to withstand him, forsook them and fled. Those only of *Belbuzra* and *Acra*, which were mostly filled with apostate *Jews*, not daring to follow their example, lest they should be pursued, and meet with their just deserts; resolved to stand it out to the last, and either surrender upon safe terms, or to die sword in hand. *Jonathan* however did not think fit to besiege them immediately, but went to *Jerusalem*, where his presence was more required, and there caused the repairs both of the city and temple to be forthwith set about, fixing his abode in that city to see the work more effectually finished ^a.

Alexander's
letter to him.
Jonathan
made high-
priest.

WHEN *Alexander* understood what a powerful friend *Jonathan* was like to prove to the side he should declare himself for, and of the favours which *Demetrius* had lately bribed him with, he resolved to outbid him, and to draw him to his interest. He sent him a most obliging letter (Q), in which he bestowed the high-priesthood on him, and accompanied it with rich presents, and among them a purple robe, and a golden crown ^b. *Jonathan* readily accepted of them, put on the priestly vestments, on the feasts of tabernacles ^c, in the ninth year of his government (R), and in the seventh month of that year. However, as he would not seem wholly to receive that dignity from a prince, whose right to the *Syrian* crown was so justly suspected, he got himself chosen to it by the suffrages of the *Jewish* nation; and indeed not without a specious right to it; for being, as we hinted in the last note, of the family of *Joarib*, and consequently of the first class of the *Aaronic* race, that was sufficient to intitle him to it upon the failure of that of *Jozadac*, which had enjoyed it ever since their return from *Babylon*; and we don't read of any survivor of it except *Onias*, who was then in *Egypt*, and had there, if not apostatized, at least made a considerable schism, by setting up a new temple, altar, and priesthood there. As soon therefore as *Jonathan* ^d

^a 1 MACCAB. x. 10, & seq. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 3, & 4.
ubi supra, c. 5.

^b Ibid. ibid.

^c 1 MACCAB. ibid. ver. 17, & seq. Ant.

(Q) The purport of it was to this effect: "King *Alexander* to his brother *Jonathan*, &c. Being informed of your power and valour, and that you are worthy of our friendship, we constitute you high-priest of your nation, and it is our pleasure that you be enrolled in the number of the king's friends. To this end we have sent you a purple robe, and a golden crown, not doubting a suitable return from you for our affection and friendship (8).

We have often observed in the course of this history, that the purple was a mark of the greatest dignity next to the royal one; it was esteemed such among the *Jews*, *Persians*, *Macedonians*, &c. and those that wore it were called king's friends, and implied the same as the king's cousins here with us.

(R) *Josephus* (9) says in the fourth year after the decease of his brother *Judas*; but we have already shewn in a late note his mistake in making this last outlive and succeed *Alcimus*, the contrary of which appears from the book of the *Maccabees* (10), which

expressly mentions the installation of *Jonathan* to have been on the hundred and sixtieth year of the *Grecian* kingdom, which answers to the three thousand eight hundred and fifty-second year of the world, and one hundred and fifty-three before Christ (11).

We have likewise shewed at the close of the last section †, that *Mattathias*, the father of the *Maccabees*, was descended from the priestly family of *Joarib*, though not from that of *Jaddan* or *Jaddus*, the high-priest, whose lineal heir and successor was the *Onias* whom we lately mentioned to have retired into *Alexandria*, and there built a temple for the use of the *Egyptian Jews*.

Jonathan, if not his brother *Judas*, was therefore the first of the family who enjoyed the pontifical dignity, which continued in it through a number of successors till *Herod's* time, who from hereditary, made it venal and arbitrary, as we shall shew in the sequel.

(8) *Joseph. antiq. l. xiii. c. 5.*

(9) Ibid.

(10) Conf. 1 Macc. x. 21, & ix. 3. 28, & 54.

† p. 54, (K).

(11) Vid. *Uss. ann. & the Marg. of the Macc. in loc.*

- a was invested with his new dignity, his first care was to raise new forces, and to cause a great number of arms to be made, resolved to side with *Alexander*. When *Demetrius* found that his competitor was likely to deprive him of so important an ally, he spared neither favour nor promises to prevent it: he sent him a long letter, couched in the most obliging terms, and wherein he artfully disguised his resentment for his defection under the greatest professions of confidence in his friendship and loyalty. In acknowledgment of which, and to bind him still faster to his interest, he promised him a general relaxation of all arrears, an exemption from future tribute, imposts or taxes, a free exercise of their religion, with many other concessions and privileges, vastly exceeding those which *Alexander* had made to him, and too great indeed to be really designed by that monarch. At least the memory of the many mischiefs and persecutions which they had so lately suffered under him, made them suspect the sincerity of them; and indeed such was the character of that prince, and the present situation of his affairs, that they might well extort such exorbitant promises from him, without any real intention to perform them. However, whether through resentment or diffidence, *Jonathan* chose rather to enter into an alliance with his competitor, and disclaimed all future friendship with a man who had given them so many feeling proofs of his hatred to their nation. So that from this time they stuck close to *Alexander's* interest, and it was lucky for them that they did so, since *Demetrius* was soon after defeated and killed by him, as we have seen in a former volume *.
- b THE new monarch however having by that decisive battle made himself master of the Syrian crown, forgot not to express his gratitude to the Jewish chief; he invited him soon after to his nuptials, to which *Jonathan* went with a numerous retinue, and was received with great marks of friendship and esteem. During his stay at *Ptolemais*, where they were celebrated, some disaffected Jews came to exhibit some accusations against him; but the king, resolved not to hear any thing against his friend, caused a proclamation to be made through the city, expressly forbidding any such complaint to be brought before him. To mortify his enemies the more, he caused him to sit by him clothed in purple, confirmed all his former grants to him, and made him generalissimo of *Judæa*, and gave him some other titles and government in his kingdom (S); all which did cast such a damp upon his accusers, that they sneaked away for fear of further mischief. *Jonathan* on the other hand having made some considerable presents to the king and queen, and to their court, returned into *Judæa*, highly satisfied with his reception, and much more with his choice of such an ally. From this time the Jewish nation became more and more considerable, not only in *Judæa*, where they enjoyed every branch of liberty, whether religious or civil; but in other countries also, and particularly in *Egypt*; where *Ptolemy Philometor*, and his sister and wife *Cleopatra*, raised many of them to considerable posts both at court and in the army, intrusted them with the keeping of their principal fortresses, and had given the command of their army to *Onias* and *Dositheus*. These two, if we may believe *Josephus* w, seem to have wholly ingrossed the king's favour during his whole reign. But *Onias* could not be satisfied with it, whilst he saw himself deprived of the dignity of the Jewish high-priesthood, and of the pleasure of performing the functions of that supreme dignity, which his birth intitled him to. Since therefore there were no hopes that *Jonathan* would ever yield to him that of *Jerusalem*, he had no other way to make himself amends for it, but by setting up a new one in *Egypt*; and his great credit with the king and queen did easily procure him the liberty of doing it. But as this transaction did no further concern the Jews of *Judæa*, to which we confine ourselves, than as it made a great schism with them, we shall relate it in the margin (T).

Demetrius's second letter to him.

Suspected of insincerity.

Year of the flood 2849. Before Christ 150.

Jonathan's reception at Ptolemais.

Jews in Egypt highly esteemed.

A Jewish temple built in Egypt.

B Y

* *Ibid. ibid.*

* Vol. III. p. 595.

* 1 Maccas. *ibid.* ver. 59. 4d 66. *Antiq. ubi supra.*

w *Antiq. ubi supra*, c. 6. *Cont. Apion.* l. ii. See also, Vol. III. p. 657, c.

(S) The book of *Maccabees* says, that he made him one of the *Malabarchas*, which our version after the vulgate renders a duke, some critics *lord high steward*, others *lord chief sewer*; which offices, and some others of the like nature, are still held by the electors of *Germany*. But it is more likely, as *Grotius* in another place seems to have proved it (12),

that it meant some higher place than an office in the king's house, *viz.* the government of some tribe or province in the kingdom.

(T) This edifice, which was built after the model of that of *Jerusalem*, but neither so large nor so sumptuous, the reader may see described in *Josephus* (1). It was surrounded with a very strong stone

(12) *Comment. in Matth.* xix. 28. l. viii. c. 30.

(1) *Antiq.* l. xiii. c. 6. l. xiv. c. 14. l. xviii. c. 20. *Bell. Jud.*

Year of the
flood 2551.
Before Christ
148.

Jonathan chal-
lenged by
Apollonius.

Defeats him.

Alexander's
gratitude to
him.

By this time *Alexander* having, partly by his negligence and debaucheries, and partly by the tyranny and cruelties of his favourite *Ammonius*, as it were, invited young *Demetrius* out of his retirement in *Cnidus*, to come and recover the crown from him †, *Apollonius*, then governor of *Cælo-Syria* and *Palestine*, revolted to him, whilst *Jonathan*, remembering his late alliance and obligations, stuck close to *Alexander's* interest. *Apollonius* therefore having got a considerable army together, marched against him as far as *Jamnia*; but not daring to advance farther into the mountainous parts of *Judæa* for fear of losing the benefit of his cavalry, he sent him a daring message to come and fight him in the plain country. *Jonathan* readily accepted the challenge, and marched from *Jerusalem* to *Joppa* at the head of ten thousand men, and in his way was met by his brother *Simon* with a reinforcement. The town being garisoned by the troops of *Apollonius*, shut their gates against the Jewish general, and obliged him to take it by siege, which he quickly did, and almost in full sight of the enemy's army. As soon as *Apollonius* perceived it, he came against him with eight thousand foot, and three thousand horse, leaving a thousand more of these behind to surprise the Jews on the rear, whilst he attacked them in front, and so made a feint, as if he was marching with the former southward towards *Azotus*. *Jonathan* came out as he expected, and he facing about, fell upon him, not doubting but his stratagem would gain him a complete victory. But he soon found his project discomfited by the experienced Jewish general; for having drawn up his army in the figure of an oblong square, not unlike the *Macedonian* phalanx, his brave troops bore the brunt of the battle on both sides with unusual firmness till the evening, when *Jonathan* observing the enemy's horse to be quite spent, rushed on the sudden upon the foot which was now destitute of their cavalry, and totally routed them. The greatest part of them fled to *Azotus*, and sheltered themselves in the temple of *Dagon*, whither the Jewish army pursued them; and having made themselves masters of the town, set it on fire temple and all. The number of the slain, whether by the sword, or the flames, amounted to eight thousand. From *Azotus* *Jonathan* went and plundered some other neighbouring towns; only that of *Ascalon*, which met him with presents, and compliments of submission, was spared, after which they returned to *Jerusalem* laden with rich plunder. *Alexander* soon after hearing of *Jonathan's* faithfulness and victory, sent him a present of a rich buckle or clasp, such as those only of the royal family used to wear, and which fastened their purple mantle to the shoulder: he gave him moreover the city and territory of *Ecron*, and some other marks of his esteem *.

ON *Philometor's* coming with his army into *Palestine*, on pretence to succour his son-in-law, but in reality to dispossess him of his kingdom, whether to seize it for himself, as the author of the *Maccabees* pretends †, or which is more likely from the sequel, in favour of young *Demetrius*; some of the enemies of the *Maccabees* tried

† See before, Vol. III. p. 596, & seq. r. & seq.

* Maccab. ibid. ver. 74. ad fin.

† Ibid. c. xi.

stone wall, and had the altar of incense and burnt-offerings, &c. like that in *Judæa*; only, instead of the seven-branched candlestick, *Onias* contented himself with a stately golden lamp, which hung from the roof by a chain of the same metal.

The place he pitched upon was the ruins of an ancient Egyptian temple, within the name of *Heliopolis*; which being therefore polluted, gave no small scandal to the Jews there, who were moreover very strenuous against the setting up any temple against that of *Jerusalem*, as being expressly contrary to the *Mosaic* law. To remove these two scruples, *Onias* trumped up a prophecy out of *Isaiah* (2), importing that an altar should be set up unto the Lord in the midst of the land of *Egypt*, and alluding to the times of the gospel, which he applied to this new edifice he was about to build; and whereas one of the Egyptian cities there mentioned is called עיר החרס, *hair hacheres* in the text, which signifies the city of the sun, though the *keri* or margin reads it עיר הרס, *hair heres*, the city of destruction (3); *Onias* took it in the former sense, and so is supposed

to have made choice of the territory of *Heliopolis*, as if it had been alluded to by the prophet (4). Though the last quoted author adds another reason, viz. his being governor of that district, and having built a city in it, which he had peopled with Jews, and called by his name *Onion*.

When he had once removed these two difficulties, he did not want for priests and levites to officiate under him, so that the divine service was afterwards performed in this new temple in the same manner as it was at *Jerusalem*, till both were destroyed by the same Roman emperor (5).

However, those priests who had once officiated in the Egyptian, were never suffered to do so in the Jewish, but were, if we may believe the talmudists (6), looked upon as guilty of the same schism with those who had sacrificed on the high places, and as such were only admitted to the very lowest services. They received their elemosynary stipends out of the revenue of the temple, but were excluded from eating any of its holy things.

(2) *Isaiah* xix. 18, 19. (3) *Vid. Munster. in loc.* (4) *Scaliger. in Chronol. Euseb. Præd. Connect. fab an. 149.* (5) *Vid. Joseph. Bell. Judaic. l. vii. c. 30.* (6) *Vid. Mishn. tract. Mincheth, c. 15.*

a to render them odious to him, by shewing him the devastations they had lately made, particularly the ruins of *Azotus*, and of the temple of *Dagon*, and the carcases of those they had slain, and which were still stinking above-ground. But that prince, whatever his reasons were, could not be induced to shew any resentment against them for it. On the contrary, he laid all the blame of it upon *Apollonius*; and when *Jonathan* came to pay him a visit at *Joppa* with a numerous retinue, he met with a kind reception from him, accompanied him to the river *Eleutherus*, and returned to *Jerusalem* ¹.

THE reader may remember how this prince having given the kingdom of *Syria* and his daughter *Cleopatra* from *Alexander* to young *Demetrius*, surnamed *Nicanor*, died
b of the wounds he received in the last battle, before he could well settle him on his throne. *Jonathan* therefore took this opportunity, *Egypt* being then imbroiled in a civil war about the succession, and neither able nor inclined to assist the new *Syrian* king, to begin the siege of *Acra*, which was still garisoned by *Syrian* troops, and was a great check to, and always ready to annoy the *Jews*, going to and from *Jerusalem*. He wanted neither forces nor engines to form it in the best manner; but in the height of the siege, complaint having been made of it to the young king, he was forced to leave it to appear before him at *Ptolemais*. However, he gave orders that it should be carried on with the same vigour, as if no such summons had been sent to him; and taking with him some of the most considerable priests and elders
c of his nation, came to the court, where he pleaded his cause so well before that prince, and backed it with such rich presents, that he was received into his favour and friendship, and quite discomfited his accusers, who were sent away with disgrace. After this, *Nicanor* confirmed him in his pontifical dignity, inrolled him in the highest place among his friends, and for the annual tribute of three hundred talents, released, not only *Judea*, but also the three toparchies of *Lydda*, *Apharema*, and *Ramatha* (U), from all future taxes whatsoever ².

Jonathan upon his return to *Jerusalem* doubled his strength and vigour against the fortress; but finding that it was like to hold out long, and to cost him dear, he bethought himself of procuring an order from the king for the evacuation both of
d that and some other places, from which he complained to him the garisons were still annoying the *Jews*. He chose a lucky juncture for sending this request: for *Demetrius* having a little before disbanded his troops, had given occasion to that revolt which *Tryphon* raised at *Antioch*, and spoken of in a former volume ³. He was therefore glad to grant it to him upon condition he should assist him with some of his forces to quell the rebels; and we have seen there, how effectually the three thousand men, which he sent him, did it, and at the same time retaliated to the *Antiochians* the many cruelties which those of their own nation had formerly suffered from the *Syrians* both in *Judea*, and out of it ⁴. *Demetrius* however, instead of performing his promise to *Jonathan*, broke even those which he had made to him at *Ptolemais*, and began to
e insist on his paying all the taxes and customs which he had remitted to him at that interview. But it was not long before a new insurrection, in which he was driven out of his kingdom by *Antiochus*, the son of *Alexander*, made him repent of his perfidy to the *Jews*, and of his tyranny to his own subjects.

THE new king did not forget to secure the *Jewish* general to his interest; he confirmed to him all the former grants, and added some others to them; and among them he made his brother *Simon* general of all his forces, and governor of all the sea-coasts, from the ladder of *Tyre* to the frontiers of *Egypt*, upon condition that those two brothers should declare for him. *Jonathan* was easily prevailed upon to forsake his old treacherous ally, and to accept of the offers of the new one: he sent him

¹ 1 MACCAB. xi. 4. & seq. See also Vol. III. p. 597, & seq. ant. lib. xiii. c. 8.

² See before, Vol. III. p. 605, d. e.

³ 1 MACC. Ibid. ver. 20, & seq. JOSEPH.

⁴ 1 MACC. xi. ver. 41, & seq.

(U) These three with their territories had been dismembered from *Samaria* some time before, and joined to *Judea*; and the late *Demetrius* in his courting letter to *Jonathan*, confirmed to him the possession and immunities of them (13); and now the present king renews the same grant, and allots the revenues of it towards the maintenance of the service of the temple, and of the priests in duty (14).

The reader may see the letter which he sent to *Leptines* in favour of the *Jews* in the place last quoted. He there styles that *Ceræus* general his father, because he had assisted him in the recovery, and preserving his crown; and commands him to send a copy of his letter to the *Jewish* general, to be set up on some eminent place of the temple, to be perused by all comers.

(13) Vid. 1 MACC. x. 30.

(14) Ibid. xi. 22. ad. 30. Ant. l. xiii. c. 8. ad fin.

Jonathan falls
into an am-
bush.

Frights despe-
rately and
beats the
enemy.

Alliance with
Rome re-
newed,

And with
Sparta.

immediately an embassy to thank him for his favours, and to assure him of his best services. In pursuance of which, having obtained a commission for raising a good army, the two Jewish generals put themselves at the head of it, crossed the Jordan, and defeated Demetrius's troops that were sent to make a diversion in Galilee. In this expedition, Jonathan was in imminent danger of being cut in pieces by the enemy: he had incamped his army near the lake of Genezareth, and was advancing early one morning towards Azor. In his march he fell unexpectedly into an ambush, which had been placed among the defiles of the mountains to surprise him. As soon as he perceived his danger, he disposed his men the best he could for a brave defence; but the greatest part of them being seized with a panic, forsook him, and fled; so that he was left with only fifty resolute fellows, and two of his commanding officers, Mattathias and Judas. With these he faced about, and fought so desperately, that the enemy began to give way; which being perceived at a distance by his runaways, they rallied again to him; and renewed the fight with such vigour, that they gained a complete victory; and pursued the Demetrians to their very camp at Cadesb. They killed of them about three thousand men; after this Jonathan sent his brother to go and besiege Belbuzura, which had till then been garisoned by heathens, and renegado Jews, whilst himself went and secured some of the principal cities of that province; particularly that of Ascalon, which opened its gates to him; that of Gaza, which he forced to surrender, and in a word, all the towns from thence to Damascus. Simon on his side having made himself master of Belbuzura, freed that neighbourhood from the continual insults of that garison, and returned to Jerusalem, whither his brother came also presently after.

THESE successes of the two brothers abroad, had cast such a damp on their enemies at home, that they found all things in quietness at their return. However, Jonathan did not think fit to trust to the gratitude of the new king, to whom he had done such signal services; but set about means of preserving the peace and liberty of his nation, on the foot he had so happily established it. To this end he sent a new embassy to Rome to renew his alliance with the senate, which was done with great readiness on their part. In their return, his ambassadors were ordered to do the same with the Lacedæmonians, and other Grecian states, with whom they were in friendship, which they did with the same ease and success. In their letter to the Lacedæmonians, the substance of which the reader will find in the margin (W), they reminded them of their letter formerly sent to their high-priest (Onias III.) by Arius their king †, and inclosed a copy of it with their own. But whilst these alliances were transacting, news were brought to him, that the Demetrian generals, whom he had lately defeated, were advancing towards him with a more numerous army. To prevent therefore their entering into Judæa, he marched out with utmost expedition at the head of his forces, resolved, if possible, to attack them in their own territories. He made such good speed, that he reached Amathis, a place on the frontiers of Syria, and incamped over-against them. Their design it seems was to surprise his camp on the following night, but Jonathan having timely notice of it, kept his men under arms all that night, ready to receive them; which being perceived by the enemy, they retired immediately into their camp; where having lighted a good number of fires, to conceal

^c Ibid. ver. 67, & seq. JOSEPH. ubi supra, c. 9. † See before, Vol. II. p. 624, & note.

(W) Jonathan, high-priest, with the elders and priests of the Jewish nation, unto the ephori, senate, and people of Lacedæmon, their brethren, greeting:

"Whereas we have found, among our records, a letter long since written by Arius, one of your kings, to Onias, formerly high-priest of the Jews, wherein he expressed your friendship and affinity to our nation, which affinity we acknowledged with greater honour, because we find it confirmed by our sacred books: We have sent these our deputies unto you to renew the said alliance and brotherly union with you, lest we should be thought unmindful of it, by reason of the long interval which has elapsed since the receipt of it. Be it therefore known unto you, that we have had you always in our minds both in our solemn

"festivals, and in our prayers and sacrifices, as our brethren and allies, rejoicing at your successes, and beholding with pleasure the prosperity and splendor of your republic. As for us, though we thought ourselves honoured by your friendship and alliance, yet have hitherto forborn to be chargeable or troublesome to you, during all the grievous wars and persecutions which we have been exposed to from our tyrannous neighbours; but now, since heaven has blest us with better times, we have thought fit to send to you Numenius and Antipater, our late deputies to the Roman senate, with fresh offers of our best services to you, not doubting but they will be as heartily accepted of by you, as they are tendered by us (15)".

(15) Vid. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9.

their

a their flight, they forsook it, and marched off unperceived. When the rising morning gave the *Jews* notice of their flight, *Jonathan* strove in vain to pursue them; they were already got far enough beyond the *Eleutherus* before he could reach that river. To make himself therefore some amends for his disappointment, he fell upon some *Demetrian Arabs*, whom he defeated, and carried off a considerable plunder, and from thence passing through *Damascus*, making still some excursions all the way, he arrived at *Jerusalem* ^a.

WHILST these things were doing, *Simon*, who had been left to take care of *Judæa* and *Galilee*, kept a watchful eye over those places he had lately secured to *Antiochus* in the last of those provinces. He went and took a review of the garisons of *Ascalon*,
 b and other fortresses in that neighbourhood; and being told that the citizens of *Joppa* were inclined to receive a *Demetrian* governor, and some *Syrian* forces, he went and took it, and put a strong garison of his own in it, and returned to join his brother at *Jerusalem*. Here they called a council, wherein it was resolved, that all the forts and sconces of *Judæa* should be forthwith repaired; that new ones should be erected where they were wanted; that the wall of the city should be rebuilt; and a new one
 c be raised between mount *Sion*, and the rest of the city, of such a height, as might effectually cut off all communication between them; to the end that the garison of *Acra*, being thereby deprived from all future supply, might be the sooner either forced to surrender, or be starved in it. All these wholesome resolutions were immediately put in execution; *Jonathan* undertook to oversee the work within the city, and *Simon* that without. A strong and high wall was accordingly built by the former, which reached quite close to the old one that was then a repairing, and made up that place which was called *Chapbenatha*, towards the east of the city, near the brook *Cedron*. This did so effectually inclose that mount, that the garison were not long after forced to surrender. *Simon* on his part went and repaired all the old forts, and added to them that of *Adiba*, or *Adiaba*, in the region of *Sephala*, westward of *Eleutheropolis*. By all which *Judæa* was now in a better condition for defence than it had ever been since their return from captivity ^b.

By this time *Jonathan* had governed the *Jewish* state near seventeen years, with great wisdom and success, when he was unwarily decoyed into the perfidious *Tryphon's* power, and soon after murdered by him. That traitor knew but too well
 d how vain it would be to attempt to wrench the crown from the young monarch, whilst he had so faithful and powerful an ally; and therefore, spared neither promises, oaths, nor any other treacherous means to persuade him to disband his numerous army, now become, as he pretended, useless and burdensome. *Jonathan*, too easily prevailed upon to take that destructive step, was soon after as unhappily decoyed into the city of *Ptolemais*, attended only by one thousand of his men, who were all treacherously murdered by his orders, and their chief only spared till the villain had obtained a large sum from *Judæa* under the name of a ransom, and caused him to be
 e massacred as soon as he had got it into his hands ^c. So that *Jonathan* died as much a sacrifice to his too generous credulity, as to his unshaken fidelity to *Antiochus*. As soon as the news of his being seized, and kept prisoner, and of the murder of his men, reached *Jerusalem*, the whole city was in the utmost consternation. They doubted not but the perfidious murderer would soon be at their gates, and be joined by all the heathens and apostate *Jews*, whom the bravery of their late leader had suppressed hitherto; and indeed their fears were but too well grounded; for *Tryphon* was making great preparations to march into *Judæa*, with a full resolution to extirpate, if possible, the whole nation; and all their enemies, who had been till now kept in awe, but had received a kind of new life at the news of *Jonathan's* being in his
 f hands, had began to express an impatient desire to see the land once more invaded, and threaten the *Jews* with a severe retaliation. *Simon* was now the only one of the sons of *Mattathias* that was left, and the courage and conduct which he had shewed hitherto made him looked upon as the only fit person to succeed his brother. An assembly was therefore called at the outer court of the temple, in which he was by their unanimous consent desired to take the command upon him; which he readily did, not only as he was the next in succession, but that he might find some means, either of releasing, or, at the worst, of revenging his worthy brother. To dissipate therefore as
 much as possible, that fear which he observed in their countenances, he addressed him-

Jerusalem new fortified.

Jonathan treacherously murdered by Tryphon.

Simon succeeds his brother.

^a 1 Macc. xi. 62, ad fin. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9. Vol. III. p. 604, & seq.

^b 1 Macc. xii. Antiq. ibid.

^c See before,

self to them in words to this effect : You are not ignorant how bravely my father, a brothers, and I; have fought in the defence of our laws and religion, our temple, and our nation. They have already sacrificed their lives for that glorious cause, and I am now the only surviving one to maintain it. God forbid I should value my own more than they did theirs; as long as I see you groaning under any oppression. Behold me then as ready and willing as they to undertake the defence of our nation and temple, of our wives and of our children. This speech was received with universal applause, and the people having in great measure recovered their drooping spirits, proclaimed him their commander and high-priest (X), promising at the same time to follow him through all difficulties and dangers in defence of their religion and country b:

Tryphon's
treachery.

Jonathan bur-
ied at Modin.
Year of the
flood 2856.
Before Christ
143.

Alliance with
Rome and
Sparta re-
newed.

As soon as he was installed in his new dignity, his first care was to finish the fortifications of the city with all speed, and to get together an army sufficient to make head against that of Tryphon, who was in full march against him. But when that traitor came to find the Jews in such a brave condition of defence, he contented himself with sending him word that he had seized his brother for a debt of a hundred talents, which he owed him; and that, if he would send them to him, and his two sons as hostages, their father should be immediately released. Simon easily saw through this treacherous pretence; but dared not refuse his demand, for fear of bringing some unjust suspicion on himself, as if he was the cause of his brother's detention. In the mean time the Syrian garison being sorely pressed for want of provision, found means to send Tryphon word, and to beg his assistance; and he having increased the number of his forces, was coming to their relief, but was prevented with a deep snow, and forced to withdraw into winter quarters; soon after which, he caused both Antiochus and Jonathan, with his two sons, to be murdered (Y), as we have elsewhere related; and returned to Syria. As soon as he was gone, Simon ordered their bones to be fetched from that place, and to be deposited in the sepulchre of his fathers at Modin, with the solemnity suitable to his rank, and then caused a stately monument to be reared over it (Z) h.

His next care was to send an embassy to the Roman senate, to notify to them the treacherous murder of his brother, his succession to his office, and to renew his alliance with them. They were to do the same with the Lacedæmonians, and in both places they were received with great honour. Both nations shewed an uncommon resentment at Tryphon's treachery, and cheerfully renewed their friendship with Simon, to whom they sent back letters of congratulation on his accession to the Jewish high-priesthood and government, together with the ratification of their alliance engraved on copper. All which being received, Simon caused them to be read before their great assembly; and then set about fortifying afresh both Jerusalem and other places of Judæa, and to raise new forces against any future invasion i. Having thus far strengthened himself by alliances, and the land with men, arms, and other necessary stores, he sent an embassy to Demetrius, whom Tryphon had by this time stripped of almost his whole kingdom; and in his letter to him, offered to acknowledge him king of c

f 1 MACC. xii. 39. & seq. Antiq. xiii. 10.

g 1 MACC. xiii. pass. JOSEPH. ubi supra, c. 11.

h 1 MACC. xiii. 20. & seq. Ant. ubi supra.

i Ibid.

(X) It seems as if the assembly however had some scruple about the regularity of this election to the pontifical dignity; and therefore we find a kind of an apology made for it in the ensuing chapter (16); where having recapitulated all his glorious deeds, and his lineal descent from Josiah, they add, that they had chosen him their governor and high-priest, and intailed those dignities on his posterity, until there should arise a faithful prophet (17), who might set them to rights about it.

(Y) The text says, that it was at Bysanias that he caused the three last to be put to death, and buried; but it is not easy to find the situation of that place; only one may conjecture, that it was in the land of Gilead, where he is said to have taken his winter quarters. Josephus calls the place Basan (18).

(Z) This noble piece of architecture stood on an eminence, which commanded the whole country round about; and being in itself raised to a great height, was seen at a great distance at sea, and served for a land-mark. It was made of white marble, curiously carved and polished. Simon caused also seven pyramids to be built round it, viz. two for his father and mother, and four for his four brethren, and the last for himself. The whole was surrounded with a stately portico, whose arches were supported by marble pillars, each of a whole piece. The top of it was adorned with shields, armour, ships, and other such embellishments curiously carved. All which were still to be seen, not only in Josephus, but in Eusebius, and St. Jerome's time (19).

(16) 1 MACC. xiv. 26. & seq. (17) Jer. 41.
πρὸς τὸν τοῦτον ἀποστατῆν. Hier. Loc. Hebr.

(18) Ant. l. xiii. c. 11.

(19) Ibid. Euseb.

Syria,

- a Syria, and to assist him in the recovery of his kingdom from the usurper, upon condition that he confirmed him in all his dignities, and his country in all their privileges and immunities. He backed his offers with a rich crown of gold, and some other presents; and *Demetrius*, glad at heart to accept the conditions, sent him a letter under the royal signature, by which he granted all his demands, together with a general amnesty and oblivion for all past hostilities, and constituted *Simon* sovereign prince of the *Jewish* nation, and freed his land from all foreign yoke. From this time *Simon* took upon him the name and authority of prince and high-priest of the *Jews*, which dignities having been confirmed to him and to his descendants on the next year, by an act of the sanhedrin, all public acts were ordered from thenceforward
- b to be made in his name (A).

- Simon's* main business now was to strengthen himself in this new dignity; to which end, he set about repairing and fortifying all his garisons afresh, especially that of *Belbuzra*, which being on the confines of *Judæa*, had been formerly made the chief magazine of the enemy, and was like to be one of the first places they would attempt. He therefore took care to secure it with good walls, towers, and ammunition, and with a garison of the stoutest *Jews*. About the same time he sent *Jonathas* the son of *Abfolom* with a good army to besiege *Joppa*, which being taken, he drove out all its inhabitants, filled it with men of his own nation, repaired its fortifications; and liking the situation of it, built himself a house, and settled there. The place from this time became the head sea-port to *Jerusalem* and all *Judæa*, being distant about forty miles from *Jerusalem*, and opening a trade to all the *Mediterranean* coasts and islands. *Strabo*¹ tells us, it was a port of the *Jews* in his time, and it has continued so ever since, notwithstanding its being a dangerous one, by reason of the great rocks that lie before it^m; though in other respects, very pleasant, being situate on a beautiful plain, and having *Jamnia* on the south, *Cæsarea* on the north, and *Ramab* on the eastⁿ. About the same time *Simon* went with another army to reduce the city of *Gaza*, or, as some more probably guess, that of *Gazara* (B), which had revolted ever since *Jonathas's* death. He battered it some considerable time with his engines, and was just on the point of storming it, when the inhabitants appeared on the walls, men, women, and children, with their cloaths rent, and implored his mercy with

¹ Geogr. l. xvi.^m *Joseph. Bell. Jul. l. iii. c. 15.*ⁿ *Vid. int. al. REL. Palæst. illustr.*

(A) In pursuance, and by virtue of this grant, the *Jews* from that time ceased to date their contracts and other instruments, as formerly, by the reigns of the *Syrian* kings, and dated them by the years of *Simon* and his successors (20). This change was made by the general assembly of the *Jews*, both priests and elders, wherein the supreme government and high-priesthood were bestowed on *Simon* upon account of his great exploits, and extraordinary merit, which are there enumerated (21); and with this further addition, that those dignities should be installed on his posterity, as we observed in a late note. Moreover a copy of the grant, which was inscribed, King *Demetrius* unto *Simon* the high-priest, and friend of kings, and to the elders and nation of the *Jews* (22), was ordered to be engraven on tables of brass, and to be hung up in the sanctuary, and the original to be deposited among the archives of the nation.

This grant, which continued some generations in his family, was dated on the eighteenth day of the month *Elul*, answering in part to our *August*, in the hundred and seventy-second year of the *Seleucide*, and the third of *Simon's* pontificate. It is said to be given at the general assembly held at *Saramael*, which the margin of our *English* version supposes, with *Varatius* and others, to mean *Jerusalem*, by transposition of the letters. The vulgate reads it *Afaramel*, which, if right, may be properly enough supposed to be put according to the *Greek* way of

writing *Hebrew* words and names, for *chazar-millo*, or the court or porch of *Millo*. *Millo* was the deep valley between old *Jerusalem*, and the city of *David*, which that monarch, and after him *Solomon*, caused to be filled up at a vast labour and charge, and was therefore called by that name from the *Hebrew* root, which signifies to fill; but whether this conjecture be right, or what the meaning of *Saramael* or *Afaramel* is, is hard to guess.

(B) Dean *Prideaux* justly suspects the former to have slipped in by the inadvertency of the *Greek* transcriber, instead of the latter (23), which is the *Gazer* or *Gezer* often mentioned by the sacred historians (24); and was likewise called *Gader*, *Gedara*, *Gaderoth*, and by *Strabo* *Gadaris* (25), who places it, as the book of *Maccabees* (26) doth *Gazara*, near *Afsh*, or *Axotus*, and *Eusebius* about two miles from *Nicopolis* (27).

For, first, as the learned dean above-mentioned rightly observes, *Gazara*, and not *Gaza*, is mentioned among the towns taken by *Simon* (28). Secondly, *Gazara* is often mentioned, as in the hands of *Simon* in this and the foregoing chapter; but *Gaza* only in this place. Lastly, he is said to have built him a house in that town (29), after he had taken it; and yet we find his son dwelling in *Gazara*, and made governor of it; so that upon the whole, it is most likely, *Gaza* was only a slip of the pen.

(20) *1 Macc. xiv. 26, & seq.*(21) *Ibid. ver. 4, & seq.*(22) *Ibid. cap. xiii. 36.*(23) *Connest.*

sub an. 143, note (X).

(24) *Vid. int. al. 2 Sam. v. ver. ult.*(25) *Geogr. ubi supra.*(26) *xiv. 34.*(27) *ubi supra.*(28) *1 Macc. xiv. 7, 34.*(29) *Ibid. xiii. 48.*(30) *Ibid. ver. ult.*

such doleful cries, as prevailed upon him to spare their lives, and to send them away ^a to shift for themselves where they could. He entered the town, and purified it of all its idolatrous monuments, put a strong garison of *Jews* in it, and caused a house to be built for himself, to which he often retired, either for relaxation, or to keep the neighbourhood in order ^o.

Year of the
flood 2857.
Before Christ
141.

Acra surren-
dered.

And is demo-
lished.

Year of the
flood 2859.
Before Christ
140.

ON the next year, the fortress of *Acra*, which had been invested, as we hinted above, near two years, without any supply from without, being now reduced by famine, began to capitulate, after it had been held by the *Syrians* about twenty-five years, to the great nuisance of the *Jewish* nation. *Simon*, who wanted to be rid of ^b them at any rate, gave them leave to march out peaceably, whilst he and his troops entered it with palms in their hands at the sound of their trumpets, and other instruments, accompanied with songs, and other demonstrations of joy. At first he ordered it to be lustrated, and cleansed from all the heathenish idols, and other superstitious trash, intending probably to put a *Jewish* garison in it. But having thought better on it, he called a grand council, and proposed to them the demolishing of both it and of the hill on which it stood. He reminded them, among the other mischiefs it had caused hitherto, of its having been a constant refuge for all the discontented and renegado *Jews*, and of the danger of its becoming so again, in case it should be taken from them ^p. This proposal met with a general approbation; ^c the work was immediately set about, and carried on with indefatigable assiduity, during the space of three years, every man taking his turn in it, till the mountain was brought down to the level of that of the temple, that it might never more be in a condition to annoy it (C). All this while *Simon* employed another set of hands in repairing and fortifying the outer wall, and other parts of the temple, building of new apartments, particularly a palace for himself, where he dwelt from thenceforth. In memory of the surrender of that fortress, *Simon* ordered a festival to be kept yearly; and that he might the more fully vacate on the religious and civil affairs of the nation, appointed his son *John* general of all his forces, and ordered him to fix his residence at *Gazara* ^q, as was observed in a late note. It was in this year that ^d the great sanhedrin, and the whole assembly of the *Jews*, confirmed to him all his dignities, and intailed them on his posterity in consideration of the eminent services he had done to his country; which are therefore recapitulated (D) in the preamble to their decree, which we have had occasion to mention a little higher.

WE have seen in a former chapter [†], how *Demetrius*, driven from his dominions, had been taken and kept prisoner by the *Parthians*, whilst *Tryphon's* tyranny caused a general defection from him to *Cleopatra*. This princess, despairing ever to recover

* 1 MACC. xiii. & xiv. pass. JOSEPH. ubi supra.
† Vol. III. p. 605, & seq.

¶ Ibid. ibid. ad fin.

¶ 1 MACC. xiii. 49. ad fin.

(C) This circumstance of demolishing the fortress, and the hill, which we have mentioned out of *Josephus*, and those who have followed him, is not only omitted, but seems even contradicted by the first book of *Maccabees*, which affirms (31), that *Simon* fortified and garisoned it with *Jews*; and in the very next chapter, that *Antiochus* sent *Simon* a challenge to surrender it to him (32), which was three years after.

However, since that fortress was actually demolished, and the hill itself lowered to the level of the temple, it is likely, that *Josephus* has only antedated it by some years.

(D) Among other things that are there mentioned to his great honour, it was not a small one that *Judas* enjoyed a perfect peace during the whole time of his government, whilst *Syria* and other neighbouring kingdoms were almost destroyed by the wars which were there raised by competitors to their crowns, by traytors, and hostile depredations; so that it is there observed, that the *Jews* lived quietly every man under his vine and fig-tree, enjoying without fear the fruits of their labours, and beholding with pleasure the flourishing state of their country; their trade increased by the reduction

of *Joppa*, and other maritime places; their territories enlarged; and their religion and liberties secured; their towns and other fortresses well garisoned; their army under good discipline; the land free from heathen enemies, and *Jewish* apostates; their friendship courted by all the nations about them, and even by the *Romans* and *Greeks*, and themselves free from all foreign yoke, and from danger of invasion (33).

His panegyrist adds, that he was no less zealous for the service of God, in exterminating apostasy, superstition, idolatry, and every thing else that was contrary to his laws; that he was a great protector of the true *Israelites*, and a friend to the poor; that he restored the service of the temple to its ancient splendor, and multiplied its sacred utensils; so that we need not wonder, if the *Jewish* sanhedria thought no dignity or honour too great for a man of such uncommon merit.

The *Jewish* chronologers tell us moreover, that in his days, and about this time, flourished those two great lights of their synagogue, *Simoon Ben Shetach*, and *Jehudah Ben Tabnai*, directors of the divinity schools at *Jerusalem*; and that the former was president, and the latter vice-president of the sanhedrin (34).

(31) c. xiv. 36, 37.
Shalsheh, &c.

(32) c. xv. 28.

(33) Ibid. xiv. 4. & seq.

(34) *Sepp. Juchasin*,

her

- a her captive husband, sent to invite his brother *Antiochus* out of his retirement, to make a push for the *Syrian* crown. Upon his coming therefore to her, he sent a very obliging letter to the *Jewish* high-priest, in which he confirmed to him all his dignities, revenues, and authority, and to his nation all the freedom and immunities which had been formerly granted to them by his brother, or which they were now in actual possession of. To this he added, besides many great promises, a power of coining their own money in *Judæa*, which *John* immediately made use of (E). But when that prince had established himself on his throne by the marriage of *Cleopatra*, and the death of *Tryphon**, *Simon*, whether he suspected the sincerity of his late promises, or was willing to make his friendship to him appear more considerable, sent a fresh embassy to *Rome*, to renew and strengthen his alliance with that nation. Among other valuable presents which he sent, one was a shield of gold, which weighed a thousand *Minae*, amounting, according to the lowest value of the *Attic* mina, to sixty thousand pounds of our money. His deputies were received with the usual honours, and procured letters from the senate to the kings of *Syria*, and *Egypt*, *Pergamus*, *Capadocia*, and other states, to notify their alliance with the *Jews*, and to threaten them with an immediate war, who should venture to commit any hostilities against them, and ordering them, if any *Jewish* criminals, apostates, or other *Jewish* outlaws had sheltered themselves in their dominions, to send them bound to the *Jewish* high-priest, if demanded by him.
- c THAT to the king of *Syria* was indeed directed to *Demetrius*, it being written before that prince's falling into the hands of the *Parthians*; but had it been directed to *Antiochus*, it is likely he would have had as little regard to it, as he had to that which he had sent to the *Jewish* chief. For even whilst he was besieging of *Tryphon* in *Dora*, whither *Simon* sent him two thousand chosen men, with warlike stores, ingines, and other ammunition; instead of accepting of them, he sent them all back, together with a threatening message to *Simon*, insisting upon his surrender of *Joppa*, *Gazara*, and the citadel of *Jerusalem*, which he said did belong to the crown of *Syria*, or else to pay him five hundred talents for each, and five hundred more for the ravages which the *Jews* had done in his dominion. *Athenobius*, one of that monarch's favourites, was the person who was dispatched upon that errand, and came accordingly to *Jerusalem*, and beheld with wonder the richness and splendor of the high-priest's court, at the same time that he informed him of his master's demands (F). *Simon*, nothing terrified at this message, answered him coolly, that he was in possession of nothing but what was the inheritance of his ancestors; except indeed the fortresses of *Joppa* and *Gazara*, which he had been forced to seize, to suppress the continual ravages and devastations they made in *Judæa*: that for these therefore he was willing to pay the king a hundred talents; but as to the fortress of *Acra*, he could by no means think that he had any right to demand it from him. *Athenobius* did not stay to make any reply, but went off abruptly, and returned to *Antiochus*, who was still carrying on the siege of *Dora*, and to whom he returned the answer which the *Jewish* pontiff had given him. He likewise related to him the pomp and grandeur of his household, the great quantity of silver and gold vessels used at his table, and other

Alliance re-
newed with
Rome, &c.

Antioch's in-
gratitude to
Simon.

Athenobius
sent to Jeru-
salem.

* Ibid. p. 607, & seq.

(E) Several pieces of this *Jewish* coin are still preserved by the curious: the inscription of some of them is, *The shekel, or half-shekel of Israel*; in others, the first or second, &c. year of the deliverance of *Israel*, of *Sion*, of *Jerusalem*, &c. Others again are inscribed *Simon prince of Israel*. What is remarkable in these inscriptions is, that they are not in the new *Assyrian* character, adopted by *Ezra*, but in the old *Samaritan*; for which no other reason can be assigned, if they be authentic †, except that *Simon* was willing to preserve the ancient form of those that had been coined before the captivity, as well in the character, as the metal, and figure and weight.

Accordingly, these like the old ones, have on the one side a cup or pitcher, supposed to have been the pot of manna, and on the other a branch, or

budding rod of *Aaron*, or a palm branch; some a vine, others a bunch of grapes, or a wheat-sheaf; some have two doves, others two towers, or the front of an edifice, supposed to be that of the temple.

Those we have left of him are all of silver; whether he coined any in gold, is not certain; the king's letter mentions neither metal, but permits him in general to coin his own money.

(F) Thus says the book of *Maccabees* (35); but *Josephus*, who takes no notice of this message by *Athenobius*, relates the story somewhat otherwise, and tells us (36), that *Antiochus* having writ to *Simon* to send him men and provisions for the siege, did alter his mind before they were come, and sent *Cambyses* presently after to invade *Judæa*.

† See what has been said, Vol. I. p. 721, & 722, sub note.

(35) Ch. xv. 28, & seq.

(36) *Antiq.* l. xii. c. 12 & 13.

such marks of the *Jewish* wealth, which he knew would not fail to incense that monarch against him; for, as *Josephus* observes, he was very covetous, and consequently ungrateful, and could not fail envying him so much riches and grandeur; and just so it happened. *Antiochus* forgetting at once his letter, and *Simon's* services, ordered *Cendebeus*, one of his nobles, to invade *Judæa* with a powerful army, whilst himself went with another in pursuit of the traitor *Tryphon* *.

Judæa invaded.
Year of the
flood 2860.
Before Christ
139.

Cendebeus having received the government of all the coasts of *Phœnicia* and *Palestine*, and being at the head of a powerful army of horse and foot, began his expedition with fortifying the town of *Cedron*, or, as the vulgate perhaps more properly calls it, *Gedor* †, a place advantageously situated; and putting a strong garison in it. In the mean time he himself marched towards *Jamnia* and *Joppa*, from whence he made many inroads into *Judæa*, took a great number of prisoners, and laid waste all that part of the country †. The news of it soon reached *John*, who, as we hinted above, was made general of the *Jewish* forces, and kept his residence at *Gazara*. He went immediately to *Jerusalem*, to acquaint his father with it; and *Simon* being by this time too old to head his *Jewish* troops, called his two brave sons, viz. this *John*, and his brother *Judas*, to whom he committed the command of them, charging them on his blessing, to imitate the valour of their brave uncles, and to venture their lives in defence of their religion and liberties (G). On these two setting out at the head of twenty thousand choice foot, besides some horse, they incamped on the first night at *Modin*; and on the morrow, as they advanced towards the plain, they came in sight of the enemy, and drew so near each other, that only a brook parted the two armies. That of *John* at first expressed some reluctance to cross it; but he, ashamed to see their backwardness, flung himself first into it, and moved forward; which so animated his men, that they immediately followed him. As soon as they were got over, he ranged them in order of battle, with his cavalry in the centre. An obstinate onset immediately ensued, in which the enemy being seized with a sudden fright at the sound of the sacred trumpets, did immediately give way. Many of them were killed and wounded, and the rest fled, some to the sconces, which they had in the plains of *Azotus*, where about two thousand of them perished in the flames, *John*, now surnamed *Hyrcaus* (H), having caused them to be set on fire. The rest with *Cendebeus* fled as far as *Cedron*, the place lately fortified by him, and *John* pursued him all the way thither; after which he faced about, and came and rejoined his brother *Judas*, who having received some wounds in the action, had been forced to stay behind. The two brothers having by this defeat cleared those parts from the *Syrian* troops, led their victorious army back to *Jerusalem*, without any considerable loss †. After this *Judæa* continued quiet and free from invasion, till the murder of their worthy high-priest, which happened about three years after, and brought *Antiochus* again with an army against that metropolis. The manner in which this perfidious act was perpetrated, is as follows.

Simon had then a son-in-law named *Ptolemy*, the son of *Abadus*, whom he had made governor of *Jericho*, and its territories, and who was grown exceeding rich in that government; but such was his ambition, that nothing less could satisfy him, than his being master of all *Judæa*. This wretch took the opportunity of *Simon's* taking a progress about the country with his two sons *Judas* and *Mattathias*, to invite them

* 1 Macc. xv. 38, & seq. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 12. & 13. † De hac vid. JOSHUA xv. 58. † 1 Macc. ibid. 40, & seq. JOSEPH. ubi supra. † 1 Macc. xvi. 1. & seq.

(G) Here again *Josephus* (37) differs from the book of *Maccabees*, and makes the good old priest to forget his old age, and to sally out at the head of his troops, with as much vigour and resolution, as if he had been but in his prime; so fond is he to raise the character of his own ancestors.

(H) The fourth book of the *Maccabees*, of which we have given an account in a former note †, tells us, that *John* received the surname of *Hyrcaus* on account of his defeating a famous general of that name, and killing him with his own hand, which some think may be the *Cendebeus*, whom he here defeated, who might be also surnamed *Hyrcaus*, either be-

cause he was a native of *Hyrkania*, or on some other account (38).

Josephus Bengorion says, it passed from the eldest son of *Simon*, who was called *Hyrcaus*, to this brother *John* (39). Others think he had it given him on account of his beating the *Hyrcausians* (40), all without any certainty; since neither the first book of *Maccabees*, nor *Josephus*, give us any reason for it; besides we have seen that all the sons of *Mattathias* had their particular surnames; some of them more uncommon, and as little to be accounted for as this of *Hyrcaus*.

(37) Ibid. † sup. p. 44, in fin. note (Q). (38) Calmet. hi. v. T. sub A. M. 3869. (39) l. iv. c. 2. (40) Euseb. in Chron. S. Sever. hist. l. ii. c. xl.

- a to his castle of *Dog*, where he had prepared a sumptuous entertainment for them. The old pontiff, who suspected nothing less than what was designed against him, was easily persuaded to accept of the invitation; but after they had feasted and drunk pretty freely, some ruffians, whom he had privately posted, rushed upon the three guests, and murdered them. His design was to have cut off *Hyrca*n also, who was then at *Gazara*; and to this end he dispatched some messengers to invite or bring him to him: but, happily for him, one of his father's retinue had escaped the slaughter, and had brought notice to him of what had passed; so that *Hyrca*n was before-hand with him, and cautioned his messengers to be taken, and put to death (1). *Hyrca*n, thinking himself now no longer safe there, made the best of his way to *Jerusalem*,
 b whither *Ptolemy* arrived as soon as he. Both offered themselves at different gates, and demanded admittance; but *Hyrca*n was received out of respect to his worthy father, whilst his murderer, and the men that came with him, had the mortification to be repulsed. *Hyrca*n was immediately declared prince and high-priest in his father's stead, and put himself at the head of his army, fortified himself in the mountain of the temple, and provided every way for his own safety, and for that of the city and country. On the other hand *Ptolemy* seeing himself disappointed of his designs on *Hyrca*n and *Jerusalem*, and having in vain endeavoured to bribe some of the heads of the *Jews* over to his interest by sumptuous promises, was at length reduced to the necessity of writing to *Antiochus*, to acquaint him with what he had done, and
 c to beg of him to come to his assistance; promising him at the same time to reduce all *Judea* under him, provided he made him governor of it. *Antiochus*, whom the late defeat of *Cinobus* had still more exasperated against the *Jews*, did easily embrace his offer, and was actually coming with a powerful army to his assistance; but whether through fear, or for whatever other reason, the rebel did not think fit to stay till his arrival, but fled to *Zeno*, tyrant of the city of *Philadelphia*. What became of the wretch afterwards, we cannot find. The author of the fourth book of *Maccabees* adds to what we observed in the last note, that after he had killed the mother and two brothers of *Hyrca*n, he fled, and retired into some place where he could not be come at, whilst *Hyrca*n was detained at *Jerusalem* to perform the priestly function, it being then the
 d feast of tabernacles. All that we know is, that no further mention is made of him

Simon treacherously murdered.

(1) Thus far goes the first book of the *Maccabees*, which concludes its epocha of forty years with this escape of *Hyrca*n, and refers us for the remainder of his life and actions to a book of chronicles (41) long since lost; so that we must now fill up the sequel of the *Jewish* history for the most part out of *Josephus*; in the following of whom care shall be taken to discover such errors of his, as are either accidental or otherwise, by comparing him with himself or other historians, till we come to the sacred ones of the New Testament; so that whatever we find in him, either that bears not an authentic face, or clashes, or has been confuted by other authors, will be either thrown into the margin, or, if of small moment, quite set aside.

To begin then with some of the improbabilities with which he continues the history of this high-priest, he tells us (42), that as soon as he was installed in his new dignities, he put himself at the head of the *Jewish* army, and went and besieged *Ptolemy* in his castle of *Dog* or *Dagon*, where he still kept alive *Simon's* wife and his two sons, contrary to the book of *Maccabees*, which says, that he assassinated the two latter with their old father, and mentions nothing of the wife.

He goes on, and tells us, that as *Hyrca*n went on with the siege, *Ptolemy* caused his mother and two brothers to be brought upon the walls of the castle, and there had them severely scourged, threatening at the same time to cast them headlong down, if he did not desist; and that the old lady observing her son to relent at the sight of her danger and cruel usage, made signs for him to go on with the siege, and to take no thought of her safety or life;

and that her son, being unable to see them so cruelly tortured, did as often slacken his hand.

At length, continues he, the sabbatic, or seventh year being come, which was a year of rest as well as the seventh day, and *Hyrca*n upon that account being obliged to raise the siege, gave the murderer an opportunity to escape beyond *Jordan*; so that having put to death his three prisoners, he retired to *Zeno* surnamed *Coryllus*, who had usurped the government of the city of *Philadelphia*.

The fourth book of the *Maccabees* tells us much the same story, and only differs in two circumstances from *Josephus*. The first is, that *Gaza*, and not *Jerusalem*, was the place where *Hyrca*n was received and preferred to the assassin; and the second, that the feast of the tabernacles, and not the sabbatic year, obliged that pontiff to repair to *Jerusalem* to perform the function of his office; during which solemnity *Ptolemy* found means to escape far enough out of his reach.

This account, did it not contradict the first book of *Maccabees*, which expressly says, that the father and the two sons were murdered at the same time (43), would be much more probable than that of *Josephus*, at least with regard to the suspension of the siege; since there is no law that obliged the *Jews* to abstain from war, especially a detentive one, during the sabbatic year: if there had, how could they have continued a nation without a miracle? And yet *Josephus* not only affirms it to have been the cause of *Hyrca*n's raising the siege of *Dagon*, but of *Antiochus's* taking the advantage of it to invade *Judea*, and besieging its metropolis. This siege of *Dagon* is therefore justly called in question by several learned men (44).

(41) *Cap. ult. ver. ult.*
ult. ver. 16.

(42) *Antiq. l. xiii. c. 14. & 15. & bell. Judaic. l. i. c. 2.*

(43) *Cap.*

(44) *Vide ins. ad Salien. annal. sub A. M. 3919, & 3920. Vide & Usser. sub A. M. 3869.*

either by *Josephus* or the first book of the *Maccabees*, since his flight into *Phila-*
dephia. a

Judæa invaded.
Year of the
flood 2864.
Year before
Christ 135.

Jerusalem be-
sieged.

Antiochus's
piety.

Grants peace
to the Jews.

Antiochus, allured into *Judæa*, partly at the news of the brave *Simon's* death, and of the riches of his successor, and partly by the fair offers which the traitor *Ptolemy* had made to him, entered *Judæa* on the ensuing year with a powerful army, and went directly to besiege *Jerusalem*, driving *Hyrca*n all the way before him, till he had shut himself up with his men into that metropolis. To inclose him the more effectually, *Josephus* tell us ^a, that he caused two deep and spacious trenches to be dug round the city, and divided his army into seven camps; so that all possibility of ingress or egress was intirely stopped. He reared likewise one hundred towers; the fourth book of the *Maccabees* says one hundred and thirty, which were three b stories high, upon which he placed his men to annoy those that defended the walls, whilst he was battering them from below. *Josephus* adds, that his army suffered some time for want of water, and was at length relieved with a good lasting rain. On the other hand, the besieged made a vigorous defence, and, by their frequent sallies, did greatly annoy the besiegers (K). As therefore no relief could be expected from without, either of men or provisions, *Hyrca*n bethought himself at first of a way of ridding himself of all useless mouths, by putting them out of the city; by which means they, being pent up between the wall and the enemies ditch, must infallibly have been starved in a little time, had they not been taken in again. What raised the compassion of those within the walls, was the approaching feast of tabernacles, which was usually solemnized with great joy and feasting, and could not but have been very much disturbed by the cries of their perishing brethren without. *Hyrca*n c then sent to *Antiochus* to desire a truce of seven days, that they might quietly celebrate that festival; which was not only readily granted, but that prince being thereby stirred up to some sense of religion, sent them a considerable number of victims, with their horns gilt, together with several rich vessels of gold and silver ^w, filled with precious perfumes, and some money and other necessaries, which were, by *Hyrca*n's orders, thankfully received by the priests at one of the gates of the city, and thence conveyed into the temple (L). This unexpected instance of the king's piety and liberality gave him some hopes that a peace might probably be obtained from d him with the same ease. He was not mistaken, and *Antiochus*, whether tired with the brave and constant defence of the besieged, which is not unlikely, if the account we have just now given in a note out of the fourth book of the *Maccabees* is not exaggerated, or moved by some other reason, granted it to him, upon the conditions following:

THAT the *Jews* should deliver up their arms; that the city wall should be demolished; and that *John* should pay him a certain tribute for *Joppa*, and other towns he held out of *Judæa*. The king insisted hard upon two other conditions, namely, that they should receive a *Syrian* garison into their metropolis; and secondly, that the fortress of *Acra* should be rebuilt. The first of these they bought off at the price of five hundred talents, three hundred of which were to be paid instantly, and the rest at some distance of time. They likewise engaged to put into the king's hands a sufficient number of hostages to secure him of their future allegiance, that they might be wholly free from any commerce with strangers. As for the second, *Hyrca*n, who remembered what a grievous thorn in their side the late fortress had been to them, would by no means agree to the building of a new one; and the king, according to his usual clemency, remitted this also. And yet *Josephus* tells us, that when this peace was transacting, the city was reduced to the last extremity, having quite exhausted all their provisions; and, which is still more surprizing, that the besiegers were so well informed of it, that they earnestly pressed the king to make use of so favourable e an opportunity to destroy and extirpate the whole *Jewish* nation, which they f

^a Antiq. l. xiii. c. 16.

^w Idem ibid. Vide & PLUT. in Apophtheg.

(K) To what we have related of this siege out of *Josephus*, the fourth book of *Maccabees* adds, that as *Antiochus* was ordering the sapping of the walls, he observed, that the foundations were of timber; upon which he caused them to be set on fire, which soon brought down a great part of the wall; but that the besieged coming instantly to defend the breach, not only hindered the besiegers from entering the town, but drove them back, and made a

stout sally after them, in which, besides a great number of the *Syrians*, which they killed, they destroyed most of the enemies towers.

(L) In this, and the following particulars relating to the peace, *Josephus* and the fourth book of *Maccabees* agree, tho' they seem to differ in those which relate to the siege, and the defence made by the besieged.

a traduced to him in the bitterest terms, as the pest of mankind, and sworn enemies of all other nations; so that, all things considered, it seems as if providence had interposed in their behalf, and had mollified that monarch's heart towards them. And a heathen author owns * with *Josephus*, that it was owing to his surprising goodness and generosity, that the whole nation had not then been intirely destroyed, and that they obtained a peace upon such easy terms.

HOWEVER that was, the peace was signed on both sides, and the proper hostages sent to *Antiochus*, among whom was *Hyrca*n's brother; the city was dismantled; the money paid; and the siege raised: but *Hyrca*n was forced to make use of a strange expedient to procure the three hundred talents stipulated. It seems their treasury was then at so low an ebb, that it could not furnish him with that sum; so that *John* b was forced to open a hidden treasure, which had been laid up by some of the kings of *Judab*; *Josephus* says the tomb of *David* c, from which he took out three thousand talents; a thing which had never been attempted before by any of his predecessors, nor was after him by any, except by *Herod* (M). With this fresh supply he paid *Antiochus*, and undertook, what had never been done before, to take a number of foreign troops into his service. This peace was followed with an alliance with *Antiochus*, after which that monarch was invited into *Jerusalem* with his chief officers, where he was received and feasted in a sumptuous manner, and after mutual assurances of friendship and assistance, the king set out for *Syria*, and *Hyrca*n about repairing the breaches and damages which had been made during the siege. This c peace was made on the ninth month after *Simon*'s death (N). *Hyrca*n was punctual in his promises to that prince for some years after, and did him several signal services in his war against *Pbraartes*, spoken of a little higher *, and bore a great share in the victories which that prince gained against him. Some authors think c, that it was in this war that *John* got the name of *Hyrca*n, on account of some signal victory he

Year of the
flood 2868.
Before Christ
131.

* DIODOR. SICUL. Bibl. l. xxxiv. & apud Phot. cod. 244.
ed fin. & bell Judaic. l. iv. c. 2. & alib. * Vol. III. p. 608, c, d.

† Lib. 4. MACCAB.

* Ubi supra

* EUSEB. in Chron. SOLP. SEVER. & al.

(M) The story of a hidden treasure, whether laid up by *David*, or by any of his successors, is justly suspected by the judicious, as a fable invented by those two authors, without any foundation; only that of the *Maccabees* delivers it as a common report; whereas *Josephus* affirms it both of *Hyrca*n and *Herod* without hesitation.

That both *David* and *Solomon* heaped immense riches, we have formerly seen; but that they caused any part of them to be hidden under ground, much less in their own tombs, is no-where said, either by the sacred or apocryphal writers; but the contrary may be fairly deducted from them. For, if they had left any such hidden treasure, is it likely that their wicked successors, who made no scruple to rifle the temple of its sacred utensils and ornaments (45), would have left it untouched? Is it likely that good king *Hezekiah* would have chosen to take all the silver and the gold vessels of the temple, and even tear off the gold with which the gates, pillars, and other parts of that sacred building were covered (46), rather than to break into this immense, but useless treasure?

Again, is it probable, had there been any such depository, that so many *Affyrian* and *Chaldean* monarchs, as had formerly rifled both city and temple, would not have got some knowledge of it, and gutted it of all its riches? And if they had till then been preserved by some kind of miracle (for nothing less could do it) how should *Hyrca*n dare to break in upon them, and not rather, like the good king above-mentioned, have rifled the temple of some of its valuable ornaments, which, by what we have seen hitherto, were by this time grown very numerous and costly, by the generosity not only of his predecessors, but of foreign princes?

We have lately seen, that there was a treasury or

bank in the temple, part of which consisted of donations for the support of the poor, partly of the portions and dowries of the fatherless and widows, and partly of the substance of the richer sort, who deposited their wealth there for security *, besides that which was allotted for the maintenance of the divine service (47). Now, if we consider, that they were so continually harassed with wars, invasions and oppressions, it is not improbable that they kept these riches in some proper subterranean places, known but to a few trusty men at the head of affairs, and kept the whole as much a secret as possible; if therefore *Hyrca*n was now hard put to, to raise money, is it not more probable, that he borrowed it out of this bank, till better times enabled him to repay it?

But when *Herod* did totally rifle it for his own use, if ever he really did it, might he not trump up this plausible story, that it had been deposited there by *David*, or his successors, against times of need? And might not that cunning monarch colour this wicked deed with the specious pretence, that *Hyrca*n, a person of unexceptionable character, had done the same thing upon the like emergency †?

(N) *Josephus* (48) tells us, that, in the first year of *Hyrca*n's pontificate, a priest of the family of *Joarib*, named *Matthias Aphias*, was married to a daughter of the late *Jonathan*, by whom he had *Matthias Curtus*, who begot *Josephus*, who was his grandfather.

In the second year of the same *Hyrca*n, came from *Jerusalem* into *Egypt*, *Jesus* the son of *Sirac*, a learned Jew, who there translated the book of *Wisdom* written by *Jesus* his grandfather, into *Greek*, for the use of the hellenistical Jews (49). We have already spoken of that work and its author in a former note, to which we refer (50).

(45) Vide int. al. 2 Kings xvi. 8, & seq. xvii. 18.
p. 46, b. ex 2 Maccab. iii. 10. (47) Ibid. ver. 6.
sua. (49) Vide prolog. in eund. (50) Pag. 51. not. (F).

(46) Ibid. xviii. 15, & seq.
† Vide Salien. Usser. & Frid.

* Supra
(48) In vita

gained

Antiochus's
death.

Year of the
flood 2869
Before Christ
130.

Hyrcaan shakes
off the Syrian
yoke.

His conquests.

Hyrcaan renews
his alliance
with Rome.

gained over the *Hyrcaanians*. However that be, *Josephus* tells us ^a, on the authority of *N. Damascen*, that *Antiochus* shewed him so much regard, as to halt two days on account of the feast of pentecost, because it beginning that year on the day immediately following the sabbath, it was not lawful for the *Jews* to march on these two days. *Antiochus* was soon after defeated and killed, as has been elsewhere related [†]; and *Hyrcaan*, in his return to *Jerusalem*, took *Aleppo*, and laid it under a tribute ^c. After this, finding that the kingdom of *Syria* was rent with intestine disturbances, and their cities naked and defenceless, he marched thither with a good army, resolved to seize upon such of them as lay most convenient for him. The first he took was that of *Madeba*, which cost him a six month's siege. From thence he went to that of *Samega*, which he subdued, with several others both in *Arabia* and *Phœnicia* ^d. ^b From this time we may date the total deliverance of the *Jews* from the Syrian yoke; for neither he nor any of his descendants paid either homage or obedience to those monarchs ever afterwards, but lived free and independent from them ^e. From thence he turned his arms against the *Samaritans*, and took *Shechem* and mount *Garizim*, and the temple formerly built by *Sanballat*, and demolished it, after it had stood two hundred years; together with all the edifices, altars and monuments which had been built there by *Jezabel*, and put several of the *Samaritan* priests to death (O). The following year *Idumea* was likewise conquered by him ^f, where he caused proclamation to be made throughout that province, obliging all those that would not be circumcised to depart out of the land; but the *Idumeans* chusing rather to forsake ^c their old idolatry than their country, submitted to his conditions, and were from that time incorporated into the *Jewish* commonwealth (P).

In the year following *Hyrcaan* sent *Simon* the son of *Dositheus*, and *Apollonius* the son of *Alexander*, on an embassy to the Roman senate, to renew the alliance they had lately made with *Simon* his father, and sent some valuable presents by them (Q). These met with an honourable reception at *Rome*, and a ready compliance with all their demands. The senate, besides the renewing of the alliance, granted the *Jews* the possession of *Joppa*, *Gazara*, and some other places, which *Antiochus* had taken from them, and ordered the ambassadors a sum out of the public treasury, to defray

^a Antiq. l. xiii. c. 16. [†] Vol. III. p. 609. ^c 4 MACCAB. c. 17. ^d STRABO, Geogr. l. xvi. ^e JUSTIN. ex Trog. l. xxxvi. c. 1. ^f JOSEPH. ubi supra, & l. xv. c. 11. STRABO, ubi supra. See also Vol. I. p. 317, d.

(O) These two last particulars, which we have out of the fourth book of the *Maccabees*, *Josephus* says nothing of; but only mentions the demolishing of their temple, which was from that time never attempted to be rebuilt; however, the *Shechemites* built themselves an altar there, on which they offered their sacrifices, according to the *Mosaic* law, and have continued to do so ever since.

(P) From that time downward to the destruction of *Jerusalem* by the *Romans*, they continued in the *Jewish* religion; so that the word *Idumean* signified no more than incorporated *Jews*, in contradistinction to those that were so by natural descent (1); and from their total dispersion, the former name has been intirely absorbed in the latter.

With respect to these *Idumean* proselytes, it will be proper to observe here, that *Herod*, who obtained afterwards the kingdom of *Juda*, was of that race. From his reign therefore the *Jewish* writers began to style it מלכות הגרים *malkuth hagerim*, the kingdom or reign of proselytes or strangers; which not being observed by *Scaliger* and *Munster*, they have translated it the kingdom of the *Hagarens*; but our learned *Usher* has sufficiently confuted that mistake (2); and we shall further shew, when we come to the reign of that prince, that he was really one of these *Idumeans*, incorporated into, and thereby intitled to all the privileges of a natural *Israelite*. There was indeed to be this difference in the true *Edomites*, that they could not intermarry with them

till the third generation, according to the law of *Moses* (3); but as we have shewn these *Idumeans* to be of a different race, or rather a mixture of other nations, how that matter was regulated by the *Sanhedrin*, we know not.

We have heretofore observed [†], that the word *Edomite* and *Idumean*, which often occurs in the rabbinic writings, is not that of any nation, but the name by which they call the *Christians*, against whom they write, and is indeed one of the civilest; but they oftner use those of *goi*, heathen, and *Nozri* or *Nazarite*, and sometimes that of *Samaritan* and *Cuthean*; which caution we here repeat, to prevent those that read them being mistaken by any of those feigned names.

(Q) Among these the fourth book of *Maccabees* mentions a large dish and a shield, amounting to fifty thousand pieces of gold. That author mentions some other particulars, which are not in *Josephus*; such as, that the ambassadors were made to sit down with the *Roman* consul; that they were allowed the free exercise of their religion; and that the letter which they brought from the senate to *Hyrcaan*, did give him the name and title of king, which that pontiff took upon him, and bore it from thenceforward. The letter is there related at full length; but as it contains nothing particular except that inscription, we shall refer the reader to that book for it.

(1) Vide *Frid. connect. sub ann. 129. note t.* & *Buxtorf. lexic. Rabbin. sub voce מלכות* 3875. (3) See before, Vol. I. p. 317, d. & p. 665, c. Vide & *Deut. xxiii. 7, 8.* p. 317. note.

(2) Sub A. M. [†] Vol. I.

their

a their charges homewards. They likewise sent letters to all the governors of the provinces through which they were to pass in their return, to see them treated with all the marks of honour due to their character. The senate likewise ordered, that all the complaints they had exhibited against the *Syrians* should be redressed; declared null and void all that *Antiochus*, or his successor, had done, or should do, contrary to their late league with the late *Jewish* high-priests; that the *Syrians* should reimburse to them all the losses sustained by them, and appointed commissaries to come and see the purport of their decree fully executed. The ambassadors had likewise desired letters from the senate, directed to all the princes and free states with whom they were in alliance, to recommend the *Jewish* interest to them; but there being at
b that time other important matters on the tapis, the affair was deferred for further deliberation; and they returned to *Jerusalem* highly satisfied with what they had.

This embassy having so well succeeded, *Hyrcaus*, on the next year, sent a new one with fresh presents, to thank the senate for their last favour, and to obtain a ratification of all their former decrees in their behalf; all which was readily granted, and the ambassadors returning, brought this new act, which the reader may see at full length in *Josephus* (R). By these alliances *John* saw himself more and more strengthened in his dominions, whilst the kingdoms of *Syria* and *Egypt* were still troubled with continual wars. *Alexander Zebina* having by this time mounted the *Syrian* throne*, was glad to make him his friend; but being soon after killed, and succeeded
c by *Antiochus Grypus*, this last did so resent it, that he was preparing himself to invade *Judea*; but was happily prevented by his brother, who was then levying an army at *Cyzicum*, and coming against him. *Hyrcaus* left them to fight it out between them, without concerning himself on either side, chusing rather to enjoy his sovereign authority peacefully, which gave him an opportunity of heaping up immense treasures, by the tributes which he received both from his own now flourishing land, and from those countries which he had lately subjected to his dominions. At length some hostilities, which the *Samaritans* committed against the *Mareffans* (S), who were then in friendship with him, gave him a fair handle for renewing the war, which he had lately begun against those of the city of *Shechem*. He went therefore

A second embassy sent to Rome.

* Vol. III. p. 611, & seq.

(R) Here *Josephus* has again committed a manifest blunder, by inserting this decree in the wrong place (4), and instead of another then granted by the senate upon another occasion, and at the recommendation of *Julius Caesar*, to *Hyrcaus* the second. This has been fully proved by several learned men, whom the reader will find in the margin (5); and he may further convince himself, by comparing the contrariety between the decree itself, and the occasion upon which the *Jewish* historian there quotes it, with respect to the following particulars:

1. He says it was obtained for the rebuilding of the city wall demolished by *Pompey*; but there is not a word in the decree about the wall, but only of renewing and confirming the former alliances.
2. The decree was dated on the ninth year of *Hyrcaus*, who could not be the second of that name; for if it had been obtained to this last by *Julius Caesar*, it must have fallen in the seventeenth, not of his reign, for that he had been dispossessed of by *Gabinus*, but of his priesthood, which was all the dignity that was left to him, as *Josephus* himself owns in another place (6); and if his reign were to be dated, not from his restoration by *Pompey*, but from the death of his mother, it must have been the twenty-third, and not the ninth of his reign.

Again, there is a manifest difference between the dates of the preamble to, and the decree itself. The one dates it the ninth of *Hyrcaus*, in the month *Parthenius*, answering to our *July*, and the other the ides (or thirteenth) of *December*. From all which

it is evident, that *Josephus* has, by a mistake, inserted here one decree for another; and that this belonged not to any year of *Hyrcaus* the second, but to the ninth year of *Hyrcaus* the first.

Another strong proof of this is; *Naumenius* the son of *Antiochus*, who is mentioned in the decree as one of the ambassadors sent by *Hyrcaus* to procure it, is the same who had been sent about seventeen years before, on the like errand, to *Rome* by *Jonathan*, as we have lately seen; he might therefore be still young enough to be sent on this new embassy in the ninth year of *Hyrcaus* the first; but must have been long dead and rotten before the decree obtained by *Caesar* in favour of *Hyrcaus* the second, the being near eighty years distance between them. To all this may be added, that the decree here inserted is that of an alliance made by proper ambassadors between the *Roman* senate and a free state, such as the *Jewish* was in *Hyrcaus* the first's time; whereas that obtained by *Caesar* for *Hyrcaus* the second, was not an alliance by embassy, but a favour conferred on the *Jews*, in consideration of the services they had done the *Roman* general in the *Alexandrian* war; at which time they were no longer a free, but a conquered nation, as the sequel of this history will soon shew.

(S) The city of *Mareffa*, or *Marefa*, which stood at about two miles distance from *Eleutheropolis*, had been some time before taken by him, and since retaken by the *Syrians*, under whom it now was; but still in alliance and friendship with the *Jews* (7).

(4) *Antiq.* l. xiv. c. 26. (5) *Scalig. animad. in chron. Euseb. num.* 1971. *Usser. annal. sub A. M.* 3877. *Salien. sub A. M.* 4007. *scilicet.* 36. *Frid. connect. sub ann.* 127. (6) *Antiq.* l. xiv. c. 10.
(7) *Vide antiq.* l. xiii. c. 17.

with his two sons *Aristobulus* and *Antigonus*, at the head of a powerful army, and with all the proper engines for the siege of *Samaria*, which had been since rebuilt and fortified (T). These encompassed the city with a wall, and a deep ditch, of about eighty furlongs, or four thousand paces circuit; by which they soon reduced the city to such scarcity of provisions, that they began to eat all manner of unclean beasts, such as cats, dogs, and other carion. In this extremity they found means to send and implore the assistance of *Antiochus Cyzicenus*, who was now on the *Syrian* throne *, and who came accordingly with a great army to their relief †.

Samaria besieged.
Year of the
flood 2889.
Before Christ
110.

In the mean time the grand expiation day being at hand, *Hyrcan* was obliged to go to *Jerusalem* to perform the office of it, and left his two sons to carry on the siege. Upon their hearing that *Antiochus* was coming against them, *Aristobulus* was dispatched with part of the army to meet him. A bloody engagement ensued, in which the *Syrians* were totally routed, and pursued as far as *Scythopolis*; and *Antiochus* escaped with great difficulty. After this defeat, the siege was renewed with such vigour, that *Antiochus* was again applied to; but he not caring to hazard a second battle, contented himself with sending six thousand men to make a diversion in *Judea*, in hopes to oblige the *Jews* to raise the siege; neither were these his own troops, but such as he had with some difficulty obtained from the king of *Egypt*. We have already seen the ill success of this expedition in a former volume, as well as the betraying of *Scythopolis* to *Hyrcan* by *Epicrates*, and the surrender and utter demolition of *Samaria* †. From this time *Hyrcan* became more and more powerful, and made himself master not only of all *Palestine*, but added also unto it the provinces of *Samaria* and *Galilee*; all which he enjoyed to the end of his life, without any molestation from without, or discords from within his dominions. His reign was no less remarkable on the account of his great wisdom and piety at home, than his conquests abroad. Never did the *Jewish* religion or commonwealth appear in greater lustre since the return from captivity; but that which raises his glory above any of his predecessors or successors, was, if we may believe *Josephus* †, and the fourth book of *Maccabees* †, his enjoying three dignities, which never all met in any but him; namely, the royal dignity, the high-priesthood, and the gift of prophecy. Of the last of these we shall give two or three instances out of those authors in the margin (V); but the second, or high-priesthood, tho' he had exercised it in such a manner as ought to have rendered him doubly venerable, yet in the end proved the source of such persecutions from the proud and hot-headed pharisees, as quite imbibbered the latter end of his reign, if not shortened his days. It is under his regn that this sect, as well as those of the sadducees and essenians, of which we have already spoken something, are supposed to have started up. This therefore may be thought a proper place of speaking of them more at large, as well as of that of the caraites, which sprung up afterwards; but as each of those four sects had many favourite tenets, quite opposite to the spirit and doctrine of the gospel, and its divine author, and proved so many invincible obstacles against its reception, we shall defer speaking of them till we

* Vol. III. p. 615, c.
& bell. Judaic. l. ii. c. 3.

† Antiq. l. xiii. c. 18.
‡ Cap. vii.

† Vol. III. p. 614, f.

‡ Antiq. ubi supra.

(T) It will be proper here to remind our readers, that these *Samaritans* were not now of the old race and sect so much hated by the *Jews*; for these, we have seen a little higher, had been either destroyed, or driven out of that metropolis, by *Alexander the Great*, for the murder of his favourite *Andronicus*; immediately after which he repopulated the place with *Syro-Macedonians*, or a mixture of *Syrians*, *Macedonians* and *Greeks*.

These being settled there, did encompass the town with a double high wall, a deep ditch, and other fortifications; those therefore are mistaken, who think, that the *Jewish* hatred against the former sort of *Samaritans* was the occasion of this war; for these were all heathens, and consequently strangers to the disputes and intailed enmity between those two.

(V) *Josephus* affirms him to have had very extraordinary visions and revelations, more particularly about his own children. He tells us for instance, that on the day in which his forces defeated those of *Antiochus*, himself was then offering up incense

in the most holy place, where he heard a voice telling him of the victory gained by his sons.

As he was very fond of those two brave youths, he was no less importunate with heaven to know which of them was to succeed him; but, to his great mortification, he saw in a vision a third son, not yet born, who was pointed at as his successor. This grieved the good old man so much, it seems, that when *Alexander* was soon after born, he sent him to be privately brought up in *Galilee*; but this did not hinder the vision being verified by the sequel; of which he was made however so sensible before he died, that he foretold the reigns of his two eldest sons *Aristobulus* and *Antigonus* to be but short, after which *Alexander* would succeed them.

There are some other singularities related of him, which have still more the air of fables, and therefore not worth mentioning; only this one is very remarkable, if true, that the stones of the breast-plate, and the carbuncle on his shoulder, quite lost their lustre after his death, and never recovered it since.

come

- a come to that glorious epocha. By this means the reader will have 'em so fresh in his mind, and, as it were, in one view, that, instead of wondering at the Jews rejecting so universally the person and doctrine of the Messiah, he will rather look upon it as a kind of miracle, that so many of that blind and prepossessed nation should so readily embrace them.

- But, to return to our subject, *Hyrca*n had always shewed himself a zealous stickler for the pharisees; they had hitherto monopolized his favours, and enjoyed the most considerable posts under him, whilst the other two were despised and kept under by him. But an untimely piece of condescension towards them, or perhaps rather of vanity, from which the best of men are not always exempt, gave one of the heads of that imperious sect, named *Eleazar*, an opportunity to cast a reflection against him, which touched him in the most sensible part. It was no less than calling in question his legitimacy, at least as being less pure and undefiled than the *Mosaic* law requires in a high-priest; and this he did by pretending, that his mother had been formerly a slave, intimating thereby, that either she was not of *Jewish* extraction, or else, that being so, she had been taken captive by the enemy, and forced to prostitute herself for a maintenance. The story being, as *Josephus* assures us, absolutely false, and only trumped up by that proud pharisee to mortify the good old prelate, we shall throw it in the margin (W), and only add, that *Eleazar's* base suggestion, and the partiality of his brotherhood in assigning him a condign punishment, did so exasperate the high-priest against the whole sect, that from that time he gave himself up wholly to that of the sadducees, who were not a little glad to aggravate the affront as hatched against him by the whole pharisaic body, tho' one only of them had had the courage to blab it out. From thenceforth therefore there grew the bitterest enmity between him and that revengeful sect, who ceased not to raise troubles and seditions against him during the short time he lived, and against his sons after him. *Hyrca*n was then in the twenty-eighth year of his pontificate when this quarrel happened, and he died in the very next year, greatly lamented by all but the pharisaic crew, who left no stone unturned to blacken his memory, and to get into the same credit and authority they had formerly enjoyed under him (X)^k.

*Hyrca*n

^k Antiq. l. xiii. c. 18.

(W) *Hyrca*n's desire to ingratiate himself still farther to this imperious sect, which he observed to grow daily more and more the darling of the people, by reason of their specious pretence to a greater degree of sanctity; made him one day, after he had given some of the heads of them a most sumptuous entertainment, ask them, if they had any thing to object or to find fault with against his government, that he might rectify it; since he had always made it his chief study and delight to act with the utmost regard to God, and according to the rules and maxims of their sect.

Whilst therefore the rest of the company were extolling his piety, zeal, valour and conduct up to the skies, the surly and turbulent *Eleazar* started up, and, with his wonted ill-nature, told him, that if he was really desirous to deserve the praises which his brethren had so lavishly given him, he ought to divest himself of his high-priesthood, and be content with the civil government of the nation. Being asked the reason of so strange a proposal, he answered him, That they were well assured, upon the testimony of ancient persons still living, that his mother had been taken captive in the wars, which rendered him incapable by the law of *Moses* † to succeed to the pontifical dignity.

This malicious suggestion, it seems, was refuted by all the company; but much more by the old pontiff, who thereupon resolved to take some signal satisfaction for the calumny cast on his mother and himself. He had then a favourite friend named *Jonathan*, a zealous *Sadducee*, who took occasion from it to intimate to him, that *Eleazar* was but the tool and mouth of the *Pharisaic* sect; but that

the slander must have been concerted by the whole party. To convince him of it, he advised him to consult the brotherhood concerning the punishment of the calumniator, and he would soon find, either by their lenity or severity towards him, whether they had any hand in the calumny.

*Hyrca*n took his advice, and asked the heads of that sect, What punishment they thought *Eleazar* deserved for raising such an impious and unjust slander on the prince and high-priest of their nation? expecting no doubt but they would have condemned him to death; but, to his surprize, they told him, that as calumny was no capital crime, the severest punishment he could inflict on him, was that of scourging and imprisonment.

There wanted no more to convince the pontiff of the truth of what *Jonathan* had suggested to him; so that from that time he became an irreconcilable enemy to the whole sect, forbad, under severe penalties, the observance of their commandments and traditions, and became a zealous patron of the opposite sect of the *Sadducees*. On the other hand, the *Pharisees* became mortal enemies, not only to him and his family, but to the whole *Sadducean* party, and never ceased plotting against them till they had gained the saddle again; which they did in some few years after, as the sequel will shew.

(X) *Josephus* is very inconsistent in the years of this prelate's reign, if there be not some error crept into the copies we have of him, and in the *Latin* version of *Rufinus*; for in one place (8) he gives him thirty-three, and in two others (9) thirty-one; yet *Eusebius* out of him gives him but twenty-nine (10), and so doth St. *Jerom* in his *Latin* version of him,

† See what has been said of these marriages, Vol I. p. 634, b. c. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 18. & l. xx. c. 8.

(8) Bell. Judaic. l. i. c. 3.

(9) Antiq.

(10) In chron. & demonst. Evang. l. viii. c. 2.

*Hyrca*n is affirmed by *Josephus* to have built the stately tower, or rather castle of *a* *Baris* (Y), the same which served afterwards for a palace for the *Asmonean* princes, and was some time after rebuilt, enlarged and fortified by *Herod*, and called by him *Antonia*, in honour of the emperor *Marc Antony*. This castle was built upon a steep rock, fifty cubits high from the valley that ran beneath it to the top on which the building stood, and was inaccessible on all sides, except that towards the temple, with which it was even. It was of a square figure, two furlongs in compass; that is, half a furlong, or three hundred feet on every side. The rock stood without the outer square of the temple, and upon the same mountain with, and on the north-side of it, running parallel with its outer wall, but incompassed with that which *Simon* had built to stop the communication between the temple and the fortrefs of *Acra*. *b* Here *Hyrca*n built an apartment, where he deposited his pontifical robes and ornaments, whenever he divested himself of them to vacate on his other affairs; which method was afterwards observed by his successors. Here he kept his court, and spent most of his time; and so did they after him ¹, till *Herod* observing the strength of its situation, turned it into a fortrefs; in which however the priestly attire was still kept, even after the *Jews* were subdued by the *Romans*, and under the custody of the commander of that garison, called by *St. Luke* the captain of the temple ^m. This officer kept them in his custody under lock and seal, and delivered them up to the high-priests upon all solemnities in which they were required; immediately after which they were put into his hands again, as we shall see in the next section. *c*

*Hyrca*n left three sons, according to the fourth book of *Maccabees* (Z), or five, according to *Josephus* ⁿ, who gives us however the names but of four of them; namely, *Aristobulus*, who was also called *Judas*, and surnamed *Philellen*, by reason of his fondness for the *Greeks*; 2. *Antigonus*; 3. *Alexander* and *Abjolom*, who was the youngest. What was the name of the fourth he no-where tells us. *Aristobulus* succeeded his father in all his dignities in right of primogeniture, according to the *Mosaic* law; and having a great affection for his brother *Antigonus*, he admitted him to share the government with him for some short space; after which, upon some suspicion or dislike, he caused him to be put to death. The other three he kept close prisoners during his short reign, which lasted but one year, which he yet stained *d* with his own mother's blood; for that princess having claimed a right to the sovereignty, by virtue of *Hyrca*n's will, her unnatural son not only shut her up in a prison, but there barbarously starved her to death. Soon after this he assumed the title of king, and began to wear the royal diadem, which, if we may believe *Josephus*, had never been done by any of his predecessors ^o, who had till then contented themselves with the title of governors, or at most with that of prince (A). As soon as he

Aristobulus
succeeds
*Hyrca*n.
Year of the
Aera 2892.
Before Christ
107.
His cruel reign.

¹ Bell. Judaic. l. vi. c. 5. Antiq. l. xviii. c. 6. Vide & Lightfoot's view of the temple, c. 7. ^m Act. xxi. 31. & seq. & alib. ⁿ Antiq. l. xiii. c. 19. & l. xiv. c. 8. bell. Judaic. l. i. c. 3. ^o Antiq. l. xiii. c. 19. & bell. Judaic. ubi supra.

him, and elsewhere (11), and rightly too; for, as the learned *Usher* observes in the place last-quoted, *Simon*, *Hyrca*n's father, died in the 177th year of the *Grecian* kingdom, and in the 11th of month *Sebat* (12), answering to the 4579th of the *Julian* period; and his wife *Alexandra*, who reigned after his sons, died, as the sequel will shew, in *December* 4644 of the same period; so that the distance is 65 years, and about 9 months; from which if we subtract the 37 years which *Josephus* allows to her and her sons, the remainder will be 28 years, and 9 months.

(Y) *St. Jerom*, in his comments on those sacred books, which were written after the *Babylonish* captivity, such as those of *Daniel*, *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, and on some other prophets (13), observes the word *Baris* to be of *Chaldean* extraction, peculiar to *Palestine*, and to signify a house or castle inclosed on every side. In the same sense the *Septuagint* have used it likewise; and as that word in the plural is *Bapsis*, which likewise signifies heavy, their interpreters have sometimes took it in the latter sense without any reason, and puzzled thereby

several places of scripture, which were plain enough in the former signification, particularly the ivory palaces mentioned by the psalmist (14).

(Z) This author adds (15), that *Hyrca*n was so excessively fond of his two eldest sons, that he would name neither to the succession, but left it wholly to providence to direct it. On the other hand he bore as great an aversion to *Alexander*, who had been pointed out to him as his successor in a vision, of which we have spoken in a late note, but yet without attempting any thing against him to prevent it.

Josephus, on the contrary, tells us, that he left the government to his wife during her life, tho', by the cruelty with which her eldest son used her, one would rather think, that she had forged some such will against him.

(A) We have seen however in a late note ^{*}, that *Hyrca*n took the royal name and dignity upon him long before. *Strabo* says (16), that it was *Alexander*, *Aristobulus*'s successor, who first took that title upon him.

(11) Comm. in ix. Dan. Vide & *Usher*. annal. sub A. M. 3896.

(12) Vide 1 Maccab. xvi. 14.

(13) Vide & comm. in Jerem. xvii. & Hof. ix.

(14) Psal. xlv. 8. Vide *Calm*. sub voce *Baris*.

(15) Cap.

vii. ^{*} Supra, p. 94. (Q)

(16) Lib. xvi.

- a had settled his affairs at home, he marched at the head of his army to invade *Iturea*; ^{Invas'd Iturea.} but being taken ill in the midst of his successes, he was forced to be brought back to *Jerusalem*, and to leave his brother to complete the conquest of that province (B); which he soon after did, causing all the *Itureans* either to be circumcised, and incorporated with the *Jews*, or else to depart into some other country ^P.

WHILST he was carrying on this successful war, there wanted not those at court, ^{Antigonus murdered.} who envying his happiness, endeavoured to prepossess the sick king with strange suspicions against him. The queen more particularly seemed to have conceived some irreconcilable hatred against that prince, and to have been the chief engine of his ruin; which happened soon after, when *Antigonus* innocently furnished her with the means of working it more effectually. For as soon as he had finished the conquest of *Iturea*, he marched directly to *Jerusalem*, it being then the feast of tabernacles; and being in haste to repair to the temple, to offer up his thanks for his success, and his vows for his brother's recovery; he went directly thither in his armour, without staying to shift his cloaths, and accompanied with a number of his men. This was immediately interpreted to the timorous king as a manifest attempt upon his life, to which he gave but too easy credit. However, to satisfy himself more fully about it, he sent him orders to put off his armour, and to come immediately to him, which, if he complied with, would sufficiently justify him; but if not, would fully prove his treasonable intent. The king was then at his castle of *Baris*, mentioned a little higher, ^c where he ordered some of his guards to be privately posted in the subterranean gallery, through which *Antigonus* was to pass, and who were charged to murder him, if he presumed to come armed to him. But the mischievous queen corrupted the messenger, and made him go and tell the young prince, that his brother having heard his armour highly commended, desired to see him in it immediately; so that when *Antigonus* came to pass through the gallery, the guards fell immediately upon him, and killed him (C). The king however was soon undeceived, and could not think upon his brother's murder without reflecting on the more cruel one, which he had lately committed on his own mother; the remorse of which increasing his disease, he fell into a violent vomiting of blood. A servant happening soon after to spill some ^d of that blood, which he was carrying away in a basin, upon the very spot where that of his brother *Antigonus* was still to be seen; some of the by-standers, thinking he had done it wilfully, gave a great cry, which was heard by the king. He sent to ask the meaning of it, and found them unwilling to acquaint him with it; which made him still more desirous of knowing it. At length he forced the fatal secret from them, which threw him into an excess of grief and despair, which he vented in words to this effect: Since the privacy of the place could not hide from God's all-seeing eye the detestable deed I have committed, but must now vomit up my own blood, as it were, by drops, to atone for that which I have so inhumanly shed, would not a speedy death be much more desirable to me? He gave up the ghost soon after,

^P *Id. ibid. c. 20.*

(B) This province was so called from *Itur* the son of *Ishmael*, whom our English and some other versions wrongly call *Yetur*. It was situate on the other side *Jordan*, on the north side of the half tribe of *Manasseh*, between that and the territories of *Damascus*; so that it made one part of *Cœle-Syria*, and did lie on the one side of *Judæa*, as *Idumæa*, formerly conquered in the same manner, did lie on the other. It had the province of *Battanea* on the east, and the *Trachonitis* mentioned by *St. Luke* (17) on the south (18). The *Reubenites*, *Simeonites*, and *Manassites*, are said in the chronicles to have invaded these territories (19), and to have subdued the *Itureans*.

(C) The gallery here spoken of was, it seems, under one of the towers of the castle, called upon some account or other *Siraton's tower*; and so verified, according to *Josephus*, the prediction of one *Judas*, of the sect of the *Essenians*, concerning this prince's

death. This man, who was then at *Jerusalem*, had foretold some time before, that *Antigonus* should be killed on that very day at *Siraton's tower*; but as he understood it of another more famed on the sea-coast, and at a distance from this, he was not a little surprised to see that prince come to the temple, looking upon it as a demonstration of the falshood of his prediction, since the day being already far advanced, it was impossible for him to reach it, it being above six hundred furlongs from *Jerusalem*.

This threw him into such a fit of raving, that he vented his complaints for the supposed deception in a very indecent manner, and *Judas* like, cried out, it had been better for him to have been dead, before he had been found a false prophet. Whilst he was in the height of his murmuring, news were brought of *Antigonus's* murder, and the name of the tower convinced both him and the rest of the truth of his prediction (20).

(17) c. iii. 1.

(18) *Vid. Reland. Palest. l. i. c. 22.*

l. xiii. c. 19. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 3.

(19) *1 Chron. v. 19.*

(20) *Antiq.*

l. xiii. c. 19.

having reigned but one year (D), and was succeeded by his brother *Jannæus*, or *Alexander*, whom the queen *Salome*, called by the *Greeks* *Alexandra*, released out of prison with his other two brethren, and caused him to be proclaimed king, as being the eldest of the three, and of a milder disposition than either of them.

He was however forced to begin his reign with the death of his fourth brother, who had made some treasonable attempt against him; but was much kinder to *Abjolom* the youngest of all, whom finding contented to lead a private life under him, he took under his protection as long as he lived; and so privately did this prince live, that we hear no more of him, till above forty-two years after, when having engaged in the war against the *Romans*, he was taken by *Pompey*, and sent prisoner to *Rome*. *Alexander* being a subtle and warlike prince, and *Syria* being then torn by civil wars between the contending brothers, *Antiochus Cyzicus* and *Antiochus Gryphus**, and therefore in no capacity to oppose him, he led an army in the very first year of his reign against the city of *Ptolemais*; but met with worse success in that siege than any of his predecessors had done, being forced to raise it to succour his own territories, which were invaded by *Ptolemy Latyrus*, who took from him the city of *Azochis* in *Galilee*, and carried off ten thousand captives, and gave him soon after a dreadful overthrow near the banks of the *Jordan*, as we have seen in a former chapter†. This defeat, in which he lost thirty thousand men, besides those that were taken prisoners, and which was a just reward for his treachery to that prince, would infallibly have opened a way for the latter into *Judæa*, *Alexander* being now in no condition to have stopped his progress; had not *Cleopatra* come to his assistance. It was indeed that princess's interest not to let *Latyrus* grow too great, and be thereby enabled to come and wrest the crown from her; but there was another spring that moved her to what she did. The *Jews* of *Alexandria* were highly in her favour, and *Chelkias* and *Ananias*, two of the most considerable, being the sons of *Onias* the high-priest, who built the *Jewish* temple at *Alexandria*, were at the head of affairs: and these could not behold *Judæa* in such imminent danger from an exasperated enemy, without using all their interest with that queen to prevent it. We shall not repeat what has been said in a former chapter** concerning the success of her arms against that competitor. *Alexander* reaped so far the benefit of it, that it obliged *Latyrus* to set aside the invasion of *Palestine* for some time; and *Cleopatra* being come to *Ptolemais*, which had surrendered to her, the *Jewish* monarch came to acknowledge her favour to him by presents suitable to her dignity. He was received outwardly like a prince in distress, and who had no other refuge than her friendship; but that which ingratiated him most to that politic princess was, his being an enemy to her son *Latyrus*, who was by that time returned into *Palestine*, and had taken his winter quarters at *Gaza*.

DURING *Alexander's* stay with *Cleopatra*, some of her friends advised her to take so favourable an opportunity to make herself mistress of *Judæa*; which would at once increase her dominions and strength, and give her a superiority over her competitor. But *Ananias* the *Jew* lately mentioned, who was one of her head generals, dissuaded her from such an attempt, alledging that it would be very ungenerous and unjust to dispossess of his dominions, an ally, who was come to implore her friendship and assistance; that it would lessen her character in the eyes of the world, and above all, make her detested by all the *Jews*. These reasons, joined to the influence which that general, who was *Alexander's* kinsman, had over her, did not only divert her from her design, but procured an alliance between them, which was concluded in the city of *Scythopolis*; after which *Alexander* returned to *Jerusalem*, where being now pretty secure of any danger from *Latyrus*, he recruited his broken army, and crossing the *Jordan*, went to besiege *Gadara*, and took it at the end of ten months. From thence he marched to *Amathus*, another strong fortress on that side the river, into which *Theodotus* the son of *Zeno*, tyrant of *Philadelpia*, had laid up an immense treasure; and took it in a much shorter time than he had that of *Gadara*; and with it all

Year of the
Jews = 395.
Before Christ
104.

Year of the
Jews = 397.
Before Christ
102.
Alexander as-
sisted by Cleo-
patra.

Takes Gadara.

* See before, Vol. III. p. 612, & seq.

† Ibid. p. 660, & seq.

** Ibid. p. 659, & seq.

(D) *Aristobulus* had so far ingratiated himself to the *Greeks*, of whom he was excessive fond, that they were great admirers of him; and *Josephus* quotes one of their authors (21), who gives him the

character of a prince of great equity and beneficence; but the actions of his short reign shew him to have been of a quite different disposition.

(21) *Timagen. ap. Strabon. ex Joseph. Antiq. ubi supra.*

a *Apolodotus's* treasure. But he did not keep it long; that prince having got together a numerous army, fell suddenly upon him, as he was returning from the siege, killed him ten thousand men, routed the rest, recovered all his wealth, seized on *Alexander's* baggage, and carried off a considerable plunder from his men¹. This defeat however did not discourage *Alexander* from pursuing his warlike views, only it afforded great matter of triumph to the pharisees, his implacable enemies, who took occasion from thence to vilify him to the people, and to use all possible means to make his crown sit uneasy on him.

Year of the
flood 2999.
Before Christ
100.

As soon as *Alexander* had recruited his army, he stayed not in *Jerusalem* to quell the pharisaic faction, but left them to make the most of his late disgrace, whilst he went to vent his resentment on the treacherous *Gazeans*, who by inviting *Latbyrus* against him, and furnishing him with auxiliaries, had been the cause of his late overthrow. He immediately besieged the towns of *Raphia* and *Anthedon*, since called *Agrippias* by *Herod*: these two places stood at a few miles distance from *Gaza*, by which means having in some measure blocked up this last, he on the next year set about besieging it, with a powerful army. The city being then under the command of *Apolodotus*, a man of great valour and conduct, made a stout defence against him one whole year, and in one fall were like to have routed him and his army; and much longer it might have held out in all likelihood, had not the brave governor been treacherously murdered by his own brother *Lyfimachus*, and the place betrayed by him to the besiegers. *Alexander* upon his entering it made great show of clemency to the *Gazeans*, but soon betrayed his rancour and cruelty against them, by abandoning them to the fury of his men; who thereupon made such horrid slaughter of them, as was like to have proved a dear revenge to him; for the *Gazeans* standing desperately on their own defence, killed him almost as many of his men as he did of theirs. Having at last glutted himself with the blood of those unfortunate wretches, he vented the rest of his resentment on that great and ancient city, by reducing it into a heap of ruins; after which he returned with his army to *Jerusalem*². The fourth book of *Maccabees* adds³, that he took afterwards the cities of *Emath* and *Tyre*, but *Josephus* says nothing of it.

Goes against
Gaza.

It's cruelty to
the Gazeans.

d But whilst he had been abroad with his army, the pharisees, who, as we hinted before, bore a mortal hatred to him and his whole family, had taken such means to exasperate the people against him by evil surmises and slanders, which they privately instilled into them, that it broke out at last into an open affront, which came little short of a rebellion. They chose the feast of tabernacles, on which solemnity they go to the temple with palm and other branches in their hands, especially that of a kind of citron, which they call *attrog*, with the fruit upon it (E); and when he was performing the priestly office at the great altar, probably on the last day of that solemnity, they pelted him, not only with those *attrogs*, but with the most injurious reflections, and opprobrious language, crying aloud, that such a slave as he (F) was unworthy of either the pontifical or regal dignity. This insolence, which seemed the

Alexander
pelted by the
people.
Year of the
flood 2904.
Before Christ
95.

¹ Antiq. xiii. 21.

² Ibid.

³ cap. xxix.

(E) This *attrog*, which the *Jews* imagine to have been the forbidden fruit, which our first parents eat in paradise, very much resembles a citron or lemon, except that it has on the rind some unevenness, (such as we observe sometimes in the *Seville orange*) and which they fondly believe to have been originally impressed upon it by *Eve's* planting her teeth upon it, from which time they think that fruit has retained the print of it on both sides.

Where-ever therefore it is to be had, they carry it during this festival in their hands to the synagogues, as they did then to the temple, and are very curious in the choice of such only as best represent that fatal bite; and as our *Jews* here, and in *Holland*, *Germany*, &c. are forced to have it from some parts of *Greece*, none but the richer sort are able to purchase it; and it sometimes happens, either through contrary wind, ships being taken, or cast away, that there is such a scarcity of them, that the price of them advances to a guinea a sprig. Those who are curious enough may see them on that festival in their synagogues, it seldom or never happening

but some quantity is brought over against that time. But when it doth, they are forced to substitute some other odoriferous tree instead of it; but the poorer sort content themselves with branches of willows.

On the seventh day, which closes the festival, they break their branches, or throw them away; and we suppose it was on this day that the mutinous crowd did pelt the high-priest with those *attrogs*, they being so common at that time in *Palestine*, that the meanest people might purchase them.

(F) By calling him a slave, it is plain, they harped upon that scandalous suggestion of *Elazar* mentioned in a late note, of his mother having been a slave. But the true foundation of the pharisaic grudge was his treading in his father's steps, not only in caressing the opposite sect, but in continuing the penal laws against those who should observe the traditions and customs introduced by the pharisees. This was such a crime against them, that nothing but his blood could expiate, and they did not scruple to tell him so soon after, as we shall see in the sequel.

fore-

fore-runner of something worse, did so exasperate the pontiff, that suspending his office for a while, he ordered his soldiers to fall upon the mutinous mob; which they did with such speed and fury, that they killed six thousand of them, and dispersed the rest¹. As soon as the tumult was quelled, he caused the court of the priests to be inclosed with a wooden wall, to prevent such insults being offered to him for the future, and at the same time provided for his further safety, by taking into his pay six thousand auxiliaries out of *Pisidia* and *Cilicia*, being afraid to trust his person any longer to the guard of those of his exasperated nation, who, as he found now to his great grief, were not to be quelled by the greatest severities, nor mollified by the greatest lenitives. So that being quite wearied out with their continual clamours, he marched out of *Jerusalem* at the head of his army, crossed the *Jordan*, and went and destroyed the city of *Amathus*, without meeting with any opposition from *Theodotus*, who contented himself with carrying off his treasure and garrison, leaving the city to his mercy; so dreadful was become the name of *Alexander* by this time to all the nations round about. From thence he marched against the *Arabians*, whom he subdued; after which he laid the *Moabites* and the mountaineers of the land of *Gilead* under tribute. Soon after this, as he was carrying on the war against *Obedus* king of the *Arabians*, he fell into an ambush near *Gadara*, where he was forced by a large drove of camels into a streight so narrow and craggy, that it was with the greatest difficulty that he escaped, and regained his own metropolis (G). Here he found, to his great mortification, that the news of this last defeat, had not only reached the place, but had given a new life to his enemies, who began to exclaim louder than ever against him. His endeavours to quell them, as he had done before, did now but increase the tumult, till it broke out into an open insurrection against him. He was however too wise and brave to be either surpris'd or terrified by it, but quickly gathered a number of forces to make head against them. A civil war immediately ensued, which lasted six whole years, during which above fifty thousand of the rebels lost their lives, besides those he lost on his own side (H), and the innumerable calamities it brought on the *Jewish* nation.

Makes war
abroad.

The pharisees
cause a revo-
lution.

Alexander however, though he still got the better of them, was so weary with destroying both his people and country, that he spared no means, no offers or promises, to bring matters to a pacification. But as he had to do with a crew of rebels, and they of the pharisaic leaven, every advance he made did but harden them the more. At length being resolved, if possible, to bring them to a better mind, he sent some of his friends to know what would satisfy them, promising to grant them whatever they should in reason and justice demand. To this they unanimously cried out, that he must cut his own throat, telling him at the same time, that he ought to think highly of them, if they thought his death a sufficient recompense for the blood he had shed, and the mischiefs he had brought upon his nation². This answer made him lose all hopes of an accommodation, and look out for some more effectual means to suppress their horrid insolence, whilst they on the other hand sent to *Damascus*, to beg of *Demetrius*, surnamed *Eucharus*, to come to their assistance³.

Demetrius came accordingly into *Judaea* with an army of three thousand horse, and forty thousand foot, who were partly *Jews*, and partly *Syrians*; and *Alexander* came against him with another, consisting of six thousand *Greek* auxiliaries, and twenty thousand *Jews*; each of them tried for some time to gain over the troops of his competitor, *Demetrius* to debauch the *Greek* auxiliaries to forsake the *Jewish* king, and this latter to bring over those *Jews* that were in the *Syrian* army. But all their efforts proving vain, they came at length to a decisive battle, in which *Alexander* was de-

¹ Antiq. xiii. 21. bell. Jud. l. i. c. 3.

² Id. ibid.

³ Ibid. c. 22. bell. Judaic. ubi supra.

(G) *Josephus* mentions these wars so confusedly, that it is impossible to guess at what time they happened, or how long they lasted. It seems as if he had lumped them thus together at the sag end of a chapter (22), to shew his readers what a war-like prince *Alexander* was, and that his neighbours led but a weary life during his reign. Perhaps it would have been better for him to have continued them longer, since his return to *Jerusalem* proved the cause of fresh tumults, which ended at last in an

open rebellion.

(H) The fourth book of the *Maccabees* tells us, that this intestine war was between the pharisees and sadducees; and that *Alexander* having declared himself against the former, had put fifty thousand of them to death, within the space of these six years; which did so exasperate the rest of them, that they would hearken to no accommodation, but sent to invite *Demetrius* king of *Syria* to come to their assistance against him (23).

(22) Ant. l. xiii. in fin. cap. 21. & bell. Jud. l. i. c. 3.

(23) Cap. 29.

feated,

- a. seated, and forced to flee to the mountains for shelter, with the small number of men that stuck close to him. This is the account which *Josephus* gives us of this action, wherein he again clashes with the fourth book of *Maccabees*, which makes the advantage to have been vastly on *Alexander's* side, as the reader may see in the margin (I). But be that as it will, the former tells us that he was reduced by this defeat to such a low ebb, that he seemed irrecoverably lost, when an unexpected accident turned again the balance on his side. Those *Jewish* troops, whom he could not with all his art, and fair promises, withdraw from the enemies army, before the battle was fought, were now, upon his losing it, taken with such a fit of compassion, that they came all over to him; so that *Demetrius*, fearing lest the defection should still increase, left *Judæa*, and marched against his brother *Philip*. This retreat gave *Alexander* an opportunity of getting his army together, with which he marched against the rebellious *Jews*, and beat them in every engagement he had against them; though without being able to bring them to submission, or in the least abate the fury of their resentment against him, till a decisive battle put an end to the war. In this last action *Alexander* cut off the greater part of their army, and drove the rest, at least the chief of them, to *Bethome*, where he closely besieged them, and on the next year made himself master of the place; and here it was that he began to let loose the reins of his fury against them, in such barbarous manner, as can hardly be read without horror, if our historian has not exaggerated the matter. He caused eight hundred of the principal of them to be carried to *Jerusalem*, and there to be all crucified in one day, and at one place; and as if this had not been punishment sufficient to appease his resentment, he caused their wives and children to be brought and butchered before their faces, whilst they were hanging each upon their cross. But what swells the account of his barbarity almost beyond all credibility, is, that he caused a banquet to be prepared for himself and his concubines, near enough to this scene of horror, from whence he might glut his eyes with their sufferings. Hence the historian adds *, that he had the name of *Tracidus* or *Thracian* given him, that nation being infamous above all others for their horrid barbarities; and was indeed a name rather too good for him, if he was really guilty of all these cruelties.
- d. AFTER this dreadful havock the rebels did quite disperse themselves, and eight thousand of them disappeared on the very night following, and never more molested him during the remainder of his reign, so that from that time forth the pharisaic faction never dared to lift up their heads as long as he lived. Soon after this, the king of *Syria* intending to invade the territories of *Arabia Petrea*, marched his army through part of *Judæa*, which was the only passage he could have to come thither. *Alexander*, who suspected him to have some design against him, endeavoured in vain to obstruct him, by drawing a deep trench twenty miles long, that is, from the town of *Capfersaba*, now *Antipatris*, quite to the sea of *Joppa*, and fortifying it with wooden towers at convenient distances. *Antiochus* forced his way through them, and penetrated into *Arabia*, where he lost his life, as we have seen elsewhere *; and *Alexander* being rid of that fear, marched his army over *Jordan*, to recover some of those places in *Arabia*, and the lands of *Moab* and *Gilead*, which he had formerly taken, but had been forced to surrender during the civil wars, to prevent the *Arabian* king's supporting his rebellious subjects. This brought *Aretas*, now king both of *Arabia* and *Cele Syria*, into *Judæa*, where he defeated *Alexander*; but having soon after made a treaty with him, he retired with his forces, and left him to pursue his other conquests. *Alexander* accordingly marched against the city of *Dion*, and took it by assault †. *Pella* was taken next ‡,

Alexander defeated by Demetrius.

Relieved.

Year of the Flood 2913. Before Christ 80.

His cruelty to the rebels.

His conquests.

* Id. *ibid.*

* See Vol. III. p. 616, c.

† Antiq. *ibid.* c. 23.

‡ Beil. Jud. l. i. c. 4.

(I) This author tells us (24), that *Alexander* defeated the *Syrian* king, and pursued him quite to *Antioch*, where he kept him besieged three whole years; that at length *Demetrius*, having ventured out with his army against him, was killed; and that *Alexander* after this second victory came back to *Jerusalem*, where he was well received by the people; that he went afterwards and subdued the *Idumeans*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Philistines*, and *Arabian* mountaineers; but all this seems exaggerated, and *Josephus's* account perhaps more justly preferred to it,

who is seldom less liable to suspicion, than when he speaks against his own nation. Yet it must be remembered here, that *Josephus* was a zealous pharisee, and *Alexander* an inveterate enemy to, not to say in some measure a persecutor of, that old sect; and how far this consideration may have lowered the pharisaic leaven in that historian, and have made him represent that prince as less successful than he really was, and guilty of such cruelties as he was a stranger to, may be easily guessed.

after which he went and besieged *Essa*, alias *Gerasa*, into which *Theodotus* had secured all his treasure; and having built a treble wall about it, took it by storm, and carried off all the rich plunder he found in it. The inhabitants of *Pella* having refused to be circumcised, he forced them, according to the custom of the *Asmonean* princes, to leave the country, and their city was demolished. *Alexander* marched from thence and took *Gaulana*, *Seleucia*, the valley of *Antiochus*, and *Gamala*, and stripped *Demetrius*, who commanded in those places, of his principality, because he had been guilty of some foul crimes and malversations. This expedition took him up three whole years, after which he returned triumphant to *Jerusalem*, and brought *Demetrius* prisoner with him thither, where his late conquests gained him the loud acclamations of his subjects. But giving himself from thenceforward to drinking, and other debaucheries, he was seized with an obstinate quartan ague, which stuck to him till the day of his death, which happened about three years after. All this while, neither his distemper, nor his pleasures, which he still pursued, could alleviate his invincible thirst after conquests (K). Perhaps also was he in hopes to overcome the one by the other; but it happened quite otherwise, and his strength being quite exhausted by fatigues and debauch, he died in his camp before *Ragaba*, a fortress in the territories of the *Geraseni* beyond *Jordan*, which he was then besieging, in the twenty-seventh year of his reign.

His death.
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flood 2920.
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79.

He left two sons at his death, *Hyrceanus* and *Aristobulus*, but bequeathed the government of the kingdom to his wife *Alexandra*, during her life, and then to which of her two sons she should think fit to leave it. The queen, who was then with him at the siege, seeing him to be past recovery, addressed herself to him, all in tears; and in a most pathetic speech, represented to him the extreme danger she and her children were going to be exposed to, from the inveterate grudge which the pharisaic faction did still bear to him, and to all that belonged to him; and who being the idol of the people, would not fail to make her feel the effects of their bitterest rancour, by raising up new seditions against her, as they had formerly done against him, and perhaps to the total extirpation of his race. As her fears were but too well grounded, they could not but awake those of her dying husband, who, luckily for her, happened to have still presence of mind enough to bethink himself of an expedient, which would effectually put her out of all danger from that revengeful sect. Having therefore thought some time upon it, he spoke to her to this effect: "You know, said he, but too well the cause of our mutual enmity; and since your security and happiness must rise or fall, according as you make them your friends, or your foes, when I am dead, be sure to conceal the secret from my army, till they have taken the fort; and then lead them triumphant to *Jerusalem*, carry my body along with you, and as soon as you are come thither, send for the principal leaders of that factious sect, and lay it before them, and tell them that you wholly submit it to them, either to give it a burial, or to throw it in the high-way, for the injuries I have done them. Assure them at the same time, that as to you, you are so intirely devoted to them, that you design to place them again at the head of affairs, and that you will do nothing without their advice and consent. Give them immediately some marks of your favour and friendship, and then you need not doubt, but they will not only extol me to the skies, and give me a royal burial, but will likewise support you, and my sons after you, in the peaceful enjoyment of your kingdom". He just lived to give her this salutary counsel, and then expired in the forty-ninth year of his age.

His dying advice to his queen.

* Antiq. ubi supra.

• Ibid. & bell. Jud. ubi supra.

(K) Witness the vast number of places he died possessed of, in *Syria*, *Idumea*, *Phœnicia*, *Arabia*, &c. beyond all his predecessors, and which we shall here subjoin out of *Josephus*, that the reader may have them all in one view †.

Along the sea, the tower of *Straton*, the ports of *Apollonia*, *Joppa*, *Jamnia*, *Azotus*, *Gaza*, *Anzethon*, *Raphia*, and *Rhinocorura*. In the mid-land of *Idumea*, *Adora*, *Marissa*, and all *Samaria*, with the mountains of *Carmel* and *Itabyr*, and the cities of *Scythopolis*, *Gadara*, *Gaulana*, *Seleucia*, and *Gabala*. In the land of *Moab*, *Heshbon*, or *Essebon*,

Medaba, *Lemba*, *Orom*, *Telithon*, and *Zara*. In *Cilicia*, *Aulon*, and *Pella*; this last, and that of *Gaza*, were demolished, as we have seen before. Besides those he conquered in *Arabia*, and was forced to surrender to *Aretas*, and many more in the land of *Gilead*, and some fresh ones in the land of *Syria*, whose names our author has omitted; and what a subject would there have been here for a lofty panegyric, had the historian been a Sadducee, or the prince a pharisee! and how truly is the saying verified, *Cedunt arma toga!*

† Antiq. l. iii. 23.

Alexandra

- a *Alexandra* was too wise not to follow his injunctions, if they were really his, and not a pretence trumped up by that politic prince. However, it had the desired effect; and the pharisees, glad to see themselves again at the head of affairs, were beyond measure lavish of their praises and honours to the deceased king. They extolled him for a great conqueror and patriot, they bestowed a magnificent funeral on him, and applauded above all his wisdom in bequeathing the government to his queen. He did certainly right in that, seeing his eldest son *Hyrchanus*, who was then about thirty years of age, was a prince of a sluggish disposition, without ambition or spirit. Him therefore the queen thought fit to nominate to succeed his father in the pontifical function, not so much out of respect to his primogeniture, as because he was less likely to interfere with the affairs of state than the younger brother; who being of a more enterprising genius, was for that very reason secluded; and confined to a private life. But though she had so carefully secured her prerogative from any attempt from her two sons, yet was she far enough from enjoying it so absolutely and quietly as she expected. For the pharisees, as they grew more and more powerful, grew also more and more insolent and untractable, insomuch that the fear of their raising a new rebellion forced her to consent to many of their demands, much against her will; as well as her interest.

- c THE first thing they obtained of her was a total revocation of all the edicts which *Hyrchan* the first, and the late king, had made against their constitutions and traditional doctrines; the next was an amnesty for all their faction, together with the release of such of their brethren as had been confined since the late civil war, and the third was the recalling of all those who had been either banished, or forced to fly the country, since the conclusion of it, and their being readmitted into the possession of all their forfeited estates. By the first of these, the pharisaic traditions grew again into credit, by which means they became more and more numerous; and that sect being at full liberty to impose them on the people at their pleasure, they not only became an intolerable burden to the people, but by degrees quite obliterated the written word, of which they were pretended to be the true sense and explanation; and by the other two decrees, they so increased and strengthened their party, that the queen was now afraid to deny them any thing; whereby they became still more exorbitant in their demands, till they let her see plainly that they designed to leave her only the name of sovereignty, and the power to command her subjects to obey them. She retained indeed six thousand auxiliary troops in her pay, by which she kept at least her neighbours, and conquered provinces in awe, and received from time to time fresh hostages from them. But as the pharisaic crew looked upon this as the effects of their friendship to her, they claimed all the merit of her peaceful reign to themselves, and soon gave her to understand that nothing less than the total extirpation of the *Sadducees*, who were the only ones that stuck close to the late king, should purchase the continuance of their friendship and assistance. They began with insisting upon her punishing all those who had counselled him to crucify the eight hundred rebels lately mentioned, with immediate death. Accordingly *Diogenes*, one of the chiefs of the *Sadducees*, and a confidant of *Alexander*, was presently dispatched, and after him a great many others, against whom they laid the same accusation, right or wrong, that is, against as many of that sect, as they thought had been too attached to that monarch's service d.

- f THESE prosecutions were continued several years, though much against the queen's mind, who could not but feel some lively remorse to see so many of her husband's most zealous friends daily butchered; but the pharisees still insisting, that to put a stop to these severities, would be to stop the course of justice, contrary to the laws of God, and the security of every good government; the fear of a new insurrection, the dreadful effects of which she had so lately felt, made her still look upon those executions as the lesser evil of the two. At length some of the most considerable persons of that persecuted party, having got young *Aristobulus* at their head, came to the royal palace, to beseech the queen that she would put an end to their misery. They reminded her of their great services and invincible loyalty to her late husband, and that it was in consideration of it that he had bestowed on them those marks of his favour and esteem, which exposed them now to the fury of their enemies. They conjured her not to suffer the late king's best and most loyal friends to be thus daily sacrificed to

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77.

*Sadducees pro-
secuted.*

*Petition sho-
queen.*

^a Antiq. ubi supra, comp. with l. xx. c. 8. & bell. Jud. l. i. c. 4.

^d Id. ibid.

the rancour of his ambitious and bitterest enemies, in a time especially of a profound peace, and under her government, who had been a witness of all the difficulties and hardships they had suffered with and for him. They concluded with their earnest prayer, that if she could not suppress the pharisaic rage against them, she would at least give them the liberty of sheltering themselves from it, either by retiring into some foreign countries, or by her placing them in such of her garisons, where they might be out of the reach of their enemies. *Aristobulus* at the same time backed their petition in such manner, as sufficiently shewed his disgust to such cruel proceedings. The queen, though doubtless highly affected with their distress, dared not grant the first part of their petition for fear of exasperating the pharisees. To grant them the second, that is, to permit them to depart the kingdom, was in fact depriving herself of so many faithful subjects, whose friendship might one time or other be of service to suppress the arrogance of that tyrannic sect. Upon mature deliberation therefore, she agreed to the last expedient proposed, of placing them in the several garisons of her kingdom, whence she might at any time fetch them when occasion served, and where they might be either safe from their enemies, or at least in a condition to stand in their own defence. She excepted however those of *Hyrkania*, *Alexandria* and *Macheron*, in which she had deposited her most valuable treasure, lest by shewing too great a confidence in them, she should give umbrage to their enemies the pharisees (L). How she took her son's intercession on their behalf, our historian doth not tell us; but intimates, that she sent him soon after with an army into Syria against *Ptolemy Meneus*, who infested all the neighbouring countries, and that he returned soon after without effecting any thing worth notice *.

ABOUT the same time news came to her, that *Tigranes* king of *Armenia* was come into Syria with an army of fifty thousand men, and had besieged *Ptolemais*, and that his design was to march from thence into *Judaea*. This news threw the whole kingdom into the greatest consternation, it not being in a condition to make head against such a powerful invader. She therefore hastened some ambassadors, laden with the richest presents, to beseech him to spare her dominions, and to grant her his friendship.

* Antiq. ubi supra, c. 24. bell. Jud. l. i. c. 4.

(L) The fourth book of the *Maccabees* (25) takes no notice of their being sent into garisons; but only tells us, that she gave them liberty to retire into what cities of *Judaea* they pleased; and that the *Essenians*, no less hated by the pharisees, joined themselves to them.

In this year our learned *Usher* observes (26) was born *Herod*, since king of *Judaea*, of whom we shall have a great deal to speak in the sequel; for he was twenty-five years old when he was made governor of *Galilee* in the year before Christ 47.

Concerning his father *Antipas*, or, as he grecified his name, *Antipater*, authors have given us various accounts, according as they were well or ill affected towards his son. Thus *N. Damascen*, who had received great obligations from him, and published his history in *Herod's* life, derives his pedigree from one of the principal *Jews* that returned from the *Babylonish* captivity; for which flagrant flattery *Josephus*, who must have been better informed, doth sharply reprove him, and assures us (27), that *Antipater* was of a noble *Idumean* family, and had been made governor of *Idumea* by *Alexander Jannæus*, and continued so under his queen *Alexandra*; so that according to this last historian, he was of *Idumean* race, but by religion a *Jew*, the *Idumeans* having long since been proselyted, and incorporated into the *Jewish* church and state, as we have seen before.

But a modern jesuit (28), who has pretended to prove *Josephus's* history to be a mere forgery, makes *Herod* to have been an *Athenian*; his proofs are, that he is called in some medals a benefactor to *Athens*, and that there actually was one of his name in that city in *Caesar's* time. He has advanced several other

singularities concerning that prince, which we may have occasion to mention, when we come to speak of his reign.

But none have more debased his origin than *Julius Africanus*, who in his letter to *Aristides* mentioned by *Eusebius* (29), makes *Antipater* to have been the son of one *Herod* an *Ascalonite*, who was vestry-keeper of *Apollo's* temple in that city; and withal so poor, that when his son (this our great *Herod*) was taken prisoner by some *Idumean* robbers, he was not able to redeem him, so that he was brought up among those banditti, who were however of the *Jewish* religion; and this notion, it seems, was readily adopted by several of the fathers (30).

One thing seems beyond contradiction, namely, that one of the main causes of the invincible hatred which the whole *Jewish* nation bore against that prince, in spite of all his grandeur, generosity, and munificence, was his not being of *Jewish* extract; so that what *Damascen*, and after him the *Arabic* history, printed at the end of the *Paris* polyglot, affirm of his noble descent, from a *Jewish* stock, must be false and groundless.

His opposite pedigree from a sexton of *Apollo's* temple, is at best founded on a tradition, attributed to *Christ's* kinsmen, according to the flesh, without the least authority, and seems to be trumped up to debase the whole *Herodian* family, which was universally hated; and can consequently never outweigh the testimony of *Josephus*, who wanted neither means nor inclination to inform himself of his genealogy, and whose authority is still universally received in spite of all the cavils which the jesuit above-quoted has raised against it.

(25) *Ch. xxxii. Numm. Herodian.*

(26) *Sub A. M. Jul. per. 4642.*

(29) *Eccl. Hist. l. i. c. 6 & 7.*

(27) *Antiq. l. xiv. c. 2.*

(30) *Vid. Ambr. Comment. in Luc. c. iii.*

(28) *Hardouin de*

- a Both presents and embassy were received with marks of the sincerest kindness and affection, not so much out of regard to that prince's, as to his own affairs, which had by this time taken a different turn; his territories being now threatened with an invasion from the *Romans*, who had already penetrated into *Pontus* and *Cappadocia*, where *Lucullus* was then ravaging all that country. So that he was forced to go and defend his own territories, instead of invading those of his neighbours^t.

- THE queen was scarcely rid of this danger before she fell into new ones. A fit of ^{The queen's} sickness, which seized her about this time, dangerous in its nature, and much more so ^{sickness,} on account of her great age, made her youngest son believe that her death was near at hand, and that it was therefore high time for him to think of securing the crown for himself, which his elder brother was unfit for. To this end he went out of *Jerusalem* one night accompanied by one single confident, with a design to go and bring over to his interest those friends of his father, who had the custody of the several fortifications, of which we have lately spoken. This secret he intrusted with none but his own wife, whom he left behind with her children, till he came to the castle of *Agaba*, where *Gabestus*, one of his father's chief confidants, who commanded there, received him with no small joy. He immediately declared to him the design of his coming, and the reasons he had to fear, lest, if his mother died before he had made sure of the crown, not only he and his whole family, but all their friends in general should again fall under the tyranny of the pharisaic sect, through the indolence and stupidity of his elder brother, who would doubtless suffer himself to be wholly governed by them. As his fears were but too well grounded, he easily gained *Gabestus*, whose example ^{Aristobulus} was soon followed by all the governors of the other fortresses, who all declared for ^{seizes the} him. The queen missed her son from the first night, but did not suspect him of any design, till the alarmed pharisees brought her word that these fortresses were gone over to his interest, by which means he had got in some measure the whole strength of the kingdom into his hands. As to the army, and even the people who were heretofore so ready to idolize their sect, they were sensible they had used them of late with such severity and insolence, that instead of expecting any support from them, they had great reason to fear they would upon the very first occasion go over to *Aristobulus*, and embrace the milder government of the *Sadducees* ².

- THEY had brought *Hyrca*n with them to the queen, when they came to acquaint her with the dismal situation of their affairs, and both he and they were very pressing with her to advise them what to do in such a dangerous case. The queen, who found herself a dying, had just strength enough to tell them that her condition would not now permit her to think of their safety, and that she left it wholly to them to see to it themselves. She added, that they wanted neither soldiers, arms, nor money to make head against her other son, and that she appointed *Hyrca*n her successor. She expired immediately after, in the seventy-third year of her age, and the ninth of her reign, to the inexpressible grief of the pharisaic faction, who now could ^{The queen's} expect nothing else but a severe retaliation for all their cruelties to the late king's ^{death.} friends; but to the great joy of all the rest of the kingdom, who now hoped to see an effectual end put to the pharisaic tyranny, by her brave son *Aristobulus* (M).

^t *Ibid.*² *Ant. l. xiii. c. ult. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 4.*

(M) This defection from *Hyrca*n, whom she had nominated her successor, to her younger son, who was in some measure in open rebellion against her, did not proceed from any disrespect the people had for her; for she appears to have been a princess of great wisdom and conduct; and could she have suppressed the pharisaic tyranny, would have left an unblemished character behind her; and even this circumstance of her giving too much way to it, appears to have been rather her misfortune than her fault.

Some authors (31) have absurdly confounded this queen with *Salome* the wife and afterwards the widow of *Aristobulus*, the elder brother of the late *Alexander*, and who, as we observed a little higher, out of *Josephus*, was also called *Alexandra*; so that

they have supposed her to have been the same person, and that being left a widow, *Alexander* the next brother had been obliged, according to the *Mosaic* law, to marry her, and to raise up seed to his brother.

But this has been fully confuted by our learned *Prideaux* in the place above quoted, since *Hyrca*n, who is every-where allowed to have been the son of *Alexander*, is there proved to have been five years old before *Aristobulus* died, for *Hyrca*n being according to *Josephus* above eighty years of age when he died, which happened in the year before Christ 30, eighty-one years will carry us back to the year before Christ 111, whereas *Aristobulus* did not die till the year 106.

(31) *Capel. & al. Vid. Frid. Connert. sub A. 70.*

WHILST therefore the hopes of such a happy change brought daily both army^a and people over to him, the pharisees found no other expedient to provide for their own safety, than seizing on his wife and children, and confining them in the castle of *Baris*, to be kept there as hostages against him; but when they found that this did not stop his progress, but that he took the royal title and state upon him, and daily gained strength, they raised an army against him; and *Aristobulus*, who desired nothing more than a decisive battle, well knowing the valour and fidelity of his army, and that he had little to fear from that of his brother, soon gave him an opportunity of joining issue with him. A battle was accordingly fought near *Jericho*, in which most of *Hyrca*n's forces went over to his brother, so that he had no way left but to retire to *Jerusalem*, and to shut himself up in the same castle, where they had^b confined *Aristobulus*'s wife and children. The few forces that stuck by him followed his example, and took sanctuary within the verge of the temple, where they had not been long ere they came over to his victorious brother. Things being brought to this desperate state, *Hyrca*n was glad to accept of a peace upon any terms; and *Aristobulus* granted it to him, upon condition that he divested himself of his regal and pontifical dignity, and wholly resigned them to him, and contented himself with a private life, with the enjoyment of his private fortunes. *Hyrca*n, who, as we have observed more than once, was a man without ambition or spirit, made no difficulty to yield to those conditions, and to divest himself of a government he could keep no longer, after a three months troublesome possession of it (N)^c.

THIS deposition did not however hinder *Hyrca*n's retaining still a powerful party, which consisting chiefly of pharisees, who had nothing to hope for, but a great deal to fear from his successful brother, were still busily plotting to raise up their old idol over him. This was gladly observed by *Antipater* the father of *Herod*, whose nation and pedigree we have spoken of in a late note. This person, though in all likelihood indifferent as to the distinction between pharisee and sadducee, being as we there observed, an *Idumean* proselyte, was in as great danger of feeling the resentments of *Aristobulus*, as any of the former sect. His peculiar skill and address, backed by

^a Ant. l. xiv. c. 1, 2, 3. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 5.

(N) So says the text in *Josephus*; but our excellent *Usher* has clearly shewn from the six years which elapsed between the consulate of *Q. Hortensius* and *Q. Metellus*, in which *Hyrca*n began his reign, and that of *C. Antonius*, and *M. T. Cicero*, in which his brother *Aristobulus* was deposed by *Pompey*, that there must be an error crept into *Josephus*, who allows but three months reign to the former, and three years and six months to the latter.

But the learned prelate has not so well succeeded in correcting that mistake, by supposing that *Hyrca*n reigned three years and three months (32), and that the former of the two numbers had been dropped by the carelessness of the transcribers; but this seems quite contrary to the tenor of *Josephus*, who makes his reign and deposition to have followed much closer than this supposition will admit of.

Another great antiquary (33) has taken a different way to solve the difficulty, by supposing that *Hyrca*n was divested of his regal dignity after the first three months; but that he preserved the high-priesthood three years longer, that is, till his flight to *Aretas*, of which we shall speak by-and-by; and that the three years and six months allowed to his brother by the Jewish historian, are to be reckoned only from the time that he assumed the pontifical dignity. But this is again contradicted by *Josephus*, who makes *Aristobulus* to have divested his brother of both dignities, and to have taken them upon himself at one and the same time, and *Hyrca*n to have been reduced to a private state.

Dean *Prideaux*, in the place above quoted, supposes therefore, that the original had six years and six months, it being more reasonable that a numerical letter should be changed by the carelessness of the

scribe, than a whole word, that is, that he should mistake a three for a six, rather than a month for a year, as in the supposition of archbishop *Usher*.

From the objection that *Josephus* in another place (34) gives him but three years reign, and that not in numerical letters, but in words at length, which might be therefore looked upon as a confirmation of the former; the same judicious author rather confirms his own hypothesis in as clear a manner as the subject can admit of. To give his answer at length would swell this note too much; we shall therefore content ourselves with hinting at the main stress of his argument.

He observes, that this last place has *three years, and the same number of months*, whereas the former has *three years and six months*; from whence he supposes, that some critic, finding this difference between those two places, and not suspecting this last to have been corrupted, that is, three to have been put instead of six years, has altered the other place according to it, in order to reconcile the Jewish historian; and so instead of six years, and just as many months, as he found it written, he made it three years, and as many months, as he found it corrupted in the other place.

This supposition, which cannot but appear very probable to those who are acquainted with manuscripts, and with the inadvertency of transcribers, as well as the boldness of critics in correcting them, takes away at once all the difficulties, reconciles *Josephus* to himself, and fills up the six years space between *Hyrca*n's reign, and *Aristobulus*'s deposition, according to the consulates under which each of them happened according to the same historian (35).

(32) *Sub A. Jul. per. 4647.*
Conf. ann. l. xiv. c. 1. & xv. 9.

(33) *Petrus. ap. Erid. ubi supra.*
(35) *Conf. ann. l. xiv. c. 1. & 3.*

(34) *Antiq. l. xx. c. 8. ad fin.*

- a an unmeasurable ambition, had long before recommended him to the favour of the late king *Alexander*, and of his queen *Alexandra*, who had bestowed the government of *Idumea* upon him; and as he had still looked upon *Hyrcau* as their successor, the hopes of advancing himself still higher under that lost prince, had betrayed him into a more than ordinary zeal for him. So that when he came to see his brother on the throne, he had all the reason in the world, not only to despair of further advancement, but to dread his resentment. This determined him to join with the discontented pharisees, whom from that time he still took care to fill with fears and jealousies, from that prince, whom he styled an usurper; and who, he told them, would never think himself secure, till he had cut off his brother, and with him, all that had
- b been in his interest. By these insinuations he soon drew them into his design to dethrone him, and set up his brother again; but his great difficulty was to prevail upon *Hyrcau* to join with them. That prince being of an easy and indolent disposition, could not be persuaded that his brother would attempt any thing against his life; neither had he any ambition to recover his lost dignities, or, if he had, it was easily cooled by the danger of attempting it, which he viewed in the most dismal light. When therefore *Antipater* perceived that fear was his predominant passion, he raised such a battery against it, by repeated assurances that his life was in manifest danger, and that he must resolve either to reign or die; that the weak prince was at length wrought upon to seek for safety and assistance from *Aretas* king of *Arabia*.
- c As soon as he had gained his consent, he offered himself to go and negotiate that affair; which he did with such privacy and dispatch, that he came back very soon after, took *Hyrcau* with him in the night, and by long journeys brought him to *Petra*, the metropolis of *Arabia*, where he presented him to the king. It is likely that *Antipater*, at his first interview with *Aretas*, had only engaged him to protect *Hyrcau* against his brother; but now they were both at his court, he began to open to him the other part of his design, and to convince him how much it would be his interest to assist him in the recovery of his kingdom, by assuring him that he should have all the places restored to him, which had been heretofore taken from him by the Jewish kings, which were very considerable (O), and which he must never hope
- d to recover, as long as *Aristobulus* was on the throne. He told him moreover, that *Hyrcau* had such a powerful party in *Judæa*, ready to join with his forces, that he looked upon the dethroning of the usurper as a very easy task. *Hyrcau* was easily persuaded to confirm all his minister had said, and to ratify all the engagements he had made to the Arabian king, who came soon after with them into *Judæa*, at the head of an army of five thousand men, where he was joined by those of *Hyrcau's* party. *Aristobulus* marched against him, and an obstinate fight ensued, in which he was totally defeated, and forced to flee into *Jerusalem*. *Aretas* pursued him thither, and entered that metropolis without opposition, drove him and his few men, most of them priests, into the precinct of the temple, and there closely besieged him,
- e whilst the rest of the people declared for the conqueror.

THE temple being thus besieged, and the approaching feast of the passover thereby likely to be wholly obstructed, many of the chief of the Jews retired into *Egypt* to celebrate it there. On the other hand, the besieged having neither lambs nor other victims for the sacrifices of that solemnity, *Aristobulus* applied himself to the besiegers to supply them with a competent number of them; which those at first promised, upon condition that they payed them a thousand drachms of silver for every head, and had the money delivered before-hand. But when the sum stipulated was let down to them by a rope from the top of the wall, they refused to send the victims; upon which the priests went to the altar, and instead of them, offered up their prayers

f to God, that he would speedily punish their perfidious contempt of his religion. To this guilt the besiegers added another, neither of which went long unpunished.

THERE was at that time in *Jerusalem* one *Onias*, a man in high esteem for his sanctity; and who was thought to have saved the land from a famine, by obtaining from heaven a comfortable rain, after a long and grievous drought. This good man seeing his unhappy country involved in a civil war, had retired into some of the neighbour-

(O) These were *Medeba*, *Neballo*, probably *Abela*, perhaps the same with *Gallim*; *Therabasa*, *Ashone*, *al. Arbela*, and *Abel* of the vineyards; and *Rabbah*, *Zoara*, probably *Sigor*; *Orona*, or *Oronaim*, on the once the capital of the *Ammonites*; *Livias* *Agallia*, dead sea; *Marrissa*, *Kydda*, *Lusa*, and *Oryba* (56).

(36) *Ibid. cap. ii. d. fin. De his vid. Euseb. loc. Hist. Borhart. &c.*

Onias's murder punished.

ing defarts, and hid himself there. Him they found out, and brought by main force ^a to the siege, and would have obliged him to curse *Aristobulus* and his adherents. He resisted a long time, till constrained at length by their threats, he lifted up his hands to heaven, and addrest it in words to this effect : *O Lord God, sovereign Governor of the world, since these that besiege thy temple are thy people, and those that are besieged in it are thy priests, I beseech thee to bear the prayers of neither side.* He had scarce pronounced these words, before the exasperated multitude let fly on him such volleys of stones as put an end to his life. This double crime brought a double punishment very speedily upon them : a vehement stormy wind did shortly after destroy all their fruit and grain, infomuch that a measure of wheat sold for eleven drachms, and other provisions in proportion ⁱ. But the most dreadful of all was, their falling ^b presently after under the yoke of the *Romans* ; a yoke which they never more could shake off, but groaned under the severe weight of it, till the utter destruction of their city and temple, and their total disperſion throughout the world, as will be seen in the next sections.

ⁱ Ibid. & seq.

SECT. IV.

The history of the Jews from their being subdued by the Romans to the reign of Herod the Great.

The Romans invited by Aristobulus. Year of the flood 2934. Year before Christ 65.

ARISTOBULUS being thus straitly besieged by the *Arabian* king, and forsaken by all his party, was forced to have recourse to the *Romans* ; for *Pompey* having by this time overcome *Tigranes*, was retired into the *Lesser Armenia*, and from thence had dispatched *Gabinus* into *Judæa* ; and this last having received three hundred talents from *Aristobulus*, was gone back without acting for or against him. *Scaurus* came next from *Syria* into *Judæa*, and in his way was met by some ambassadors from the two contending brothers (P), each to implore his friendship and alliance, for which they offered him four hundred talents. *Scaurus*, who knew *Aristobulus* to be the more liberal, and the braver of the two, suffered himself to be gained by him ; besides, as he rightly judged, it would be the easier task to restore him, since he need but oblige *Aretas* to raise the siege, and depart out of *Judæa*, and *Hyrca* ^b would soon be abandoned by his party. He therefore wrote a threatening letter to *Aretas*, in which he told him, that if he did not forthwith withdraw his troops, he should be declared an enemy to *Rome*, and oblige *Pompey* to turn his army against him. *Aretas*, who had no mind to exasperate the *Roman* general, did readily obey, and led his army out of *Judæa*, *Scaurus* returned to *Damascus*, and *Aristobulus* being thus timely relieved, gathered up what forces he could, and pursued after the *Arabian* king. He overtook him and his brother *Hyrca* at a place called *Papyrion*, and gave him a great overthrow, in which he killed seven thousand of his men, and amongst them *Cephalion* the brother of *Antipater* ^a. Much about the same time *Pompey* being come to *Damascus*, received ambassadors from all the neighbouring states, especially ^c those of *Judæa*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*. These three last being but a kind of usurpers, were extremely desirous to bring the *Romans* over to their interest, and endeavoured to gain their general by most magnificent presents. *Aristobulus* for his part sent him a golden vine, upon a square mount, with the fruit on it, and deer, lions, and other beasts about it, all of the same precious metal. This curious piece had been formerly made by *Alexander Jannæus*, and was now sent by his son to *Pompey*, who conveyed it to *Rome*, where it was deposited in the temple of *Jupiter*, in the capitol. *Strabo* tells us ^b, that he saw it there, and that it was reckoned worth five thousand talents.

Aretas defeated by Aristobulus.

The two brothers send presents to Pompey.

^a Antiq. l. xiv. c. 4. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 5. l. xxxvii. c. 2.

^b STRAB. ap. JOSEPH. ubi supra. Vid. & PLIN. hist.

(P) The fourth book of *Maccabees* says (37), that only *Aristobulus* sent presents to *Scaurus*, and that *Hyrca* omitted it, which determined the Roman general in favour of the former, and made him come to his assistance ; but that he retired as soon as he heard that *Aretas* had raised the siege.

(37) Cap. xxxvi.

However,

- a However, the senate not being willing to acknowledge *Aristobulus* for king of *Judæa*, caused the present to be inscribed to his father *Alexander*, king of the *Jews*.

Soon after this the two contending brothers sent a separate embassy to *Pompey*, on his coming into *Calo-Syria*, each to implore his friendship and patronage against the other; *Antipater* in behalf of *Hyrca*, and *Nicodemus* in behalf of *Aristobulus*. Both were heard with seeming equanimity, and dismissed with fair promises, and the two brothers ordered to appear in person, and to plead their causes before him, and after a full hearing, he engaged to decide the controversy as justice should direct. Unfortunately for *Aristobulus*, his ambassador took it into his head to complain of *Scaurus* and *Gabinus*, for having received the former four hundred, and the latter three hundred talents from his master, by which he made those two generals, who had a great influence on *Pompey*, to become his enemies ^c; and the fourth book of *Maccabees* adds, that the *Roman* general did accordingly promise him to decide in favour of *Aristobulus*, but did underhand act in favour of his brother ^d.

- b

EARLY on the following year *Pompey* came again into *Syria*, where he deposed several petty tyrants, took several fortresses, particularly that of *Lyfiad*, of which *Silas* a *Jew* had made himself master, and came at length to *Damascus*. Here he found the two brothers, who were come to plead their cause and pretensions before him, and had brought a great number of witnesses to their respective pleas. But besides these, there came also another set of *Jews*, to plead against them both, alledging, ^e that their nation had been for a long time governed only by the high-priests of the God of *Israel*, without the regal dignity; and that, though the two brothers were of the sacerdotal race, they had governed them contrary to their ancient laws, by taking the power and title of kings, and thereby reducing the *Jewish* nation into a state of slavery. *Hyrca* spoke next, and complained, that being the elder brother, he had been unjustly deposed by *Aristobulus*, and by him forced into a private state, with only the income of a few paternal lands, whilst he, not contented with the revenues of the whole kingdom, committed continual depredations on his neighbours both by sea and land. For proof of all which, he brought a thousand of the principal *Jews*, who had been gained by *Antipater*, to witness what he had alledged. To this *Aristobulus* replied, that he had indeed turned his brother out of the government; but that it was, because he was incapable of holding of it, and not from any ambitious views of his own; that *Hyrca* was a person of such unactive and sluggish disposition, and so despised by the people, that he had been forced to wrest the power out of his hands, lest it should be transferred into another family. He added, that as to the royal title, it was no other than his father *Alexander* had bore before him. The witnesses he brought to justify his pretensions, were a numerous set of young gentlemen so sumptuously cloathed, that they rather discredited him, and seemed to have been introduced to expose his vanity more than to back his cause. However *Pompey*, after a full hearing of all parties, wisely deferred giving his sentence, lest *Aristobulus*, against whom he designed to declare, should obstruct his intended expedition against the *Nabatheans*, and contented himself with dismissing them with a promise, that as soon as he had subdued *Arctus*, he would come himself into *Judæa*, and there determine their controversy. *Aristobulus*, who looked upon this delay as an ill omen, and did not perhaps care to see *Pompey* in *Judæa*, went away in a huff, first to *Delion*, and thence into *Judæa*, without so much as taking leave of him ^e.

- c
- d
- e

THIS proceeding highly offended the *Roman* general against him, who thereupon sent for his troops, which he had in *Syria*, and with those which he designed against the *Arabians*, and the legions which he had with him, marched strait against *Judæa*. *Aristobulus* had not been idle, but had got a good army under him, and was himself at the castle of *Alexandriou*, a place of no small strength (Q), when *Pompey* entered *Judæa*. As soon as this last had reached *Corea*, he sent for *Aristobulus* to come to

^c Ant. l. xiv. c. 5.

^d c. xxxviii.

^e Antiq. & bell. Jud. ubi supra.

(Q) This fortress had been built by his father *Alexander Jannæus*, and was from him called *Alexandriou*; it was situate on a high mountain, in the very entrance into *Judæa*, near to the town of *Corea* (38), which was the first place in *Judæa* on the *Samaritan* side, and upon the road to *Jericho*,

on the frontiers of *Judah* and *Benjamin* (39). *Alexandriou* was afterwards the burying-place of the *Jewish* kings, so that, though it was demolished by the *Romans*, it was rebuilt by *Herod*, and his sons sent thither to be buried, as we shall see in the sequel.

(38) Vid. *Joseph. antiq. l. xiii. c. ult. xiv. 6. & alib.*
VOL. IV. N^o 2.

F f

(39) Ibid. & bell. Jud. l. v. c. 4.

him;

him; who would have willingly excused himself from it, but was at length prevailed upon by those that were about him to obey the summons, and prevent thereby a war with the *Roman* general. He came accordingly, more than once or twice, to him, and conferred with him about the dispute between his brother and him, sparing neither compliments, promises, nor presents, to engage him on his side. *Pompey* as often dismissed him with a shew of friendship, and suffered him to return to his castle. At length he proposed to him that he should put all his fortresses into his hands, and send orders to all his governors to resign them to him without hesitation. It was easy then for him to see now that the *Roman* general was in his brother's interest, and wanted only to put it out of his power to maintain himself against him. But though he had been long before suspecting this partiality, and had taken all possible methods to secure himself against it, yet was he forced, though much against his will, to comply with the proposal, being now in that general's hands. But as soon as he was got away from him, he fled with all speed to *Jerusalem*, with full resolution to defeat his design ^f.

*Pompey comes
against Jeru-
salem.*

Pompey was not long in following him thither, and upon his incamping in the plain of *Jericho*, received the agreeable news, that *Mithridates* had killed himself, and that his treacherous son had seized upon the kingdom; and in such haste was the army to know it, that the general, for want of a tribunal to communicate it to them, according to custom, caused one to be raised by laying a number of saddles one upon another, from which he acquainted them with the *Pontic* king's death, and received their congratulations with the usual signals of joy ^e. He pursued his march on the next day towards *Jerusalem*, whence *Aristobulus*, repenting now of what he had done, came out, and went to throw himself at his feet, and to beg of him to forbear any hostilities against the *Jewish* nation, promising him a considerable sum of money upon that condition. The general agreed to it, and keeping him in his camp, sent *Gabinus* with some troops to receive the money; but he was repulsed by the garison, who shut the gates against him, and refused to perform the agreement. This disappointment so exasperated *Pompey*, that he ordered *Aristobulus* to be clapt in chains, and marched directly with his whole army against the city (R). We have had frequent occasion to speak of the strength of this place, both with respect to its excellent situation, and of its other fortifications; so that being now so well garisoned and provided, it might in all likelihood have found the *Roman* general work enough to have taken it by siege; but unfortunately for it, those that should have defended it, were divided into two parties; that for *Aristobulus* were for standing out to the last against a general, who dared to keep their king in chains; but that for *Hyrcau*, which were the more numerous, were on the contrary for opening the gates to him, and prevent thereby the sad effects of a siege, and destructive war. The priests declared for the former, but the generality of the people were for the latter; so that *Aristobulus* finding himself overpowered, was forced to retire with his men within the precinct of the temple, breaking down all the bridges between that and the city, that were over the deep valley, which parted those two places; before *Pompey* could be admitted into the latter. ^e

Besieges it.

He was accordingly invited soon after, and sent *Piso*, one of his generals, with a number of troops, to secure the place, and the royal palace, whilst those that were in the temple were busy in fortifying every part of it that could be of service to them to hold on the siege. *Pompey* at first sent to them some proposals of peace, but finding them resolved to stand it out, he set himself immediately to besiege them in form. He began with inclosing the place with a strong wall, to prevent either their flight, or their receiving any help from without; *Hyrcau* gladly furnishing him with all necessary things to carry on the work. Battering rams and other engines of war being brought to him from *Tyre*, he ordered the attack to be made on the north side of ^f

^f Ant. ubi supra, c. 6. Bell. Jud. ubi supra.

^e PLUTARCH. in vit. Pomp.

(R) The fourth book of the *Maccabees* differs a little from *Josephus*, and mentions nothing of this submission of *Aristobulus* to the *Roman* general; but tells us (40), that *Pompey* marched directly against *Jerusalem*, where observing the situation of the place, the strength of its walls, towers, &c. he resolved to try to gain *Aristobulus* by fair means; that he

invited him to come to his camp, and promised him all the safety he could desire; that he came accordingly, and promised that general to deliver up all the treasure of the temple, if he would declare for him. But that the priests having refused to ratify their king's promise, made the disappointed general lay siege to the temple.

- a the temple, which was the weakest, though inclosed with strong walls, high towers, and other fortifications, and had a large deep ditch, and a spacious valley beneath it. As for the other sides of it, they were in a manner inaccessible, after the bridges had been broken down, by reason of their cragginess and steepness. The battering engines were accordingly raised on mounds and plat-forms, and began to play in earnest against the place, and to sling large stones into it, whilst the besieged were as industrious in levelling the one, and dismounting the other, as fast as they were raised by the besiegers. The siege had already took him up three months, and might in all likelihood have lasted much longer, if not perhaps been raised, had not the besieged been seized again with their old and fatal superstition about the breach of the sabbath, which Strange superstition of the Jews.
- b hindered them from making such a defence as they had formerly, and should now have done.

- W^e have had occasion heretofore to shew how destructive that notion had been to their forefathers, and how wisely it had been condemned by the brave *Maccabees*; so that from their time they had made no scruple to take up arms against an offending enemy; but now they were, it seems, taken with a qualm of conscience, that though it was lawful to stand in their defence on the sabbath, when an actual assault was made upon them, it did not therefore follow that they might do any thing on that day towards preventing those preparatives which the enemy made towards such future assaults. This scruple had such an effect upon them, that they never moved a hand
- c on that day to hinder either mounds and batteries being raised, or breaches being made on their walls; which being at last perceived by the besiegers, they took the advantage of getting all things ready for an assault on that day, without throwing either stones or any missive weapons that might force them on their own defence, so that the besieged let them go on with their other works without the least opposition; and such was their zeal for the divine service of the temple, that no annoyance from the enemy could obstruct it from being performed with the same regularity and calmness, as in time of the profoundest peace. By these means the besiegers made at length so deep a breach by playing down one of their towers, which in its fall brought down a considerable part of the wall (S), that they easily mastered the place. *Cornelius Fausstus*, the son of *Sylla*, at the head of a number of troops, mounted one end of the breach,
- d *Furius* the other end, and *Fabius* in the middle. A horrid slaughter immediately ensued, in which no less than twelve thousand of the besieged were killed by the The city taken. Year of the flood 2936 Before Christ 63. *Romans*, besides many more, who died by their own hands; in this action the *Jews* of the contrary faction acted with greater fury and cruelty against them than the heathen.

- WHAT was most surprising during this horrid scene of action, was the constancy Admirable constancy of the priests. of the priests, who never intermitted one moment the divine service of the temple, but continued to offer up their usual prayers, praises, and sacrifices, with the same calmness and assiduity, as if no such slaughter had been then acting in the sacred place; and at last suffered themselves to be butchered before the altar, with as much meekness
- e and constancy, as the victims they were then offering upon it (T). *Pompey*, though surprised at their religious constancy, caused all the prisoners that were found to have been most zealous against him to be put to death (U), whilst a great number of the rest prevented him by a desperate exit, some throwing themselves down the deepest precipices, and others setting their apartments on fire, burnt themselves in it. These were the fruits of *Aristobulus's* ambition, and of the two contending brothers calling in

(S) The fourth book of the *Maccabees* (41) says, that some of the *Jews*, who were on *Pompey's* side, scaled the wall, and having slain all the priests that opposed them, opened the temple gates to him.

(T) It is observable that the city was taken on the very day on which the *Jews* were keeping a solemn fast in memory of its having been formerly taken by *Nebuchadnezzar*, viz. on the 28th of the month *Chisleu*, answering to our *December*, according to the learned *Usher* (42), who takes the third month here mentioned to have been that of the sacred year; but it is more probable to have been the third of the civil year called *Thammus*, answering to our *June*, as dean *Prideaux* has shewn (43).

On the same day, twenty-six years after, it was likewise taken by *Solius*, by which the *Jews* became subject to the *Herodian* sceptre.

(U) Among these is supposed to have been *Ab-salom*, the uncle and father-in-law of *Aristobulus*. This prince, who was a younger son of the famed *John Hyrcanus*, had led a private life under the protection of his brother *Jannæus*, without meddling with public affairs, till he unfortunately gave his daughter to *Aristobulus*. For this marriage having drawn him into his son-in-law's party, he was taken prisoner, and in all probability put to death. At least no further mention is made of him from that time (45).

(41) *Ibid.*
c. ult.

(42) *Sub A. M.* 3641.
(45) *Antiq.* l. xiv. c. 8.

(43) *Sub A. ant. Christ.* 63.

(44) *Antiq.* l. xiv.

the *Romans*. These new masters, who seldom, if ever, lent their assistance but with a view of enslaving, soon altered the face of the *Jewish* affairs, according to their usual method. *Hyrcan* was indeed restored to the pontifical dignity, with the specious title of prince, though from thenceforth tributary to *Rome*; but he was wholly divested of his regal one, and forbid to resume either the diadem, or royal style, or to extend his territory beyond the old borders of *Judæa*. All the cities which had been taken by his predecessors in *Cælo-Syria* and *Phœnicia*, were taken from him, and restored to *Syria* (W), of which province *Scaurus* was left governor, at the head of two *Roman* legions, to keep the country in awe, whilst the conqueror prepared himself to return to *Rome*.

BUT before he left *Jerusalem*, he gave the *Jews* a more mortifying stroke than any we have yet mentioned. We have had frequent occasion to mention how jealous they were of having their temple profaned by strangers, whom they absolutely debarred not only setting a foot into that holy place, but even casting a distant look towards it. But *Pompey* was above humouring them in what he looked upon as a piece of *Jewish* superstition. Resolved therefore to satisfy his curiosity, and to view most sacred recesses of that building, he caused them to be opened to him; and attended with a number of his chief commanders, penetrated even into the most holy place, into which the high-priest alone was permitted to enter once a year, on the grand day of expiation †. He viewed with a curious eye the golden table, candlestick, censers, lamps, and other golden vessels, the great quantity of rich perfumes and spices used in the divine worship; and in the treasury he found about two thousand talents. But whether the sacredness of the place inspired him with an uncommon respect for those costly things, which he there saw, our author tells us, that he not only forbore to touch any of them, but that he immediately ordered the priests and officers of the temple to purify it, and to offer up their sacrifices according to custom. But this moderation of his did not hinder the *Jews* from resenting the indignity he had offered to that holy place, more than all the mischiefs they had suffered from him, and from ascribing all the misfortunes that befel him afterwards, to this sacrilegious attempt ‡. Many christians have been of the same mind, and men are indeed too apt to judge rashly in matters of this nature; but whatever may have been the cause of that great general's misfortunes, it is plain, that this victory over the *Jews* was the last he ever gained, and that from this time his affairs went from bad to worse, as we shall shew when we come to the *Roman* history.

Aristobulus
carried to
Rome.

Alexander re-
turns into
Judæa.

Pompey having thus subdued the *Jewish* nation, to prevent a future revolt, pulled down the walls of *Jerusalem*, and left *Scaurus* governor with a sufficient force. He set out for *Rome* soon after, and took with him *Aristobulus*, and his two sons, *Alexander* and *Antigonus*, and his two daughters with him, as captives fit to adorn his future triumph. However; they were not, it seems, so closely guarded, but *Alexander* found means to escape, and to return into *Judæa*; where he soon drew a considerable party after him, which proved the source of new and more grievous troubles.

† See before, Vol. I. p. 617, & seq.

‡ JOSEPH. antiq. l. xiv. c. 8.

(W) These were, among many others of less note, those of *Hyrcan*, *Seythopolis*, *Pella*, *Dion*, *Samaria*, *Marissa*, *Azotus*, *Jamnia*, and *Arcthusa* in the inland, together with *Gaza*, *Joppa*, *Dora*, and the tower of *Straton* on the sea-coasts. This last was afterwards magnificently rebuilt by *Herod*, and by him called *Cæsarea*, as shall be seen in the sequel.

Among those cities which had been destroyed during the wars, that of *Gadara* was rebuilt by *Demetrius*, a native of it, and a freed-man, and favourite of *Pompey* (46), of whose excessive insolence *Plutarch* gives us several instances in the life of that general.

(X) The fourth book of the *Maccabees* says (47), that *Pompey* restored the kingdom to *Hyrcanus*, and sent *Aristobulus* in chains to *Rome*. As to *Alexander*, he tells us, that he could not be taken, but continued hid in *Judæa*, till he appeared at the head of

a strong party; and as for *Hyrcan*, though he had the title of king, yet he was to pay a yearly tribute and acknowledgment for his crown.

This expedition and success of *Pompey* against the *Jews* is also related by several heathen authors, and excepting some difference in small particulars, almost to the same purport with *Josephus*. *Cicero* highly commends the respect that general shewed to the sacred utensils of the temple (48). *Livy* (49), *Orosius*, *Eutropius*, *Strabo*, *Lucan*, *Plutarch*, *Tacitus*, *Florus*, *Dio*, and *Appian*, as well as *Plutarch*, have made likewise mention of it. Only *Appian* (50) will have it, that *Pompey* caused *Aristobulus* and *Tigranes* to be put to death, which is not taken notice of by any other. On the contrary, *Josephus* and *Dio* tell us, that he spared them; and accordingly we shall find in the sequel, that *Aristobulus* found means to return into *Judæa*, and to raise new troubles there.

(46) *Id. ibid.*
l. v.

(47) *cap. xxxvii.*
(50) *Lib. xxxvii.*

(48) *Orat. pro L. Flacc.*

(49) *In Syriac. & Tell. civil.*

- a As for his father and brother, they were brought to *Rome*, and led in triumph among the many other princes whom *Pompey* had conquered. What became of *Aristobulus* afterwards, we have mentioned in the close of the last note. Among the rich spoils which *Pompey* carried with him, was the golden vine we have spoken of in the last section, the worth of which is said to have amounted to five or six hundred talents, and which he dedicated to *Jupiter Capitolinus* ¹.

- As soon as *Hyrcaan* found himself rid of his rival brother, he relapsed afresh into his indolence, leaving the care of his affairs to *Antipater*, who, like a true politician, failed not to turn it to his advantage, and the aggrandising of his family. He foresaw however that he could not easily compass his ends, unless he endeared himself to the *Romans*; and therefore spared neither pains nor cost to gain their favour. *Scaurus* was soon after beholden to him for a supply of corn, and other provision, without which his army, which he had led against the metropolis of *Arabia*, must have been in danger of perishing. This service was followed by another, and *Antipater*, who was so well known to the king of *Arabia*, went and prevailed on that prince to pay three hundred talents to the *Roman* general ², and thereby save his country from being ravaged by him (Y). It is also very probable that *Antipater* was the person who procured those services from *Hyrcaan* to the *Athenians*, for which *Josephus* tells us ³, they made that honourable act of their senate, in which the pontiff is styled a great friend and benefactor to all the *Greeks*, and more particularly to the *Athenians*, and for which they decreed him a crown of gold, and a statue of brass, to be placed in the temple of *Demus* (Z) and the *Graces* ⁴. Thus did that politic minister lay the foundations for his future grandeur, by securing the friendship of the most powerful states. *Herod* his son followed the same maxims, especially with regard to the *Romans* and *Athenians*, and thereby completed what his father had begun, as the sequel will soon shew.

- In the mean time *Alexander* having got a strong party in *Judaea*, and an army of ten thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse, began to seize and fortify several eminent fortresses, such as those of *Alexandrión* and *Macheron*, situate near the foot of the *Arabian* mountains, and from them made frequent incursions into *Judaea*. *Hyrcaan* was not in a condition to suppress him; on the contrary, having endeavoured to shelter himself from him by rebuilding the walls of his metropolis, which *Pompey* had caused to be demolished, the *Romans*, always jealous of their new conquests, had forced him to desist; so that he was forced to call them to suppress this new invader. Accordingly *Gabinus*, who was president of *Syria*, and was lately come into that province, sent *Marc Antony* with some troops against him, whilst himself and the rest of his army were preparing to follow him. *Antipater* sent likewise such forces as he had raised to join the *Roman* general, and these being followed by a number of *Jews* in the *Roman* interest, with *Pitolaus* at their head, *Alexander* was forced to retire into the neighbourhood of *Jerusalem*, where a battle was soon after fought, in which he was defeated, and lost three thousand of his men, besides those that were taken prisoners. He was thence pursued to *Alexandrión*, where he had refuged himself, and there besieged by *Gabinus*; but the place being strong, and well provided, that general ordered a

Antipater's policy.

Alexander wastes Judaea.

Defeated.

Besieged.

¹ Antiq. ubi supra. See also the authors quoted in the last note.
c. 10. ² Id. ibid. cap. xvi.

² Ant. l. xiv. c. 9.

³ Ibid.

(Y) The fourth book of *Maccabees* adds (1), that *Hyrcaan* and *Antipater* accompanied *Scaurus* into *Arabia* with some forces, and that during that time *Alexander* took the opportunity of seizing on *Jerusalem*, rebuilding its fortifications, and of raising an army, with which he overthrew the high-priest on his return from the *Arabian* expedition: but if he got such advantages over his uncle, he did not keep them long; for according to *Josephus*, we find that pontiff in *Jerusalem*, and *Alexander* only plundering the countries round about, till suppressed by *Gabinus*.

(Z) The original has *τῷ Δῆμῳ*, which some versions render *Demus*, as we have above, though our *English* one render it of the people, &c. A learned

critic conjectures, that there is an error crept in *Josephus*, and that it probably was the temple of the *Muses* and *Graces*, or perhaps the temple of *Academus*, and the *Graces* (2). For we are told by an ancient writer (3), that there was a temple in their academy dedicated to the *Muses*, in which *Plato* did set up the statues of the *Graces*; and we don't read that the *Athenians* had any other temple of the *Muses* besides that.

Archbishop *Usher* places this decree and presents in the ninth year of *Hyrcaan's* reign, from the death of his mother (4); he there rectifies an anachronism in *Josephus* concerning it, which the reader may see in that learned author.

(1) ubi supra. (2) *Calmet. Hist. v. Test. l. viii. sub A. M. 3943.* (3) *Diog. Laert. in vit. Laertici.*
(4) *Annal. sub an. ant. Chr. 63.*

number of his troops to invest the place, whilst he marched with the rest into *Judæa*,^a where he caused the cities mentioned in a former note to be rebuilt, according to *Pompey's* order. That of *Samaria* being one of them, he called it from his own name *Gabiniāna*; but *Herod* soon after changed it into that of *Sebastē*, as we shall see in its proper place. Whilst *Alexander* was closely besieged, he sent to desire peace of the *Roman* general, promising to surrender that fortress, and those of *Macheron* and *Hyrca-*
canion. About the same time his mother, a wife and discreet woman, whose husband (*Aristobulus*) and her children were still kept prisoners at *Rome*, came to the *Roman* general; and partly by her address, and partly by her services to him, did insinuate herself so much in his favour, that she procured the peace offered by her son to be accepted, and him to be dismissed with pardon and impunity for what he had^b done. After this *Gabinius* ordered the three fortresses delivered up to him to be demolished, that they might be no longer an occasion of future revolts; and then led *Hyrca-*
can, who had it seems, assisted him in the siege, to *Jerusalem*, where he reinstated him afresh into his pontifical dignity. He then divided the province into five several districts, into each of which he erected a separate court of judicature; the first at *Jerusalem*, the second at *Gadara*, the third at *Amath*, the fourth at *Jericho*, and the fifth at *Sephoris* in *Galilee*;^c by which the government was changed from a monarchy into an aristocracy, and the *Jews*, who had been till then governed by their own monarchical pontiffs, fell under the subjection of a set of domineering lords (A).

Change of the
Jewish go-
vernment.

Aristobulus
escapes into
Judæa.

Defeated and
sent prisoner.

Gabinius goes
into Egypt.
Year of the
flood 2943.
Before Christ
56.

IN the mean time *Aristobulus*, towards the latter end of the year, found means to^c escape out of the prison, into which he had been remanded after *Pompey's* triumph, and to return into *Judæa* with his son *Antigonus*. Here he was soon joined by a considerable number of *Jews*, and among the rest by *Pitolaus*, who had till then been a chief leader of the *Roman* party. But a great number of them coming to him without arms, he was forced to dismiss them, and only reserved eight thousand stout men, with whom he went to secure and rebuild the castle of *Alexandriou*, which had been demolished by *Gabinius*; but this last sent *Cisenna*, *Marc Antony* and *Servilius* against him, who, in spite of the bravery of his small army, defeated him, killed five thousand of his men, and forced him to fly into the ruined castle of *Macheron*, with only a thousand men he had left, the rest having took their flight where they^d could. The *Romans* did not give him time to fortify himself, but came and besieged him, and after a two days' stout resistance, took him by assault, covered with wounds, and sent him and his son prisoners to *Rome*, where he was conveyed into his old prison. But *Gabinius* wrote soon after to the senate, and informed them of the promise he had made to *Aristobulus's* wife, upon the delivery of the *Jewish* fortresses; whereupon the rest of his family were ordered to be set at liberty, and he only was kept prisoner during the rest of his life. *Gabinius* being on the next year invited into *Egypt* to assist *Ptolemy Auletes* in the recovery of his kingdom, as has been related in another volume †, *Hyrca-*, or rather *Antipater*, proved very serviceable to that general, not only by furnishing him with necessary provisions of corn, arms and^e money, for his army; but also by writing to the *Jews* of *Onion* near *Pelusium*, which was the key of that part of *Egypt*, to forward the *Romans* to the best of their power. By this means *Gabinius* and *Marc Antony* easily succeeded in this expedition, which

^a Vid. SYNCHEL. ap. USSER. sub A. M. 3979.

^c Antiq. l. xiv. c. 10. Id. bell. Jud. l. i. c. 6.

^b Id. ibid. 4 MACCAB. cxl.

† See before, Vol. III. p. 670, f. & seq.

(A) The *Jews* had till now been governed by two sorts of councils or courts of judicature under their sovereign. These councils or sanhedrins were of two sorts, the inferior consisting of twenty-three, and the greater one of seventy-two persons; and this latter was emphatically called the grand sanhedrin. Of the lesser sort there was one in every city, and two at *Jerusalem*, where there was a greater concourse of people and business. The grand one sat only at *Jerusalem*, and had a place appropriated to them in the temple. We have had frequent occasion to speak of this last in several parts of this history; and shall only add here, that it was the last resort to which all other inferior ones might appeal, and from whose sentence there could be no

appeal. Both sorts were abolished by *Gabinius*, who erected in lieu of them a court in each of the five districts independent of each other, and endowed them with the sovereign power, from which no appeal could be made but to *Rome*.

The talmud however tells us (f), that they retained a kind of council of three to decide all their controversies about bargains, sales, and other such private matters; each of the contending parties chose a judge from among themselves, and these two chose a third, and the three used to decide those controversies among them; which was perhaps done chiefly to avoid the charge, trouble, or rather injustice and arbitrariness of the courts erected by the *Romans*.

(f) Tract. Sanhedrin.

might

a might otherwise have proved too hard for them. The fourth book of the *Maccabees*, in the place last quoted, tells us, that *Gabinus* having sent to desire *Elycan* to come and join him in *Egypt*, the high-priest sent his favourite *Antipater* with an army to him, who helped him to beat the *Egyptians*, and restore the king; after which, they returning into *Judæa*, the *Roman* general renewed his alliance and friendship with the *Jewish* pontiff, and then returned to *Rome*.

DURING this *Egyptian* expedition, *Alexander* taking the advantage of *Cifenna's* weakness, a rash unexperienced youth, whom *Gabinus* had left to command in *Syria* with a small number of troops; had got a considerable army, and was entered *Judæa*, which was by this time filled with banditti and free-booters, who plundered every-
b where without controul. He fell on the *Romans* where-ever he met them, and killed a great number of them: the rest retired to mount *Garizzim*, where he came soon after, and closely besieged them. The news of this having brought *Gabinus* into *Judæa*, the first thing he did was to send *Antipater* to try by fair means to withdraw the revolters from *Alexander's* party; and this consummate politician acted his part so well, that he brought back a considerable number of them. But all his address could not persuade *Alexander* to come to any terms. On the contrary, this last, enraged to see such a defection of his men, resolved with the thirty thousand he had left, to put it to the issue of a battle. It was accordingly fought near mount *Tabor*, and he totally defeated, with the loss of ten thousand men killed on the spot, and the rest
c put to flight. *Gabinus* after this victory returned to *Jerusalem*, where he settled the *Jewish* affairs according to *Antipater's* mind, and left *Judæa*, and soon after the government of *Syria* (B), and was succeeded by *Crassus* 4.

THIS last upon his coming into his new government, found the whole province, and particularly *Judæa*, in peace, so that he was at leisure to pursue his favourite design of invading the *Parthians*; for which expedition he had obtained, though with some difficulty, a decree from the senate 1. As avarice was the chief passion that pushed him to it, he began with plundering the temple of *Jerusalem*, not only of the two thousand talents which *Pompey* had left there untouched, but of every thing he found valuable in it, to the sum of eight thousand attic talents more. Among these there
d was a large beam of massive gold, covered with another hollow beam, which went across the partition, which divided the holy from the most holy place. The veil that separated those two rooms was fastened to it, and over it they threw all the old veils, whenever they hanged a new one; so that this valuable piece, which weighed three hundred *Hebrew* minæ (C), was so well concealed, that none knew of it but the treasurer of the temple. A priest named *Eleazar*, then in that post, and being apprised of *Crassus's* plundering design, was imprudent enough to endeavour to save all the rest of the costly temple furniture at the expence of this; but did not discover it to him, till he had made him swear that he would spare the rest; but the greedy governor made no scruple to break his oath, and to plunder that holy place of every valuable

Alexander raises new troubles.

Defeated by Gabinus.

Crassus's greediness and sacrilege.

1 JOSEPH. 4 MACCAB. DIO CASS. ubi supra.

2 DIO, lib. xxxix. VID. & PLUTARCH. in Crass.

(B) We shall not so far anticipate the *Roman* history as to enter into the merit of this general, and the causes of his being deprived of his government. It will be sufficient here to observe, that though he was accused to the senate of great corruptions, extortions, and such-like crimes, yet *Josephus* (6) gives him a quite different character, and speaks of him as of a person who had fixed that post with great exactness, honour, and applause. But *Pompey* and *Crassus* were then consuls, and the latter, as we shall soon see, had got an invincible itch after the province of *Syria*, ever since he had heard what treasures the former had left untouched at *Jerusalem*. Those riches he thought would come in a good time to help him forward in his *Parthian* expedition. In this he only followed the motions of his insatiable avarice; and what crimes might not such a man trumpet up against *Gabinus*, in order to divest him of that government?

But whether the latter was really such as *Josephus* has represented him, or had really given cause for

those accusations preferred against him, two things are sure; 1. that he was grown exceeding rich; and, 2. that he was forced to disgorge all his wealth to bribe his judges, and save his life, as the sequel will shew.

(C) The mina amounted to about two pounds and a half of our weight, so that the whole bar or beam weighed about eleven hundred and fifty pounds. The fourth book of *Maccabees* adds, that all the old veils, which were taken down, when a new one was hung up (and which were all extremely rich and beautiful) used to be thrown over it (7). Besides these and other costly utensils and ornaments of the temple, we may add the continual offerings sent to it by the *Jews* from all parts of *Asia* and *Europe*; but especially those which were presented to it, not only by the *Jewish* monarchs, but by those of other nations, of which we have given some instances in a former section out of the books of the *Maccabees* (8).

(6) *Antiq.* l. xiv. c. 11.

(7) *ubi supra.*

(8) *Cif.* xi.

thing

thing he could lay his hands on, without sparing the most sacred utensils belonging to a it. The whole amount of this sacrilegious plunder was so great, that *Josephus*, fearing it would scarcely be credited by other nations, is forced to appeal to the writings of *Strabo* of *Cappadocia*, and other records, not now extant *. What we have said at the end of the last note will further confirm his account, and the immense treasures of which that rapacious governor stripped that sacred place, though it amounts to above two millions of our money.

*Cassius's success
in Syria.
Year of the
flood 2947.
Year before
Christ 52.*

We have seen in the close of the last volume * the ill success of his expedition against the *Parthians*. That general having been defeated and killed, *Cassius* brought the shattered remnant of his army into *Syria*, to suppress the incursions which the now elated *Parthians* made into that province; and here he gave them so many overthrows, b that he soon forced them to send home for a fresh supply of troops. From thence he marched into *Judæa*, where he besieged *Tarichæa*, a city on the south shore of the lake *Genezareth*, where *Pitolaus* had shut himself up with the few remains of *Aristobulus's* faction; and having taken it, carried thirty thousand *Jews* prisoners. *Pitolaus* was put to death by the advice of *Antipater*, to prevent his raising new troubles in favour of *Aristobulus* (D). As for *Alexander*, *Cassius* contented himself with forcing him to be quiet, whilst he marched towards the *Euphrates* to stop the incursions of the *Parthians*.

*Aristobulus
poisoned.*

THREE years after, *Julius Cæsar* having made himself master of *Rome*, and thinking that *Aristobulus* might be of service to him against *Pompey*, released him out of his prison, and sent him into *Palestine* †, with two legions under his command, to keep *Syria* in awe; but those of *Pompey's* party found means to poison him, and thereby frustrated the designs of that crafty general. His body was afterwards embalmed by some of *Cæsar's* partisans, and kept in honey in a coffin, till they could convey him into *Judæa*, there to be interred with his ancestors ‡. His son *Alexander* did not meet with better fate; the news of his father's return into *Judæa* had made him raise forces there, to join him on his arrival; but *Pompey*, who kept a watchful eye over him, sent orders to his son-in-law *Q. Metellus Scipio*, formerly his colleague in the consulship, and now president of *Syria*, to put him to death. *Scipio* caused the unhappy prince to be seized, and brought before his tribunal at *Antioch*, where d he condemned him, and caused his head to be struck off. *Ptolemy Mennæus*, prince of *Chalcis*, hearing of their death, sent to *Alexandra* the widow of *Aristobulus*, who was then retired to *Ascalon*, and offered to take her son *Antigonus*, and her two daughters, under his care, who sent them to him accordingly. His son *Philippion* married one of the daughters, named also *Alexandra*; but some time after, either for some misbehaviour, or perhaps out of love to that princess, *Mennæus* caused him to be put to death, and married her himself soon after §.

*Alexander be-
headed.*

*Antipater suc-
cours Cæsar in
Egypt.*

IN the mean time the war between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, as well as those that followed between the former and the asserters of the *Roman* liberty, afforded the *Jews*, not only a long breathing, but also an opportunity of ingratiating themselves to that conqueror. He was now in *Egypt* waiting impatiently for those new levies which *Mithridates* the *Pergamenian* was bringing to him from *Syria* and *Cilicia*, where he had been raising them. But these not being sufficient to break through *Pelusium*, the strong key of *Egypt* on that side, he was forced to stop at *Ascalon*, till new reinforcements came to him. But what did him the greatest service at this juncture, and facilitated the taking of that city, was the coming of *Antipater*, at the head of three thousand *Jews* well armed, together with some other succours which he had drawn from *Armenia*, and *Syria*, and mount *Libanus*. He also brought letters from *Hyrcaan*, whether real, or forged by himself; exhorting the *Jews* of the territories of *Onion*,

* *Antiq. l. xiv. c. 12.* * page 782, d. c. † *JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 12. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 6. Vid. & Vol. III. p.* ‡ *Dio, lib. xli.* § *Antiq. l. xiv. c. 13. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 7.* * *Id. ibid. Vid. & PLUTARCH. in Pompei. Dio, ubi supra. CÆSAR. Bell. Civil. l. iii. & Comment. lib. i.*

(D) The fourth of the *Maccabees* adds (9), that *Cassius* came afterwards to *Jerusalem*, and there reconciled *Hyrcaan* and his subjects, who were then in open rebellion against him.

This is that *Cassius* who had formerly refused the command which the soldiers had offered him, out

of hatred to *Crassus*; but now that general being dead, and the *Roman* army miserably shattered, he was forced to take the government of *Syria* upon him, in order to suppress the insolence of the *Parthians* (10). He was afterwards one of those who assassinated *Julius Cæsar*, as we shall see in due time.

(9) *Ibid.*

(10) *Dio Cass. lib. xl.*

- a *Deltba*, and *Memphis*, to assist the *Roman* emperor with all their might. By these means the city of *Pelusium* was easily carried off by assault, *Antipater* himself being one of the foremost in scaling it, and a way thereby was made into *Egypt*. We have seen in a former volume the success of that expedition †; some have imagined that *Hyrca*n came thither in person at the head of fifteen hundred men ‡, but without any likelihood. That pontiff was wholly governed by *Antipater*, whose main view was the aggrandising himself, rather than recommending the *Jewish* pontiff to that conqueror; and *Hyrca*n being in himself a man of no genius or ambition, it is more probable he contented himself with the credit of sending such seasonable aid to *Cæsar*, whilst *Antipater*, like a consummate politician, took the advantage of ingratiating himself to him by his valour and gallantry, as well as by his good offices with his master. Accordingly, we find in the subsequent battle, which was fought in the place called the *Jewish* camp §, that *Mithridates*, who commanded the right wing, must have been totally defeated, had not *Antipater*, who had been victorious in the left, which he commanded, come to his rescue, and gained him that signal victory over the *Egyptians*, which enabled him to join *Cæsar*'s army, and soon made that emperor master of all *Egypt*. In all these actions *Antipater* behaved with such valour and gallantry, that *Mithridates* did not scruple to own his late successes to be owing to him; and in a letter he wrote to *Cæsar*, he gave the *Jewish* commander such encomiums, that he conceived a more than ordinary esteem for him; and in token of it, before he left *Alexandria*, he gave him some considerable posts in his army, made him procurator or lieutenant of *Judæa*, and citizen of *Rome*, with all the privileges belonging to it, which places he held with great credit all the time of the war (E). *Cæsar* also confirmed *Hyrca*n in his priesthood, added to it the principality of *Judæa*, to be intailed on his posterity for ever; and to the *Jewish* nation their ancient rights and privileges; and ordered a pillar to be erected, whereon all these grants and his own decree should be engraven, which was accordingly done, soon after *Antipater*'s return into *Judæa*. *Cæsar* being come into *Syria*, *Aristobulus* came to him, and preferred a severe complaint against *Hyrca*n and *Antipater*, for the injuries which he pretended they had done to him; and at the same time represented to him the misfortunes of his family, for having stuck close to his interest; and particularly the poisoning of his father by *Pompey*, and the beheading of his brother by *Scipio*. In consideration of all which, he concluded with a petition to the emperor, that he would restore him to his father's principality, of which *Hyrca*n had unjustly stripped him. But unfortunately for him, *Antipater* was then attending upon *Cæsar*, who defended his own and *Hyrca*n's cause so well, that they were both absolved with applause, and *Antigonus* repulsed as a factious and turbulent person, that could never be at rest. *Antipater* added farther, that as to *Antigonus*'s father, he had been justly sent prisoner to *Rome* for being a constant enemy to the *Roman* nation, and that his brother had been deservedly beheaded for plundering and ravaging that of the *Jews*. *Cæsar* had too many obligations to *Hyrca*n and *Antipater*, not to admit of a much weaker vindication of their cause. But he was resolved to do more than the bare acquitting of them: he confirmed his former decree in favour of them, and of the *Jewish* nation, and caused it to be engraven on brazen tables in *Latin* and *Greek*, and to be hung up in the temples of *Tyre*, *Sidon*, and *Askalon* (F), as well as in the capitol at *Rome*.
- V o L. IV. No. 2. H h whither

His valour rewarded.

Cæsar's gratitude to the Jews.

Rejects Antigonus's suit.

† See before, Vol. III. p. 678, & seq. ‡ *IPSICRAT. ap. STRAB. JOSEPH. AN. l. xiv. c. 17. CÆSAR. tabul. æn. ap. eund.* § *Antiq. l. xiv. c. 15.*

(E) The fourth book of *Maccabees* (11) adds, that *Mithridates* being totally defeated in the action, was so closely surrounded by the *Egyptians*, that he must have been cut in pieces by them, had not *Antipater* come in a lucky minute, and rescued him and the victory out of their hands. But what the same author adds, that *Cæsar* gave him the command of his own troops, and took him with him into *Persia*, seems quite to clash with *Josephus*, who doth not so much as hint that he had the command of any of the *Roman* troops, neither doth it appear that *Cæsar* carried any war against the *Persians*.

(F) This decree, which at once abolished the

aristocracy lately set up by *Gabinus*, and restored the *Jewish* state to its pristine sovereignty, has been preserved to us by *Josephus* (12), and runs to this effect:

"*Julius Cæsar*, emperor and dictator the second time, &c. Forasmuch as *Hyrca*nus the son of *Alexander*, a *Jew*, hath given us many singular proofs of his affection, both in time of peace and war, and particularly by the supply sent to me in the late war; in consideration of these his services, I do hereby confirm unto him and his heirs the perpetual government of the *Jews*, both as their prince and high-priest after the manner and rule

" of

whither *Hyrca* sent soon after his ambassadors to renew the old alliance with that a nation ; which was by his order published in all the principal cities of the empire, that all the world might know that the *Jews* were acknowledged the friends and allies of *Rome*. These ambassadors, who were there received with great marks of honour, did likewise obtain a permissory decree for the fortifying of *Jerusalem*, and for rebuilding the wall which had been pulled down by *Pompey* (G) ^a.

Antipater's
speech.

Cæsar having left the government of *Syria* to *Sextus Cæsar* his near relation, was accompanied by *Antipater* as far as *Tyre*, where he imbarqued for *Sicily*. On his return to *Jerusalem*, *Antipater* took care in every place he came through to extol the *Roman* emperor and nation, and to exhort the people to peace and obedience ; representing to them with his usual eloquence, that whilst they behaved like faithful subjects, they b would be blest with a mild government, and enjoy their rights, liberties, and religion ; but that if they grew discontented and mutinous, they would soon find themselves forced to submit to a severer yoke, and that *Hyrca*, from a mild and pacific prince, might easily become their tyrant, and the *Romans*, from friends and protectors, would not fail to turn their bitter enemies. This was not said so much to keep the *Jews* in obedience to *Hyrca*, whose stupidity and indolence *Josephus* himself tells us was but too visible to all his subjects. But by thus over-awing them with the dread of the *Romans* anger, he plainly intimated to them his own credit and interest with them to be such, that they would never see his measures opposed, without interposing their own authority ; and therefore closed the whole with c these words ; For they (the *Romans*) will be obeyed ^b. By these speeches he gained two main ends, he kept a divided and factious people in awe, and took the advantage of his own established power, and of *Hyrca*'s weakness, to aggrandise his family.

UPON his arrival at *Jerusalem* he set himself about putting *Cæsar*'s decree in force, and settling or rather restoring the *Jewish* government to its ancient model, and ordering the repairs of the walls, and fortifications of *Jerusalem*. He made his eldest son *Phasaelus* governor of that metropolis, and *Herod* his second son governor of *Galilee* (H) ; whilst he and the high-priest took a progress about *Judea* to settle the government and peace of the kingdom. *Herod* soon signalised himself by the suppression d of a band of thieves, who had till then much infested that and the neighbouring provinces. He took their chief, named *Hezekiah*, with some others of his companions, whom he put to immediate death, and thereby dispersed the rest of their gang.

^a Ibid. & l. xx. c. 7. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 7.

^b Antiq. ubi supra, in fin. c. 16.

" of their own laws. I enroll him from henceforth
" among my trusty friends ; and ordain, that all
" the legal and pontifical rights and privileges be de-
" volved upon him and his sons for ever ; and that
" in all controversies that shall arise concerning the
" rights and discipline of the *Jews*, he or they be
" the only judges : and further, that the *Jews* be
" henceforth discharged from the burden of winter-
" quarters, and all public tribute".

About the same time the *Athenians* renewed their alliance with *Hyrca*, and sent their decree to *Jerusalem*, in which they acknowledge that pontiff's singular and constant friendship to all the *Greeks*, and to their own republic in particular. The reader may see it at length in *Josephus* in the place last quoted.

(G) The fourth book of *Maccabees* adds (13), that *Cæsar* did those ambassadors the singular honour of making them sit down in his presence ; and a little lower, that that emperor had decreed for himself and successors, that all the maritime part of the *Syrian* province from *Gaza* to *Sidon* should pay yearly to the *Jewish* temple the tribute they were wont to pay to the empire ; and that that of the town of *Sidon* amounted yearly to twenty thousand five hundred and fifty measures of wheat ; and that the cities of *Laodice* and others, which had been formerly in the possession of the high-priests, should be now sur-

rendered to *Hyrca*.

All these grants, our author says, were bestowed on the *Jewish* nation in consideration of the eminent services which they and *Antipater* at their head had done the emperor in his *Parthian* expedition. But whether he really was sent thither by the high-priest, as is there affirmed, 'tis certain that this great change in favour of the *Jews*, was owing to the wisdom, conduct, and valour of *Antipater* ; and how much it contributed to raise his power and interest, not only in *Judea*, but in *Rome*, and other nations, the sequel will soon shew.

(H) *Antipater* had four sons by his wife *Cypria*, who were by this time grown up to maturity, and in great reputation for their wisdom and valour. We have mentioned the two first in the text : *Josephus* indeed allows the latter of them but fifteen years of age, but that must be a mistake, either of that historian, or rather of his copyists ; for both *Ptolemy* and *Nicolas Damascen* gave him twenty-five years, and our learned *Usher* has made it appear that he could have no less (14).

The third son was called *Joseph*, and the fourth *Phorcas*. He had likewise a daughter named *Salome*, who became afterwards infamous for the feuds and divisions which she created in her family, as we shall see in the sequel.

(13) Cap. xlv.

(14) Sub A. M. 3937. Vid. & Prid. Connest. sub an. A. C. 47.

This

a This action failed not to recommend him, not only to the whole province, but more particularly to *Sextus Cæsar*, the new president of *Syria*. On the other hand his elder brother neglected nothing that could recommend him to the people of *Jerusalem*, over which he was governor; so that *Antipater* saw with pleasure himself and his sons become the darlings of the nation, without lessening, at least outwardly, any part of their respect to the high-priest, who seemed still to be at the head of all the national affairs, and to give his sanction to them.

b But it was this greatness, this excessive growing power of *Antipater*, which raised at length the envy and jealousy of the principal *Jews*. *Herod's* action was doubtless a noble one, and the country felt the benefit of it: but he had gone some unjustifiable lengths in it in putting the banditti to death by his own authority, and without any formal trial; and this they looked upon as an earnest of what he might do in time, if his enterprising genius was not nipped in the bud. This made them at length resolve to try to open the eyes of their indolent pontiff, and to prevail upon him to summon that young hero to come and answer to this and some other accusations before him and the sanhedrin.

*Hyrca*n, who had a great friendship for him, betrayed at this juncture an extreme partiality in excusing him of several crimes they alledged against him. They in vain represented to him how dangerous it was for him to suffer the son of a proselyte, who had already ingrossed all the power and honour, and left him only the bare title of sovereign, to arrogate to himself such an unlimited authority, as to put a number of men to death without trial, or even without asking his or the sanhedrin's consent. At length, since they could not work upon his fears, they tried to rouse his pity, by the daily clamours of the mothers of those whom *Herod* had put to death, and who ceased not to come daily to the temple to demand justice of him for so daring and unwarranted an affront on his dignity. *Hyrca*n was at length prevailed upon to send his summons to him to come and answer to the charge before him and the sanhedrin. *Herod* appeared accordingly, but in such a guise, and with such a numerous retinue, as gave them to understand, that he did not come as a private person, much less as a criminal to be judged by them. He was clothed in purple, and by his father's advice, had brought such a number of servants, as should be sufficient to defend him in case he was condemned, and yet not so numerous, as to raise any jealousy in the friendly high-priest. He also brought letters to him from *Sextus Cæsar*, with express orders to acquit him, and threatening him with his highest resentment in case of non-compliance.

c *THESE* letters seem indeed to have been calculated to intimidate the sanhedrin, rather than to recommend *Herod's* cause to the high-priest, who was already sufficiently in his interest. Accordingly, when he appeared before that high court, he struck such an awe upon them, that none of his accusers dared to open their mouths against him. At length *Sameas*, a man in great esteem for his wisdom and integrity, had the courage to stand up, and arraign him, not only for his former crime, but much more now for his unjustifiable boldness in appearing, contrary to the laws of all nations, not in the guise of an accused person, but in that of an arrogant and threatening commander, who came rather to frighten his judges, than to clear himself of his accusation. I do not at the same time, continued he, so much blame him for the insolent means he takes to secure his forfeited life. What surprises me is, to see both the high-priest and his judges thus tamely to permit it; but take notice of what I am now going to tell you, said he, turning to them; God is a righteous and powerful judge, and this very man, whom you now strive to acquit, in complaisance to *Hyrca*n, shall prove the ruin of both king and judges. How true a prophet he proved, the sequel will shew; for *Herod* was no sooner got into the possession of the government, than he put both the high-priest and all his cowardly judges to death, except *Sameas Pollio*, and for whom he retained a singular esteem ever after (1). Here *Hyrca*n observing that his

Herod summoned before the sanhedrin. Year of the flood 2952. Before Christ 47.

Sameas's noble speech.

(1) *Sameas*, or as the *Rabbins* call him, *Shammai*, was, according to *Josephus* (15), the disciple of *Pollio*, another learned *Jewish* doctor in great esteem with *Herod*, not unlikely the same which the *Rabbies* call *Hillel*; for this latter having been a famous disciple of *Sameas* or *Shammai*, and having in process of time proved the antagonist of his master, and the

founder of that famed school, which retained his name, it is a wonder *Josephus* should never mention him, whereas he speaks very honourably of *Pollio* in several places of his history.

St. Jerom (16) has imagined that the pharisees had their origin from the division of those two schools; but we have already seen how powerful that

(15) *Aniq. l. xv. c. 1.*

(16) *In Isai. cap. viii.*

speech had made such an impression on the court, that the majority were like to be ^a against *Herod*, he adjourned the court till next day, whilst he sent private advice to him to flee for his life; which he accordingly did, and went to *Damascus*, where having gained the protection of the Syrian governor, he sent the sanhedrin word, that if they should take it into their heads to summon him afresh, he would disclaim their jurisdiction. This contemptuous message put the judges into a fresh fit of rage; they vented their resentments against the pontiff, and strove in vain to awaken him into a sense of his danger; he remained deaf and insensible to the last ^c.

IN the mean time *Herod*, having with a large sum of money purchased the government of *Cælo-Syria* of his friend *Sextus Cæsar*, raised an army with an intent to march against *Jerusalem*, and be revenged of *Hyrca*n and the sanhedrin for the affront they ^b had put upon him; but he was happily diverted from it by *Antipater* and *Phasaelus*, who reminded him of his great obligations to that pontiff, to whom both he and they were beholden for all the power and grandeur they enjoyed. *Herod* acquiesced for the present, and was satisfied with having given them such token of what he could do whenever occasion offered, and remained quiet in his province.

Year of the
Jued 2955.
Before Christ
44.

New privileges
granted to the
Jews.

ABOUT three years after this, *Hyrca*n having sent an embassy to *Cæsar*, who was by this time entered into his fifth consulship; to renew his alliance with him, obtained a fresh decree for the fortifying of *Jerusalem*, which *Antipater* immediately put in execution; and that metropolis was soon after raised to its pristine splendor and strength. *Cæsar* did moreover grant some further privileges to the Jews, in consideration, as he ^c expressed it, of the signal services they had done to him in *Syria* and *Egypt*. The reader may see them more fully in *Josephus*. As for *Hyrca*n, he gave him leave to govern in *Jerusalem* according to his pleasure, and confirmed to him the grant of all the towns and villages which had been possessed by his ancestors; that the lands and other privileges which the *Romans* had bestowed on the kings of *Syria* and *Phœnice*, on account of the alliance that had been between them, should likewise be bestowed on him and his successors; that he, they, and their ambassadors, should have the liberty of sitting down with the *Roman* senators in all public shews and games; and lastly, that when they had any petition to prefer to the senate, they should be introduced by the dictator, or by the master of the horse, and that they should have an ^d answer within ten days. In a word, such was that emperor's gratitude and friendship to the Jews, so many and considerable the immunities and privileges which he heaped upon their prince and nation, that they could hardly be said to feel the weight of the *Roman* yoke. His kindness extended even to those who lived out of *Judæa*; witness the edict which the magistrates of the island of *Paros* had made against their exercise of their religion, living according to their laws, and sending their yearly tribute to *Jerusalem*, to maintain the service of the temple (K); and which that monarch obliged them to revoke, as a piece of rigour and injustice, which he said was not to be suffered against the friends and allies of *Rome*, where all those privileges were indulged to them. ^e

Sextus and
Julius Cæsar
murdered.

BUT this happy state was soon at an end. Two remarkable accidents happened, one on the heels of the other, the one in *Judæa*, and the other at *Rome*, which brought on a series of distractions and feuds in both. In the former *Sextus Cæsar* was treacherously murdered by *Bassus*, and *Cæsar* himself at *Rome* by *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and their

^c Antiq. l. xiv. c. 17.

^d Id. ibid. & bell. Jud. ubi supra.

that sect was long before *Hillel* or *Shammai*. Concerning this last the *Rabbies* tell us wonders, and if we may believe the father above quoted, they attribute the compiling of the *Mishnah* to him and his disciple *Hillel*, or, as he elsewhere calls them, *Simæon* and *Helles* (17).

We shall have occasion to speak to that point, as well as the rupture of those two famed schools, in a proper place. All we shall add concerning them here is, a *Rabbinic* proverb much in vogue among the Jews: Be courteous as *Hillel*, and intrepid as *Shammai*.

(K) We have often mentioned this yearly tribute, which every Jew, both of *Judæa*, and of the disper-

sion, was obliged to send. Besides this we must further observe, that as they were allowed to offer sacrifices no-where but in that ho'y place, it was usual for them to remit the money thither for such victims, as either their religion or extraordinary devotions directed them to be offered up there for them; and these were generally sent thither with the annual tribute of the temple; and in some wealthy places they sometimes amounted to such vast sums, as raised the envy and jealousy of those among whom they lived, and have been often seized by covetous princes and governors, who have converted them to their own uses.

(17) Epist. ad Algas. & quæst. x. & in Ecclef. vii.

associates,

- a associates, as shall be better seen in the *Roman* history. *Marc Antony* and *Dolabella*, who were then consuls, assembled the senate; and the ambassadors from *Judæa*, among others, were admitted to renew their alliance with them. Pursuant to which (some of the *Asiatic Jews* having been forced to inroll themselves in the *Roman* army) *Hyrcan* sent a complaint to *Dolabella*, reminding him that the *Jews* were wont to be exempted from the war by reason of their being obliged to observe the sabbath; and obtained a letter from the consul to the governor of *Ephesus*, enjoining him to see that the *Jews* were set free, and restored to the exercise of their religion and laws^a. By this time *Bassus* had seized upon the government of *Syria*, but was soon after driven out of it by *Cassius*, who immediately came thither after *Cæsar*'s death, and took the command of the *Roman* troops upon him, who were then besieging the assassin of *Sextus* in the city of *Apamea*. *Cassius* having drawn him and *Marcus* into his party, raised the siege of the place, and got all *Syria* into his possession. He was however forced to levy new troops to reinforce his army; and hearing that *Alienus*, one of *Dolabella*'s lieutenants, was marching through *Judæa* with four legions sent to that consul by *Clopatra*, he posted himself so advantageously, that he surrounded and intercepted him with a double number of his own forces, and took them all into his service. Having by this time got an army of twelve legions, which could not be subsisted without great expence, he was forced to levy very large tributes on that province, particularly on *Judæa*, which he taxed at seven hundred talents. *Antipater*, who knew the necessity that general was in of some immediate supply, and the consequence of gaining his favour by sending him a speedy one, committed the levying of one half of that sum to his sons *Phasaël* and *Herod*, and ordered the rest to be raised by one *Malchus* and some associates. *Herod* failed not to take this opportunity of ingratiating himself to *Cassius*, by bringing him the hundred talents which were assigned to his government; and as he was the first that complied with his orders, that general conceived a great esteem for him. His brother came soon after; but the rest of the governors not having followed their examples, particularly those of *Gophna*, *Emmaus*, *Lydda*, *Thamna*, and some other cities of *Judæa*, *Cassius* ordered all their inhabitants to be sold by auction, and would have put *Malchus* to death, had not the high-priest redeemed him at the expence of a hundred talents, which he sent him out of his own coffers^b.

Cassius seized upon Syria.

Levies seven hundred talents on Judæa.

Malchus conspires against Antipater.

- Cassius* being soon after forced to march against *Dolabella*, left the government of *Calo-Syria* to *Herod*, as an earnest of his future friendship; but *Malchus* in the mean time, who bore a mortal hatred against *Antipater* (L), and saw him with an envious eye holding alone the reins of government, resolved to rid himself and the nation of him. *Antipater* having had timely notice of his treacherous design, did presently retire to the other side of the *Jordan*, and there raised some forces, and put himself in a posture of defence. Whereupon *Malchus*, finding his plot was discovered, came to him in a seeming friendly manner, and by oaths, protestations, and other crafty insinuations, such as the folly of such an attempt against his life, whilst his son *Phasaël* held the government of *Jerusalem*, and the warlike *Herod* that of *Calo-Syria*; easily persuaded him of his innocency, and a reconciliation was made between them. *Antipater* was even forced to make use of all his interest with *Marcus*, now governor of *Syria*, and who was well acquainted with all his private plots, to prevent his putting him to death. But *Malchus* was not to be wrought on by such an unparalleled generosity, whilst he beheld his rival's interest raised still higher by it. For about this time *Cassius* and *Marcus*, who had bestowed the government of *Calo-Syria* on his son *Herod*, had engaged his fidelity to them by a promise to make him king of *Judæa*, as soon as the war now begun against *Marc Antony*, and the young *Octavius*, since named *Au-*

^a Id. *ibid.*

^b *Antiq.* l. xiv. c. 18. *Bell. Jud.* l. i. c. 9.

(L) *Malchus* was a *Jew*; he and *Antipater* had been the main supporters of *Hyrcan*'s interest; so that he could not behold his rival, who was of *Idumean* race, as we have hinted before, preferred before him without the deepest envy and regret; and this was the motive which made him conspire against him, not doubting, but if he was once removed, himself would be at the head of the *Jewish* affairs.

The fourth book of the *Maccabees* says indeed (18), that they were the heads of the *Jewish* nation who conspired against *Antipater*; and very likely *Malchus* had drawn a great number into the same black design; it being as great a mortification to them as to himself, to see their prince held in a kind of servitude by a stranger, who had ingrossed all the power into his hand.

Antipater poi-
soned by Ma-
lichus.

Malichus out-
witted by
Herod.

Assassinated.

New troubles
in Judæa.
Year of the
flood 2952.
Before Christ
47.

Quelled.

gustus, was ended. This made him dread the excessive power of *Antipater* to such a degree, that upon the first opportunity, which was soon after offered, when he was to dine with the high-priest, he bribed that pontiff's butler to poison him in a glass of wine, whilst himself with an armed force seized upon the government of *Jerusalem*. *Phasaelus* and *Herod* easily perceived that *Malichus* was at the bottom of this villainy, notwithstanding his vows and protestations to the contrary; and *Herod*, who was of a fierce temper, was for immediately revenging the fact with open force; but his brother, who rightly judged that it would be much safer to dissemble for the present, and to punish the assassin by some private stratagem, without involving the nation into a civil war, easily brought him over to his opinion ^e.

ACCORDINGLY, these two brothers feigning to believe *Malichus* innocent of their father's death, the eldest went and busied himself with rearing a stately monument to him, whilst *Herod* went into *Samaria*, under pretence of suppressing some turbulent spirits there. He came some time after to *Jerusalem*, attended with a number of his men of war, to assist at the feast of pentecost; and *Malichus*, who was afraid of something worse, prevailed on *Hyrca*n to forbid him to enter that metropolis with such an escort, as would profane that solemnity. *Herod* despising his orders, entered the city by night, but forbore attempting any thing against his enemy, though he had received full power from *Cassius* to revenge his father's death on that assassin. But a much better opportunity offered itself soon after, in which *Malichus* was caught in his own craftiness. *Cassius* had taken *Laodicea*, and all the chief lords of *Syria* and *Palestine* hastened thither with their presents and congratulations; and *Malichus* having left his son hostage with that governor, designed to have taken that opportunity of getting him off, and to have gone back and excited a revolt in *Judæa*, whilst the *Romans* were taken up with their civil wars, and then to have made a bold push for the *Jewish* crown. Whether *Herod* knew his whole design or no, he rightly guessed that he would not fail to pay his compliments to the conqueror, and so he did accordingly, he accompanying the *Jewish* pontiff thither. *Herod* fell in with them in the way, and having first obtained from *Cassius* an order to the *Tyrians* to assist him in the punishment of *Malichus*, he invited *Hyrca*n and him to a supper he had prepared for them in the neighbourhood of *Tyre*, and sent his servants into that city under pretence of getting all things ready, but in reality to acquaint the officers and garison of that city with *Cassius's* orders. These sallied out accordingly, and having overtaken him, as many as could come at him at once sheathed their daggers into his body (M). *Hyrca*n upon hearing the news of his death, remained thunderstruck for some time. At length, having recovered himself, he asked, by whose orders he had been killed? and *Herod* having calmly answered, by *Cassius's*, he replied, that he could not but highly applaud the deed, since it had rid him of a very dangerous enemy ^b.

BUT *Malichus* had left a brother behind him as turbulent as himself, who, under the specious pretence of revenging his death, put *Judæa* again into a flame, whilst *Cassius* was gone to join *Brutus* in *Asia*. *Felix*, who at that time was left at the head of some *Roman* forces at *Jerusalem*, seems also to have been gained on that side. As for *Hyrca*n, he had not courage enough to oppose them, but acquiesced in what they did; so that *Felix* attacked *Phasael* on the one hand, whilst *Malichus's* brother went and took *Massada*, and some other fortresses of *Judæa*. *Herod* was then laid up with sickness at *Damascus*, and unable for a while to give his brother any assistance: but *Phasael*, who had still a considerable number of forces, found means to drive *Felix* and all his party out of *Jerusalem*, and from thence into some fortress, out of which he did not suffer him to come, but by capitulation. By this time *Herod* being

^e JOSEPH. *ibid.*

^b Bell. Jud. ubi supra. Antiq. ubi supra, cap. 20.

(M) The fourth book of *Maccabees* relates this punishment of *Malichus* somewhat differently (19), and says, that *Cassius* being informed of *Antipater's* murder, exhorted *Herod* to revenge it as soon as himself was come to *Tyre*, and *Hyrca*n and *Malichus* were come to pay their respects to him there. These being come accordingly to *Tyre*, as well as *Phasael* and *Herod*, *Cassius* commanded his men to do whatever these two last should direct them.

Having therefore invited them all four to a feast,

as soon as they had taken their afternoon's nap, as was usual in those countries, *Hyrca*n being seated near *Malichus*, and the two sons of *Antipater*, *Herod* made a sign, upon which some of *Cassius's* officers fell upon *Malichus*, and murdered him. *Hyrca*n, at sight of it, fell into a swoon, from which being recovered, he asked, why they had killed the man? *Herod* pleaded ignorance, and *Hyrca*n was glad to hold his peace.

- a recovered, came to his assistance, and drove the remaining part of *Malichus's* faction out of their fortresses, and forced the brother to surrender *Massada* to him, and to capitulate for his life¹. The two brothers returned to *Jerusalem*, where they reproved *Hyrca*n's baseness in the severest terms; but were soon after reconciled to him by the marriage of *Herod* with *Mariamne*, the beautiful grand-daughter of that pontiff.

- In the interim another enemy started up on the sudden, namely *Antigonus* the younger son of *Aristobulus*, *Hyrca*n's brother. He was upheld by *Ptolemy Mennæus*, prince of *Chalcis*, to whom he was related, and on that account had been adopted by him (N). He had likewise gained *Marion* prince of *Tyre*, and bribed *Fabius* governor of *Damascus* into his interest; so that having gained a sufficient army, he put himself at the head of it, with an intent of reviving his father's pretensions to the kingdom; but he had scarce entered the frontiers of it, before *Herod* met him with a powerful army, and totally defeated him. This prince acted with his usual generosity towards the *Tyrians*, who had assisted his enemy, not only sparing their lives, but sending some of them home with rich presents, by which he gained the affections of that city; after which he returned triumphant to *Jerusalem*, where the people, and among the rest *Hyrca*n, who now looked upon him as one of his family, came and offered him the usual compliments of crowns and congratulations. His nuptials with *Mariamne* were not however celebrated till some years after, when he had by her three sons and two daughters, besides his eldest son *Antipater*, whom he had by a former wife of his own country, named *Dores*².

- c *Brutus* and *Cassius* having been defeated in the following year by *Marc Antony* and *Octavius*, the latter marched into *Gaul*, and the former came into *Syria* to settle the affairs of that province. Upon his arrival into *Bithynia*, where he was complimented by vast crouds of ambassadors from all the neighbouring states, the *Jews* came and preferred a severe accusation against *Phasaël* and *Herod*, as having ingrossed all the power and administration of *Judæa*, and left *Hyrca*n only the bare name of a prince. But *Herod*, who was there also, found in that general a steadfast friend, not only on account of former kindnesses which he had received from *Antipater*, whilst he served under *Gabinius* in *Judæa*, but much more on that of a large sum of money, with which he had taken care to bribe him, so that he would not so much as hear their accusers. Upon his coming to *Ephesus*, an embassy came to him from *Hyrca*n, desiring that the *Jewish* prisoners, whom *Cassius* had formerly sold by auction, contrary to their alliance with *Rome*, might be restored to their liberty and lands. *Antony* did readily grant their request, and sent an obliging letter to *Hyrca*n, which was soon followed with an edict to the *Tyrians*, and other neighbouring states, enjoining them to restore all those captives, according to *Hyrca*n's desire and the purport of the edict, which the reader may see in the margin³ (O).

¹ Id. *ibid.*² *Ibid.* cap. 21.³ *Ibid.* c. 22.

(N) The reader may remember, that after *Pompey* had caused his father and brother to be put to death, *Mennæus* invited *Alexandra* into *Chalcis*, where he afterwards married her beauteous daughter, and for her sake took both the mother and her children into his protection (20).

As for that *Marion*, who joined with young *Antigonus*, he had been lately made prince of *Tyre* by *Cassius*; for that general being in great want of money for the carrying on of the war against the triumvirs, had divided the country of *Syria* into small districts, and sold them to the highest bidders, one of whom was this *Marion*, who had bought the principality of *Tyre* of him (21). These petty tyrants however were afterwards turned out by *Marc Antony*, upon his coming into that province.

(O) *Marc Antony*, emperor and triumvir, &c. to the magistrates, senate and people of *Tyre*, greeting:

Forasmuch as the gods have declared themselves the dire revengers of the late *Cæsar's* death, by the total defeat of his most detestable assassins *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and by granting the triumvirate such a signal victory, as promised nothing less than a solid and lasting peace to the *Roman* empire; and forasmuch as the *Jewish* nation, notwithstanding their

known and constant attachment to the *Roman* interest, has been greatly oppressed by *Cassius*, and great multitudes of them sold for slaves by him; we order the said *Jews* to be restored to their liberties, lands, and to all the privileges and immunities which had been granted to that allied nation by *Dolabella*, and charge all those cities, in which any such *Jews* are detained, whether bond or free, forthwith to discharge and restore them, pursuant to the strict tenor of this edict.

In another he writes to the *Tyrians*, that *Hyrca*n having complained to him, that they had in the late *Cassius's* time invaded some of his territories, he expected that they should be restored to him. Nevertheless, that if they had any reasons to offer against such a restitution, they should do it upon his coming into that province, when having heard the allegations of both parties, he should decree in favour of that which had right on their side.

These edicts be ordered to be copied out in *Greek* and *Latin*, and the original to be preserved in their archives, and the copies to be affixed in some public place, where they might be publicly read. He likewise sent some others to the same purport to the *Sidonians*, and to the cities of *Antioch* and *Arad* (22).

(20) *Conf. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 13, & 21. ubi supra, c. 22.*

(21) *Id. ibid. & bell. Jud. c. 10.* (22) *Antiq.*

BUT

New com-
plaints against
Herod rejected.

A third em-
bassy sent, and
severely pu-
nished.

Antigonus in-
vades Judæa.

And Jeru-
salem.

BUT all these favours of the triumvir, though chiefly owing to his friendship to ^a the sons of *Antipater*, were not able to reconcile them to the generality of the *Jews*. For as soon as *Antony* was come so near them as *Daphne*, a city near *Antioch* †, he was accosted by a fresh embassy from *Jerusalem*, who preferred the old complaint to him against them. *Messala* undertook their defence, and was backed by *Hyrca*, who looking upon them now as part of his family, was come thither to second their defence. After a full hearing, *Antony* asked the pontiff which of the two parties he thought best qualified for the government, and being answered in favour of the two brothers, he likewise declared for them; and as a further mark of his friendship, made them both tetrarchs, put *Judæa* under their care, and wrote a letter to the sanhedrin in their favour. Fifteen of the most turbulent of their accusers were put into prison, and would have been put to death, had not *Herod* interceded for them. All this did only exasperate that faction the more, and produced a third embassy, which came to meet the triumvir at *Tyre*, and consisted of a thousand persons. But *Antony*, whom fresh presents, and large sums of money, had fastened still more to *Herod's* interest, sent orders to the magistracy of that place to assist him in the punishment of those factious mutineers, as he termed them; whereupon *Herod* met them out of the city, and advised them in a friendly manner not to push the matter further. *Hyrca* likewise tried in vain to forewarn them of their danger, in case they persisted in their design. They refused all advice, till the *Tyrians* rushing in upon them, made them repent of their rashness, when it was too late. A great number were killed and wounded, ^c and others taken prisoners, and the rest dispersed. This put an end indeed to the controversy, but not to the faction, which vented their resentment against *Herod* in such open manner, that *Antony*, in a fit of anger, caused all the prisoners to be put to death ^m.

Herod had no sooner weathered this storm, but another was raised against him by *Antigonus*. *Ptolemy* the son of *Mennæus*, had been succeeded by his son *Lyfianias*, and this last had prevailed upon *Pacorus* the son of the *Parthian* king, and his general *Barzanes*, who by this time had made themselves masters of *Sidon* and *Ptolemais*, to invade *Judæa*, depose *Hyrca*, and set *Antigonus* on his throne; in consideration of which, the latter was to pay him a hundred talents, and five hundred women (P). ^d *Pacorus* pursuant to this agreement, sent his cup-bearer, named also *Pacorus*, with part of his cavalry, to invade *Judæa*. *Antigonus*, who had got together by that time a great number of discontented *Jews*, who joined him from mount *Carmel*, had made himself master of the canton of *Dryma* (Q), where a great number of other *Jews* coming still to him, persuaded him to march on to *Jerusalem*, and attack *Phasaël* and his brother in the royal palace. He marched accordingly thitherward, attended with the *Parthian* cup-bearer; and these two being met by the two tetrarchs, were so warmly repulsed by them, that they were forced to retire into the temple. *Herod*, for the better security of that place, clapped a guard of soldiers in all the adjacent houses; but these were soon set on fire, and the soldiers burnt in them before any help could be brought. ^e *Herod* did not let this loss go long unrevenged, but gave them a sharp defeat, in which he made a great slaughter of their party. Thus they continued skirmishing one another till the feast of pentecost, which was impatiently wished for by *Antigonus*, in hopes that the great concourse of the *Jews* to that solemnity would join forces with him against the sons of *Antipater*. He judged rightly enough, for great numbers of them resorted unto him; but as the greater part of them had neither arms nor experience, *Herod*, who with his brother had retired into the royal palace, and defended it, the former from within, and the other from without; made a vigorous sally upon those of the enemy, who had posted themselves in the suburbs, and drove several thousands of them before him, some into the city, and others into the temple. ^f

† De hac vid. sup. p. 515, (E). Antiq. l. xiv. c. 25. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 11.

■ Id. ibid.

(P) The fourth book of the *Maccabees* (23) says, eight hundred women, the fairest and best bred in all the country.

(Q) It is not easy to guess what canton this was, unless it be the same with the daroma of *Eusebius*

and St. *Jerom*, by which they mean the southern part of the tribe of *Judab*, extending about twenty miles from east to west, from *Beerseba* to the dead sea, and is called in *Hebrew* *Darom*, which signifies south (24).

(23) Cap. xlix.

(24) Vid. *Reland. Palæst. illustrat.* l. i. c. 32, & sup. Vol. I. p. 575.

- a** THE two parties being at length tired with shedding so much blood, came to an agreement, that *Pacorus*, who was by that time incamped without the walls of the city, should be admitted to mediate a peace between them. This project, though set on foot by *Antigonus*, who wholly relied on the friendship of the *Parthian* general, was yet agreed to by *Phasaël*, who went out to meet him, and courteously lodged him in the royal palace. Here *Pacorus* taking the advantage of the confidence his kind host put in him, persuaded him to go on an embassy to *Barzapharnes*, who was then governor of *Syria* under the *Parthian* king, assuring him that it was the only means to settle his affair on a firm footing. *Herod*, who justly suspected the treachery of the *Parthians*, was intirely averse to the proposal; but *Phasaël*, more credulous than he, consented to it;
- b** and taking *Hyrcaan* with him, set on the journey, attended with an escort of two hundred *Parthian* horse, and with *Pacorus*, who accompanied him all the way. Upon their arrival in *Galilee* (R), they were met with a guard of armed men, who were sent to conduct them to *Barzapharnes*, and *Pacorus* returned to *Jerusalem*. Their reception in all appearance was very courteous, and *Barzapharnes* lodged them in a house near the sea-side, where *Phasaël* was soon after informed by some friends of the contract which had passed between the *Parthian* king and *Antigonus*; 'twas then that he first became sensible of their treachery, and of his danger. However, though he was earnestly intreated to make his escape, and was offered transport ships to convey him away, yet he could not be prevailed upon to forsake either *Hyrcaan's* or his brother's interest;
- c** for here he was likewise told, that *Pacorus* was sent back to *Jerusalem* to surprise *Herod* also. The best expedient therefore he could think on was to go to *Barzapharnes*, and to expostulate the matter with him; which he did in the severest terms, telling him at the same time, that if money was the motive of his treachery to him, he was able to bribe him higher to be honest, and come over to his interest. The *Parthian* had no other way to come off, but by forswearing the charge, and assuring him that nothing was falser than such a surmise; but as soon as he thought that *Pacorus* had made sure of *Herod*, he marched directly towards him, and ordered *Hyrcaan* and *Phasaël* to be seized, and clapt in prison.
- Pacorus* however had missed his aim, and *Herod* having had timely notice of the treachery, had found means to convey himself out of *Jerusalem*, together with his mother, his betrothed *Mariamne*, her mother *Alexandra*, his brother *Pheroras*, with all his servants, friends, and valuable things, and a numerous escort of his own men of war, and made the best of his way towards *Idumea*. He met with several stops in his journey (S), being forced to fight his way through the *Parthians* and *Antigonians*, who pursued him; but his valour and that of his guards got him clear of all, and in memory of a signal defeat, which he gave them at a place about fifty stades, or seven miles from *Jerusalem*, he afterwards built a stately palace, and called it *Herodion* ^a.
- WHEN he was come to *Thressa*, or, as *Josephus* calls it elsewhere, *Reffa*, a small town in *Idumea*, his brother *Joseph* met him at the head of a considerable reinforcement;
- e** but when they arrived at *Massada*, the place where he designed to retire, it being a very strong and almost impregnable fortress, he found it too small to contain all his men, so that he was forced to dismiss nine thousand of them. Here he left his family and treasure under the care of his brother *Joseph*, and of a garison of eight hundred men; and having furnished it with all necessaries, he set out for *Petra*, the metropolis of *Arabia*, where *Malchus* had succeeded his father *Aretas*, a prince who had formerly been highly obliged to him. His design was to borrow as much money of him as would buy his brother *Phasaël's* freedom; and to that end he had brought his son with him, who was but seven years old, to leave him there as a pledge to the *Arabian*

Phasaël betrayed.

Herod's escape.

Goes into *Arabia*.

^a Anxiq. ubi supra, cap. 15. the reader may see that palace described by *JOSEPH. bell. Jud. l. i. c. 16.*

(R) *Josephus* doth not tell us the place where *Barzapharnes* then was, but only that he was in *Galilee*, near the sea side; but in his wars of the *Jews*, he says (15), they met him at *Ecdipon*, which place was near the sea shore, and at a small distance north of *Ptolemais*; but the fourth book of *Maccabees* says, it was at *Damascus*, the capital of *Syria* (16).

(S) One of them was the overturning of the cha-

riot in which his mother sat, by which she was so terribly bruised, that her life was despaired of; which sad accident went so near his heart, that he drew his sword with full intent to kill himself, but was happily prevented by some of his retinue.

The fourth book of the *Maccabees* (27) says, that *Herod* sent all his family and riches before him, but that himself stayed behind with his guards to prevent their being pursued.

(15) *Ch. 11.*

(16) *Ch. xlix.*

(17) *Ibid.*

king. But that ungrateful prince sent him express orders to depart out of his territories, pretending that he had been torbid by the *Parthians* to receive him; so that he was forced to dismiss some of his attendants, and to make the best of his way a

And Egypt.

In the mean while, his flight out of *Jerusalem* having been discovered by the very next morning, the first thing the *Parthians* did was to plunder his palace, city, and all the country about it. They spared however *Hyrcaan's* treasure, which amounted to three hundred talents, and some of *Herod's* riches that were left behind; but they made themselves amends by the plunder of *Marissa*, an opulent city, which they totally destroyed. *Antigonus* was next installed on the *Jewish* throne, according to their agreement, and *Phasaël* and *Hyrcaan* were soon after brought to him in chains. The new king however did not think proper to put the high-priest to death, but contented himself with incapacitating him for the pontifical function, by causing his ears to be cut off (T). As for *Phasaël*, he easily foresaw that he could not escape some cruel death; but being bound with chains, and unable to kill himself by any other way, he knocked his brains out against a stone. Our historian adds, that there was a report that his wounds not being mortal, *Antigonus* sent some physicians to him, under pretence of trying to cure, but in reality to poison them, and make sure of him. However, he had the pleasure before his death to hear that his brother was escaped, and got to *Rhinocorura*, and there it was that *Herod* heard of his death. The *Parthians* having thus far performed their contract with *Antigonus*, began their march homeward, and took the unfortunate high-priest with them, to prevent any fresh tumults being raised upon his account. b

His palace plundered.

Hyrcaan's ears cut off.

Phasaël's death

Herod's success at Rome.

By that time *Herod* was got from *Rhinocorura* to *Pelusium*, he received a message from the *Arabian* king, who was now ashamed of his baseness, with an apology, and new offers of his service; but he rejected them, and would have imbarqued for *Rome*, but the sailors obstinately refused to take him in; whereupon he applied himself to the magistrates of the city, who received him with great honour, and provided him another ship. During his stay in *Egypt*, he was courted by *Cleopatra* to continue there longer; the *Maccabish* book often quoted adds, that she offered to make him her prime minister, and general of all her forces; but he was fully bent upon going to *Rome* with all speed, and getting on board a vessel, which was bound to *Pamphylia*, a violent storm forced them to land at *Rhodes*, where he met with some friends and assistance, and passed thence to *Brundisium*, and came at length to *Rome*. Here he addressed himself first to *Antony*, and then to *Octavianus*, to whom he related all that had happened in *Judæa*, and the desperate condition his affairs were in; and partly by his intreaties, and reminding them of his father's friendship to *Julius Caesar*, and partly by the promise of a large sum of money, did so work upon them, that they resolved to assist him to the utmost of their power. *Antony*, on the score of the old kindnesses of *Antipater*, did even perform more than *Herod* expected or even desired of them. The utmost of his aim was, to have had *Aristobulus* the brother of his beloved *Mariamne* settled on the throne (U), and himself to have been at the head of the *Jewish* affairs under him, as his father had been under *Hyrcaan*; whereas the triumvirs did actually resolve to procure him the crown, though this was contrary to the *Roman* method, who, in cases of the like nature, did always pay such a due regard to the royal line of their dependent kings, as not to set up a stranger over them; but our triumvirs interest easily over-ruled that good maxim. c

Created king of Judæa.

The senate was accordingly convened, and *Herod* introduced to them by *Massala* and *Atratinus*, two noble senators, who there set forth the merits of *Antipater's* family to the *Roman* nation, and represented *Antigonus* as a turbulent and seditious person, and a known enemy to their nation, who had not scrupled to accept of the *Jewish* d

* Antiq. l. xiv. c. 25. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 11.

(T) The *Mosaic* law (18) required that the high-priest should be perfect in all his limbs, &c. so that upon the loss of any of them, he was to be immediately divested of that office, and another was to be chosen in his room.

Josephus adds, that *Antigonus* was not able to pay the *Parthian* king the five hundred women, because

Herod had seized upon them, and carried them off into his place of retreat.

(U) This prince had certainly the best title to the crown, being the son of *Alexandra* the daughter of *Hyrcaan*, by *Alexander* the son of *Aristobulus*, the brother of that pontiff; so that the right of those two brothers were united in him.

(18) Vid. *Levit.* xxi. 16, & seq. & *supra*, Vol. I. p. 635, & seq.

- a crown from the hands of the *Parthians*. To this *Antony* added, how advantageous it would be to his expedition against *Parthia*, to have such a stedfast friend as *Herod* to be king of *Judæa*; upon which he was unanimously chosen by the senate, and *Antigonus* voted an enemy to them. As soon as the decree was passed, *Herod* was conducted with great ceremony into the capitol, *Octavianus* and *Antony* marching on each side of him (W), accompanied by the consuls and senators; where, after the usual sacrifices, the decree was deposited among the archives, after which *Antony* gave them a magnificent entertainment. Thus *Herod* became king of *Judæa*, by the friendship and interest of *Antony* and *Augustus*, in the consulship of *Caius Domitius Calvinus*, and *Caius Asinius Pollio*. The condition he had left his affairs in *Judæa*, and his family in *Idumea*, not permitting to stay longer than seven days after his inauguration, he set out again for *Brundisium*, and sailed from thence to *Ptolemais*, where he landed about the latter end of the summer, so that he spent but three months in this expedition both by sea and land P.
- Year of the flood 2959.
Year before Christ 40.
- b WHILE he was thus successful at *Rome*, *Antigonus* had so closely besieged the fortrefs of *Massada*, that, though it was well provided with all other necessaries, yet they were much distressed for want of water, insomuch that *Joseph*, who commanded there, was contriving means to make a desperate sally, and to break through the besiegers, in order to escape into *Arabia*, and get some fresh succour from *Malchus*, who, as we hinted before, was highly ashamed of his late treatment of *Herod*. But, happily for him, the very night he intended to sally out, there fell such a heavy rain, as filled all their cisterns again; so that he thought on nothing now but how to make a brave defence, till his brother came and relieved him, whilst he still made some bold sallies, and killed not a few of the besiegers. In the mean time *Ventidius* the Roman general in *Syria*, having driven the *Parthians* out of that province, came and incamped in the neighbourhood of *Jerusalem*, under pretence of relieving *Massada*, but in reality to extort money from *Antigonus*: for as soon as this last had satisfied his greediness with a good round sum, he marched away, leaving, for formality's sake, some part of his men with *Silo*, a pensioner, whom *Antigonus* had been forced to make by dint of money, till he could get himself strengthened by the *Parthians*, whose assistance he was still in hopes of.
- Massada besieged by Antigonus.
- c *Herod* on the other hand was not idle, his thoughts were wholly bent upon relieving his distressed family; but especially his beloved *Mariamne*, a princess, who was indeed very well worth all his care and concern, whether we consider her as descended from a long series of illustrious kings and high-priests, or a person of exalted virtue and merit, and adorned with the most endearing charms of body and mind. As soon therefore as he was arrived at *Ptolemais*, he got an army together of Jewish and other troops, which his generosity still increased as fast as he went, insomuch that a very little time had brought almost the whole province of *Galilee* into his interest. At the same time his friend *Antony* sent orders by *Dellius* to *Ventidius* to assist him with all his forces; so that he was now strong enough to march against *Antigonus*, and to relieve *Massada*. He stopped however to lay siege to *Joppa*, a place of too great importance to be left behind in the hands of the enemy. *Silo* took this opportunity to withdraw his forces from him, and was like to have paid dear for his desertion. For *Antigonus* fell upon him, and had infallibly defeated him, had not *Herod* come to his rescue. *Joppa* being soon after surrendered, he marched directly to relieve his besieged friends, and in spight of the many ambushes which *Antigonus* did lay in his way, and the treachery of *Silo*, who extorted money from both sides, and did all he could to obstruct instead of assisting him; he reached *Massada*, forced the enemy to raise the siege (X), and was joyfully received by all his family q.
- Mariamne's character.
- Joppa taken by Herod.
- Massada relieved.

BY

P Antiq. ibid. c. 26, 27. Beil. Jud. ubi supra, c. 12.

q Id. ibid.

(W) The fourth book of the *Maccabees* adds (29), that the senate ordered him a golden crown, and to be conducted to and from the capitol on horseback, whilst a herald marched before him, crying, Long live *Herod*, king of the Jews, and of the holy city.

Antony having afterwards given the company a sumptuous feast, he and *Herod* imbarqued with a numerous army, and being arrived at *Antioch*, he ordered one-half to go with him into *Judæa*, and with the other he marched into *Parthia*.

(X) The fourth book of *Maccabees* adds (30), that *Herod* surprised *Antigonus* before the place, and made a vigorous attack on one side of him, whilst *Joseph* sallied out against him on the other; so that he was totally defeated, and forced to flee into *Jerusalem*, whither *Herod* pursued him, and laid close siege to him.

It will not be amiss to close this note with a hint on a more remarkable occurrence out of our learned *Usher* (31), namely the birth of *Saloninus*,

(30)

(29) Cap. 1.

(30) Ibid.

(31) *Annal. sub A. M. 3964.*

Herod marches
against Jeru-
salem.

By this time *Herod's* army was greatly increased, not only by the garison of *Massada*,^a but by other reinforcements, which came voluntary from other parts, and enabled him to go and form the siege of *Jerusalem*. He took *Rbessa* in his way, and being come before the metropolis, he caused a general amnesty to be proclaimed, extending to all, none excepted, that had joined with *Antigonus*, and came over to him within a limited time. To this *Antigonus* answered, addressing himself to *Silo*, and the rest of the *Roman* soldiers, who were come to assist *Herod* in the siege; "that
" it was a shameful injustice in the senate to set a private person on the throne, who
" was an *Idumean*, or half *Jew*, contrary to the *Jewish* laws, and right of succes-
" sion; that if they resented his receiving the crown from the *Parthians*, there were
" still enough left of the royal and sacerdotal race, who had deserved, to the full,^b
" as well of the *Romans* as *Herod*, and on whom they might more justly bestow it". The contest between the two rivals rose at length to such a height, that *Antigonus* caused some volleys of arrows to be shot upon the enemy, and forced them to retire. Here arose a fresh mutiny, supposed to have been underhand encouraged by *Silo*; his soldiers complaining aloud of the want of money, provisions, and better winter quarters; *Herod* was forced to send out for fresh supplies for them, which came afterwards in such plenty, that there was not the least pretence left for a revolt. The city of *Jericho* did however fall a sacrifice to the *Roman* greediness; they plundered it of all its riches, which amounted to an immense value; after which *Herod* was forced to send them into winter quarters in *Samaria*, *Idumea*, and *Galilee*, whilst *Antigonus*, to^c curry favour with *Antony*, obtained of *Silo*, as a great favour, that part of the *Roman* army might be sent into *Lydda*, which still held out for him.

THE season by this time being too far advanced to begin the siege of *Jerusalem*, *Herod* having well glutted and quartered his *Roman* auxiliaries, sent his brother *Joseph* into *Idumea*, with a thousand foot, and four hundred horse, whilst he went and secured his family in the city of *Samaria*; from thence he went and took some fortresses in *Galilee* from *Antigonus*, and among others that of *Sephoris*, which had been abandoned by the garison, and where he found great store of provisions. From thence he sent a detachment into the territories of *Arbela*, which was sadly infested with gangs of banditti; but as they could not ferret them out of their lurking-places, he marched^d against them with his whole army, and was as boldly encountered by their whole force. An obstinate fight ensued, in which his left wing began to give way; but he came so timely to their aid, that he gained a complete victory; by which he became master of all *Galilee*, except those rocky parts into which the defeated banditti retired. He rewarded his troops with a noble donative of a hundred and fifty drachms to each private man, and so proportionably to those of a higher rank, and then sent them into winter quarters. *Silo* left him soon after to follow *Ventidius* into *Parthia*, and *Herod*, who could hardly stay for the return of the spring, to put himself into action, resolved, if possible, to rid himself and the country of the remaining gangs of banditti. The inaccessibleness of their lurking-holes made it almost impracticable; but^e *Herod* having caused a number of iron chests to be made, and filled with soldiers, which let them down with iron chains, he made great execution amongst them, till night obliged them to withdraw, when he caused a general pardon to be proclaimed to all who should come and surrender themselves. But this having reduced but a few of them, his soldiers by next morning went and set some combustible matter on fire at the mouth of their caverns, put all within in a flame, and smothered those it could not burn; and

Destroys the
gangs of banditti.

(so called by his father *Asinius Pollio*, the then *Roman* consul, in memory of his taking *Salona*, a city in *Dalmatia*) and which gave occasion to the fourth eclogue of *Virgil*, in which that poet has given such a noble description of the golden age, which this child was to restore to the world; that he is justly supposed to have stolen it, not so much out of the pretended sibylline oracles, as from the prophecies concerning the reign of the Messiah, the true prince of peace. For as they were translated by that time into *Greek*, they may be reasonably supposed to have been read by him, and perhaps further explained to him by the *Jews*, who, if we may

believe *Cicero* (32), were very numerous at that time at *Rome*.

That *Virgil* proved a false prophet with respect to his wonderful child, the event has shewn, since he lived but nine days. But that the more miraculous child *Jesus*, who was born forty years after (33), has left us such a divine set of laws, as fully answer the glorious description which the prophets have given us of his reign; and which, duly and universally observed, would easily eclipse all that the poets have sung concerning their fabulous golden age, cannot be denied, our enemies themselves being judges.

(32) *Orat. pro Flacc.*
christianity.

(33) *Prid. Connell. sub an. A. C. 40. Vid. & Arch. Chandler's defence of*

- a yet such was their obstinacy, that they chose rather to perish than accept of a pardon. A notable instance of which the reader may see in the margin (Y).

Herod thinking by this time that he had pretty near reduced their gang, left the country under the command of *Ptolemy*, at the head of as many forces as he thought would suffice to keep it in awe; and took the road to *Samaria*, where he had left his family, with a design to go, and either begin the siege of *Jerusalem*, or bring *Antigonus* to a battle. He was no sooner gone, but those whom he had lately drove over *Jordan*, returned again, slew *Ptolemy*, and ravaged the country afresh; so that he was forced to come back with fresh forces, with which he so effectually destroyed them, and their lurking-places, and fined those towns so severely, which had given

- b them either shelter or relief, that he quite rid the province of that destructive vermine ^r.

THE *Parthians* having been defeated soon after by *Ventidius*, as shall be seen in the next chapter, that general by order of *Antony* sent *Machæras* with two legions and a thousand horse to assist *Herod* in his war against *Antigonus*; but this last having gained him over by a large sum, *Machæras* would needs march towards him under pretence of examining the strength of the place. *Herod* having tried in vain to dissuade him from it, began to suspect him of some treachery; but held his peace for the present. Not so did *Antigonus*, who seeing the *Romans* draw near the walls of *Jerusalem*, conceived such jealousy of them, that he caused his men to let fly some volleys of

Antigonus's ill treatment of Machæras.

- c arrows and stones against them, which so exasperated him, that he returned to *Emmaus*, and turned his arms against the *Jews* there, slaying indiscriminately all that came in his way, and among them a number of *Herod's* friends. *Herod*, who was then on the point of going to pay his respects to *Antony* at the siege of *Samofata*, threatened to complain of it to him; but *Machæras* hastening after, prevailed upon him to be reconciled, and to leave his brother *Joseph*, and a number of forces with him, to carry on the war during his absence; on this condition however, that they should undertake nothing that was hazardous till his return. In his march to *Antony's* camp, he was forced to fight his way through some bands of free-booters, or, as the fourth of the *Maccabees* calls them^s, wild *Arabs*, who had attacked him in the rear, which would
- d have been all cut off, if he had not come back to their assistance, and defeated the thievish gang. At his arrival before *Samofata*, he was received with all the marks of honour and esteem by the *Roman* triumvir, and did him many gallant services at that siege. In requital of which, when the city was taken, *Antony* left *Sosius* governor of *Syria* with the command of the *Roman* forces, and orders to assist *Herod* with them whenever he required it.

Herod on his return found his affairs strangely altered for the worse; his brother *Joseph* having forgot his orders, had made an incursion against *Jericho*, with his own troops, and five legions, which he received from *Machæras*; but the *Roman* horse being unfit for such rocky ground as he was then incamped upon, the enemy surprised

e and defeated him, after a noble defence, in which himself was killed by *Pappus* the *Roman* general. *Antigonus* caused his head to be cut off, and carried in triumph with him; but his brother *Pheroras* redeemed it soon after at the price of fifty talents. The consequence of this defeat was the total revolt of *Galilee*, where the wealthiest of *Herod's* party were barbarously flung in great numbers into the lake of *Tiberias*. *Idumea* was also on the point of revolting, when *Herod* appeared at the head of a fresh army, and in a little time reduced those two provinces again. At *Jericho*, where he gave an entertainment to his friends, he was twice in danger of his life, the first time by the fall of the banquetting-house, which the guests had but just quitted; and on the next day by a party of six thousand *Antigonians*, who came and assaulted his van-guard,

f and where he received a wound. His army still increasing, and *Machæras* stoutly defending himself against *Antigonus*, a battle was soon fought between the two anta-

Joseph defended and killed.

^r Id. *ibid.*

^s Cap. lii.

(Y) Our historian tells us (34), that an old man being hid in one of these caverns, his wife and seven sons, who were with him, did earnestly beseech him to suffer them to surrender themselves; but he placing himself at the mouth of the cave, stabbed them one after another, as they attempted

to pass by him, and cast them down the precipice, and himself next, after having vented some scandalous reflections on the meanness of *Herod's* extraction, who was at the same time making him all the signs of pardon and clemency.

gonists, wherein *Herod* gained a complete victory, and made a horrid slaughter of a the enemy: *Pappus* being found among the dead, he ordered his head to be cut off, and sent to *Pheroras*. His eagerness to revenge his brother's death, made him pursue his flying enemy with such uncommon swiftness and cruelty, that had he not been prevented by a violent storm, he might have gone strait to *Jerusalem*, and have taken it with ease, *Antigonus* being by that time so reduced, that he was upon the point of abandoning it; but by that time winter coming on, and the soldiers not being able to bear the fatigues of a siege, *Herod* put them into winter-quarters, and set about getting ready all things necessary for beginning it early the following spring ^c.

WHILST these preparations were making, *Herod* went to *Samaria*, and there consummated his marriage with *Mariamne*, whom he had betrothed four years before; but b had been hindered from marrying through the many troubles he was entangled in, though he had an extreme desire to see this union once happily accomplished (Z). By this time he had got a reinforcement of thirty thousand men, and *Sosius*, who had been sent to his assistance at the head of eleven legions, and six thousand horse, besides some auxiliary troops hired from *Syria*, was marching through *Phœnice* to join him, and with this numerous army, they went and besieged *Jerusalem* (A). The besieged on the other hand were no less numerous and resolute for a vigorous defence, the city being filled with *Jews*, who flocked thither from all parts of the kingdom. But these wanted military experience, and trusted either to their strength and courage, or to the sacredness of the temple, which they seemed confident would be defended by c some miraculous providence against an *Idumean* usurper, and an army of idolatrous *Romans*. They did likewise annoy the besiegers by frequent private sallies, in which they spoiled great quantities of their provisions and forage. But on the fortieth day of the siege, the *Romans*, in spite of the stout resistance from within, found means to scale the outward wall, and to make themselves masters of it; and on the fiftieth they got within the second, when some of the galleries about the temple being set on fire, *Herod* threw all the odium of it on *Antigonus*. The lower city being taken, the besieged betook themselves to the higher, and to the temple, where they suffered very much through famine, it being the *sabbatic year* ^d. However, they built a new wall instead of that which was beaten down, countermined the enemy, and fought sometimes above and sometimes under-ground, and with more despair than true courage. At length, after a five months close siege, by so numerous an army (B), *Herod* finding them as obstinate as ever, ordered a general assault to be made, which both his and the *Roman* troops performed with such vigour, that they forced them at length to surrender. *Antigonus* himself came down from a tower, where he had defended himself as long as he could, threw himself at *Sosius's* feet, and in the most abject and submissive guise implored his mercy. But the elated *Roman*, instead of expressing the least concern for that unfortunate prince, upbraided him with cowardice and effeminacy, calling him in the feminine gender *Antigona*, and ordered e him to be put under a strong guard. The *Romans* at the same time having dispersed themselves through all the quarters of the upper city, made a terrible slaughter of the *Jews*, and plundered and ravaged every place they came near, to be revenged, as they expressed it, for the length and fatigue of the siege. The very sanctuary was in danger of undergoing the same fate, had not *Herod* prevented it, partly by fair, partly by threatening words, and even by mere force. He sent at the same time a severe message to *Sosius*, complaining, that if this plunder and butchery were not

Jerusalem be-
sieged by Herod

Taken by storm.

Saved from de-
struction by
Herod.

^c Antiq. & bell. Jud. ubi supra.

^d De hoc vid. Vol. I. p. 612, a, b.

(Z.) We have already given the character and descent of this excellent prince, and *Herod* had great reason to hope that this marriage would effectually reconcile him to the *Jewish* nation, whom he knew to retain an affectionate zeal for the *Asmonean* family, of which she was descended by the two brothers, *Hyrcan* and *Aristobulus*, as we hinted in a former note. This he thought would likewise facilitate the surrender of *Jerusalem*, by withdrawing numbers of the besieged *Jews* from the faction of *Antigonus*.

(A) *Josephus* tells us, that the *Roman* legions did not consist of a certain number, but amounted, some

to four thousand, some to five thousand, and some to six thousand; but however, if we take them at the lowest, and join to them the *Jewish* and *Syrian* forces, this army must have amounted to above sixty thousand men.

(B) All this while *Herod* still behaved with great moderation towards the *Antigonians*, not only promising them his pardon, and kind reception, but at their desire, supplying them with all necessary victims for their daily and other sacrifices, not doubting but that he might in time mollify them into a surrender, but all proved in vain (34).

(34) Antiq. ubi supra, cap. 28. sub fin. bell. Jud. l. i. c. 13.

stopped,

a stopped, the *Romans* would leave him king only of a bare wilderness; and that as for himself, he should look upon his success as the most unhappy thing that could befall him, if it must be attended with the profanation of that sacred place, the access to which was permitted to none but to the *Jewish* priests. To all this *Sofius* answered, that he did not well know how to forbid his troops the plundering of a place that had been taken by assault; so that *Herod* saw himself under a necessity of saving both temple and city from all further devastation, by a large donative out of his own coffers.

b Thus was this city taken after a siege of near six months (C), and with its surrender, ended the reign of the *Asmoneans*, after it had continued a hundred and twenty-nine years from *Judas Maccabeus* taking the *Jewish* government upon him (D). *Antigonus*, the last male of that race that bore the regal title, was clapped in irons by *Sofius*, who having presented a crown of gold to the temple, left *Jerusalem*, and took the unhappy prince with him, and delivered him to *Antony*; by whom he was, at the earnest solicitations of *Herod*, put to a shameful death (E), in the third year of his reign ^a.

Antigonus put to death.
Year of the flood 2962
Before Christ 37.

^a Antiq. l. xv. c. 1. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 13. Vid. & USSER. sub A. M. 3967.

(C) Reckoning from *Herod's* first setting down before it; for it was not till some time after that *Sofius* joined him with his troops, and carried on the siege jointly with him.

(D) *Josephus* reckons but a hundred and twenty-six years (35); but he must be understood only from the time that *Judas* was established in his government by his peace with *Antiochus*, three years after he had taken it into his hands.

It is true, however, his successors did not take the title of kings, as we have seen in the course of this section, till *Aristobulus*, or rather till *Alexander Jannæus*; but that family still enjoyed the peculiar privilege of joining the pontifical with the regal or supreme dignity.

(E) The *Jewish* historian observes, that *Antony* would willingly have reserved *Antigonus* for his future triumph, but that *Herod*, who feared every thing from his rival, if he should ever have an opportunity to plead his own cause before the senate,

ceased not to importune that general to put him to death, and obtained it at last by a large sum of money. But he caused that unhappy prince to be executed in so shameful a manner, as he given just occasion to several ancient authors to condemn it as a piece of injustice and cruelty, never till then allowed of by the *Romans* (26).

For having caused him to be condemned as a private criminal, and without regard to his illustrious descent, the sentence was executed accordingly at *Antioch*, where having been first tied and whipped at a stake, his head was cut off, after having been all along flattered with promises of life. This punishment *Strabo* in the place above-quoted observes, had never been inflicted on any crowned head; but *Antony* thought it necessary by such an ignominious death to render him contemptible to the *Jews*, to prevent their raising any new tumults against his generous friend *Herod* (37).

(35) *Ibid.* (36) *Vid. ins. ad. Plutarch. in Anton. Dion. lib. xlix. Strab. ap. Joseph. Antiq. l. xv. c. 1.* (37) *Ibid.*

SECT. V.

The history of the Jews from Herod to the birth of CHRIST.

a THE taking of *Jerusalem*, and the death of *Antigonus*, having now fixed *Herod* ^{*Herod's cruel*} upon the *Jewish* throne, he was soon obliged to bend his thoughts on two im- ^{*beginning.*} portant concerns; the one to replenish his coffers exhausted, partly by the large sums with which he had been forced to buy the friendship of the *Roman* generals, and even *Antony* himself; and partly by the profuseness with which he rewarded his own and the *Roman* troops for their past services, and especially for saving the city and temple from plunder and ruin: the other was to suppress the opposite *Jewish* faction, which, in spite of his rival's ignominious death, retained an invincible attachment to the *Asmonean* family, and an irreconcilable hatred to his own. These two points, which could not be gained, the one without a great deal of oppression, and the other **b** without much cruelty and blood-shed, we must look upon as the two main springs of all his actions, and the causes of his uneasy reign. Accordingly, upon his having got possession of that metropolis, he caused all the gold, silver, and other valuable things he found in it, to be carried into his own palace, by which he amassed immediately an immense treasure; but as a great part of it had been already promised to the *Romans*, and was actually given to them, he reimbursed himself by the forfeiture of the estates of the *Antigonian* faction, causing the wealthiest of them to be seized, and forty-five of the principal of them to be put to death (A). And such

was

(A) We took notice in the last section, that *Herod* spared that very *Sameas*, who had appeared the most

in-repid against him, at his trial before the *Synhedrin*; as well as *Pollio*, another learned and valuable *Jew*,

was his jealousy in this respect, that he caused guards to be planted at their gates, ^a to examine, as they were carrying them to their graves, whether they were really dead, and whether any riches were conveyed off with their bodies; in which case they were seized upon, and sent into his treasury. Upon the whole, his necessities and profuseness were so great, that he spared no extortion to supply them; inasmuch that this being the *sabbatic* year, in which there was neither planting nor sowing, and all the country round about having been so terribly plundered and ravaged, both before and during the siege, nothing less than a grievous famine was expected to have filled the whole land ^a.

Herod had still another rival left, who, though at a great distance from him, and kept, as it were, a prisoner in *Parthia*, did not suffer his mind to be at ease, till he had ^b quite rid himself of him. This was *Hyrcan* the deposed king and high-priest, whom *Pacorus* had carried thither with him in chains. But when *Pbraartes* came to be informed of his high birth and dignity, he generously took off his chains, and permitted him to live in *Babylon*, where he was highly respected, not only by the great numbers of *Jews* who dwelt in that city, but likewise by all those that lived beyond the *Euphrates*, who all looked upon him as their rightful prince, and high-priest. Their veneration for him was raised still higher, when they understood that *Herod* had filled the pontifical chair with an old acquaintance of his own, named *Ananel*, ^a a descendant of one of those priestly families that settled at *Babylon* after the captivity, and whom that politic prince caused to be fetched from thence merely on the score of ^c his meanness and obscurity; that being without friends or interest in *Judaea*, he might be contented with his sacerdotal function, without interfering with the regal prerogative.

*Hyrcanus's
happiness in
Parthia.*

Hyrcan might then have thought himself happy in his exile, being thus respected by the *Parthian* king, and by all the *Jews* of the dispersion: yet such was his love for his country, or rather his fatal confidence in the new *Jewish* monarch, that as soon as he heard of his being on the throne, he conceived a great desire of spending the

^a Antiq. l. xv. c. 1. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 13.

Jew, who had been a great stickler for *Hyrcan* against him; and these were not the only two instances of *Herod's* clemency. We have elsewhere seen other marks of his generous forgiveness; and it is likely, that if he could have supported his new regal dignity without those violent means, which the obstinacy of the *Jews*, and the emptiness of his coffers forced him to, it would have been much more agreeable to his temper, which was really generous even to profuseness.

However, we must own, that these two great men, whom he not only spared above all the rest, but took into his special favour and confidence, had, notwithstanding all the incense which the rabbies give them for their courage and intrepidity, taken care to make their peace with him, during the siege, by exhorting the besieged to open their gates to him.

For whilst the *Antigonian* faction were encouraging the superstitious *Jews* with crying the temple of the Lord, and making them expect some miraculous deliverance, these two politicians, foreseeing that the city could not hold out much longer against such a vigorous siege, and under the excessive want of all provisions, did with a kind of prophetic confidence assure them, that all resistance was vain, since the thing was from the Lord, who for their sins was now bringing them in subjection to this foreigner (38). So that had *Herod* been of a more vindictive temper than he really was, yet this piece of service could not have failed of reconciling them to his favour.

There was indeed some ground for what they affirmed in favour of *Herod*, if what *Josephus* (39) says be true, that one *Menahem*, a cotemporary of theirs, and an *Essenian*, endowed with the spirit of

prophecy, had long before foretold his rise to the crown; the story runs thus:

Herod being met one day by this *Menahem*, then a boy, whilst himself was amongst his school-fellows, was accosted by him in a serious manner, with a *Hail, king of the Jews*; and was assured by him that providence had determined to raise him from his *Plinian* extraction to that supreme dignity. The young prophet at the same time bid him remember, when he was come to it, that it was his duty to govern with justice and equity, though, added he in the conclusion, I foresee that you will take quite different methods, and thereby bring a miserable end upon your head.

Herod however did not think any more of it till he had got the crown; but then calling to mind his prediction, he sent for him, to inquire how long he should reign, not doubting but that he, who had foretold him the one, might as easily tell him the other. *Menahem* not answering directly to the question, was asked again, whether he thought that he should reign ten years; Yes, yes, answered the *Essene*, twenty or thirty, and there stopped; and *Herod* being satisfied with that number, urged him no further.

Menahem was then, it seems (40), vice-president of the Sanhedrin, under *Hillel*, the same, as is supposed, whom *Josephus* calls *Pollio*; but *Herod* having drawn him into his service, appointed *Sameas* to succeed him in that office. From that time, not only *Menahem*, but his whole sect, grew in great favour with that monarch. We shall find a proper place to speak more fully of the *Essenes*, when we come to describe the different sects which reigned in our Saviour's time among the *Jews*.

(38) *Id. Ibid. Vid. & l. xiv. c. 17. lib. viii. sub A. ant. Christ. 37.*

(39) *Antiq. l. xv. c. 13.*

(40) *Vid. Frid. Conneft. part 1.*

- a remainder of his life with him. His friends, to whom he communicated his thoughts, tried in vain to dissuade him from it, by representing to him the folly and hazard of putting himself in that monarch's power, especially since he could hardly expect either greater honour or happiness at *Jerusalem*, than he enjoyed at *Babylon*. But could arguments have prevailed with him, *Herod* would have left no means untried to have frustrated them, and made sure of him. He began however with sending him a kind invitation to come and bear a partnership with him of his power and grandeur, and reap the fruits of his gratitude for his former kindness. But lest this invitation should fail, he backed it with an embassy to *Pbraartes*, in which he begged of him to give the pontiff leave to return to *Judea*. *Santacalla*, who was charged with this embassy, was ordered to make some considerable presents to the *Parthian* king and court, and succeeded so well in his negotiation, that *Hyrcau*, in spite of all the remonstrances of his friends to the contrary, left his safe asylum for *Jerusalem*, where *Herod* at first received him with great friendship and magnificence, and forgot nothing that could possibly conceal the treacherous design he was hatching against his life ^b.

*Persuaded to
return into
Judea.*

- WHILST this was doing, *Herod* was not a little disturbed with domestic jars. *Alexandra* the daughter of *Hyrcau*, and mother of *Aristobulus* and *Mariamne*, a woman of a haughty spirit, could not bear with any patience, to see an obscure *Babylonish* priest preferred before her son to the pontifical dignity, from which *Hyrcau* was now disabled by the loss of his ears. She was ever expostulating with him the injury done to her son, and insisting, that the pontifical dignity belonging in right of succession to him alone, as being descended by father and mother from *Alexander Jannæus* (B), none but he ought in justice to be invested with it. But *Herod*, who was conscious that the young prince had an equal right likewise to the regal dignity, which he now usurped from him, was afraid to grant her the one, lest she should find some means in time of seizing upon the other. This obliged her to write to *Cleopatra*, not doubting but her interest with *Antony* might greatly influence that general in favour of her son. It was impossible for her to carry on that correspondence so closely, but *Herod* had some intimation of it; and fearing the worst from those two intriguing princesses, he was forced for the present to consent to have *Ananel* deposed, and *Aristobulus* invested with that dignity, pretending that he had only given it to the former, till the latter was come to be of an age fit for it (C).

THIS condescension of *Herod*, backed with so plausible an excuse, wrought a kind of reconciliation between them, but which was nothing less than sincere on either side,

^b *Antiq. ubi supra, cap. 2.*

(B) *Aristobulus*, as the son of *Alexander*, and grandson of *Hyrcau* and of *Aristobulus*; the sons of *Alexander Jannæus*, had the right both to the regal and pontifical dignity united in him. For he was grandson to the former by his mother *Alexandra*, who was his only child; and by his father *Alexander*, he was grandson to *Aristobulus*. By his descent from the latter, he had a right to the high-priesthood, which was fixed to the male line; and by his descent from both, he would have had the only title to the crown also, had not the *Romans* transferred it to *Herod* (41).

(C) This is the third person that had hitherto been deposed from the pontifical dignity since the *Jews* return from the *Babylonish* captivity, and *Herod* was so sensible of the illegality of it, that when *Antony* sent to desire him to put *Aristobulus* into *Ananel's* room, he excused himself from it at first, by remonstrating to him, that such depositions were contrary to the *Mosaic* law; according to which, it is certain, that dignity could not end but with the death of its possessor, unless some illegal defect happened to disqualify him †.

The first instance we read of this irregular proceeding is, that of *Jafon's* or *Jesui's* supplanting his brother *Onias*, and by a larger sum of money buying that dignity of *Antiochus*, in prejudice of the incumbent (42). The other was that of *Hyrcau* by

his nephew *Aristobulus*, who wrested that dignity from him by main force. But these depositions became afterwards so frequent, that there was hardly any other way of coming into that office, but by the expulsion of the incumbent.

The fourth book of *Maccabees* says, that *Antony* having sent a pressing command to *Herod* to send *Aristobulus* to him, *Herod* not daring to venture that young prince out of his sight, halted to make him high-priest before he read that general's orders; and then sent him word, that he being now invested with the pontifical dignity, it was unlawful for him to stir out of the *Jewish* dominions (43).

Josephus agrees in part with that author (44), but adds, that *Antony* having received the pictures of *Mariamne* and *Aristobulus*, which their mother by the advice of *Cleopatra*, had sent to him, that their extreme beauty might make a favourable impression on that effeminate general; *Antony* not daring to send for *Mariamne*, desired only *Aristobulus* to be sent to him. But *Herod* not daring to trust so beautiful a young person, who was then but sixteen years old, with one so infamous for his incontinency, was forced to excuse his refusal, with pretending that the young prince was so great a darling of the *Jewish* nation, that it would infallibly involve it into a civil war, should he comply with his request.

(41) *Antiq. l. xv. cap. 2, & 3.*
Vol. IV. p. 47.

(42) *Cap. iv.*

VOL. IV. N^o 2.

† *De hoc vid. sup. Vol. I. p. 635, & seq.*

(44) *vid. supra, cap. 2.*

M III

(42) See before,

especially

Herod plagued
with domestic
ars.

especially on *Herod's*, who still suspected the intrigues of the mother, and the merit ^a of the son, whose high birth, and blooming virtues, joined to a graceful person, attracted the eyes and hearts of the *Jewish* nation. Upon some pretence therefore or other, he quarrelled with *Alexandra*, forbade her to meddle with any public affairs, and at last caused her to be confined to her palace, and to be closely watched. In the mean time, *Cleopatra* having sent her and her son an invitation to come to her, she was easily persuaded to accept it, since she could now only look upon herself as *Herod's* prisoner, from whose jealousy she had every thing to fear. The difficulty was how to conceal their flight from his watchful spies: she intrusted her design only to two faithful servants, one of whom was to procure her a ship to carry them off, and the other to provide two coffins, one for her son, and the other for herself, to convey ^b them in that manner to the ship. But unfortunately one of the two servants inadvertently mentioned the matter to a third, whom he thought to have been in the secret, who immediately took hold of this opportunity to ingratiate himself to *Herod*, and made a full discovery of the design. *Herod* stayed only till the mother and son were conveyed some part of the way in their coffins, and then caused them to be arrested, and brought back. His fear however of *Cleopatra's* resentment, prevented his expressing his own against them; and since he found it unsafe to punish them, he put on the mask of clemency, and was outwardly reconciled to them, but from that moment resolved to get rid of the young prince.

AN accident happened soon after, which determined him to hasten his death. ^c The feast of the tabernacles, one of the three grand festivals, was come, which was usually solemnized with the greatest magnificence [†]; when the new high-priest, who was then about seventeen years of age, appeared at the altar in his pontifical ornaments, and officiated with such majesty and grace, that the people thought they beheld all the merit and grandeur of his ancestors revived in him. They could not forbear filling the temple and city with their praises, which raised the tyrant's jealousy to such a height, as made him resolve to put his murdering design in execution with utmost speed. Accordingly, as soon as the solemnity was over, he went with him to *Jericho*, where *Alexandra* had invited them to a sumptuous entertainment. The weather being hot, *Aristobulus* was invited to bathe in a fine fish-pond in that neigh- ^d bourhood, where some of *Herod's* hired creatures were swimming; and where, as soon as they had him in their hands, they kept him still under water, till he was dead. This bloody deed was glossed over with the specious pretence of its being done in sport, by accident, and without any design on the pontiff's life; and *Herod* not only seemed to believe it, but took all the pains he could to have it thought so by the rest, by putting himself into the deepest mourning for him, ordering a stately monument to be erected to his memory, and his funeral obsequies to be performed with utmost magnificence. This was the end of young *Aristobulus*, which filled the city and kingdom with inexpressible grief; he died in the eighteenth year of his age, having scarce enjoyed his dignity one whole year, which upon his death returned to *Ananel*. ^e

Alexandra
plots against
him.

Summoned to
appear before
Antony.
Acquitted.

ALL these grimaces of *Herod* to disculpate himself of the murder, were easily seen through by the people, and only rendered him more odious to them, and much more so to his own family. *Alexandra*, at the first news of her son's death, could scarcely be kept from laying violent hands on herself; but upon cooler thoughts, she prevailed on herself to conceal her resentment against the tyrant, that she might the more easily compass his ruin. She wrote to acquaint *Cleopatra* with his treachery, and that princess, moved rather by her ambition and avarice, than by a sense of pity or of horror for the crime, ceased not to solicit *Antony* to punish the murderer, in hopes that after his death, she might easily obtain his kingdom for herself. *Antony* being at length pre- ^f vailed upon, sent orders to *Herod* to come and clear himself before him at *Laodicea*, whether he was then a coming, and *Cleopatra* along with him. *Herod* was obliged to obey, though much against his will; but took care to bribe his judge so high, that upon his appearing before him, he was most basely absolved, and *Cleopatra's* avarice compensated with the province of *Cælo-Syria*, instead of that of *Judæa*.

Herod however, not knowing how it would go with him in *Syria*, had before his departure given express orders to his uncle *Joseph*, whom he left governor during his absence, that in case he was cast for his life, he should put his beloved *Mariamne* to death. The violence of his passion for that princess extorted this inhuman com-

[†] De hac vid. sup. Vol. I. p. 686, & seq.

* Antiq. ubi supra. c. 3.

a mand from him. He knew that the fame of her beauty had long since captivated the *Roman* triumvir, and the thoughts of leaving her in the possession of such a rival, even after his death, were more dreadful to him than any death he could inflict on him; and his uncle was forced to rid him of that anguish by the promise of a punctual obedience. When he was gone, *Joseph*, who waited daily on her, either on affairs of state, or to pay his respects to her, took all opportunities of extolling *Herod's* extreme passion for her, and at length was indiscreet enough to disclose the fatal orders he had left with him, as an irrefragable proof of the greatness and sincerity of it. But the queen looking upon it rather as an argument of his jealousy and inhumanity, conceived from it a more invincible hatred against him. In the mean time there was a
 b rumour spread through the city, whether by *Herod's* enemies, or by some of his subtle agents, that *Antony* had put him to a cruel death; which cast the whole court, but especially *Alexandra* and *Mariamne*, into a great consternation. *Alexandra* had by this time been informed with the bloody orders left with *Joseph*; to prevent the execution of which, she went to him, and strove with all her eloquence to persuade him to leave *Jerusalem*, and to go and put themselves under the protection of the *Roman* eagles that were planted in the neighbourhood of the city (D). Their deliberations were quickly broken off by letters from *Herod*, which informed her, that he had not only gained his cause, but that *Antony* was daily heaping fresh marks of his affection upon him, and that he should soon return to *Jerusalem* more strengthened than
 c ever in his kingdom. This news made them lay aside their design; but as they had not carried it on so closely, but *Salome* had received some intimation of it, she failed not to inform her brother of it upon his arrival. Some injurious reflections which *Mariamne* had cast on the meanness of her birth, had exasperated her so far, that she had vowed a most dreadful revenge; and she took this opportunity of completing it, by accusing her of having held too great a familiarity with *Joseph* during his absence, though he was both her own uncle and husband (E).

Mariamne
sensibly accused.

Mariamne did easily clear her innocence, upon her first interview with the king; but whilst he was entertaining her with the protestations of his love to her, she could not forbear at length mentioning the orders he had left with his uncle, as rather a
 d token of his barbarity to her. These words, which stabbed that jealous monarch to the heart, made him conclude, that nothing less than the criminal conversation, with which *Salome* had accused her, could have induced his uncle to disclose the fatal secret. In the first sally of his fury, he was on the point of sacrificing her with his own hand, had not his love prevailed over his resentment. But *Joseph* and *Alexandra* fell the unhappy victims of his rage; the first of whom he caused to be put to immediate death, refusing even to see him, or hear what could be urged in his defence; the latter he caused to be put in chains, and confined to a close prison under a strong guard, as the main cause of all this mischief.

Joseph put to
death.

His fury was soon after diverted by the coming of *Cleopatra* into *Judæa*, in her
 e return from the *Euphrates*, whither she had accompanied *Antony*. That princess, whose avarice was as insatiable as her lust, had disobliged him sensibly by both these passions. On the one hand, she had obtained from her paramour all the fertile territories of *Jericho*, which were by far the richest and pleasantest of all *Judæa*, especially upon the score of the balm (F), and the great quantity of palm-trees which grew in it,

Cleopatra
comes to *Jerusalem*.

(D) The eagles were the principle standards of the *Roman* legions; they used to be set up in some eminent place of their camp to receive the adoration of the army, and to protect those who took sanctuary under them, they being allowed an inviolable asylum to such.

The *Romans* had left a legion in the neighbourhood of that metropolis under the command of one *Julius*, and it was under his standards that *Alexandra* proposed to take refuge, when the news of her son-in-law's death came to her ears.

(E) We have had occasion to shew in a former volume, how far it was lawful, according to the law of *Moses*, for an uncle to marry his niece, tho' not for an aunt to marry her nephew. We refer

the reader to what has been further said upon that head by a late learned writer (45).

(F) This precious plant, so famous for its balsam, the most valuable of all ointments, is affirmed by *Pliny* (46) to have grown only in two gardens belonging to the *Jewish* monarchs, one of them containing only twenty acres, and the other still somewhat less. But *Cleopatra* caused a number of them to be carried into *Egypt*, where it is said to grow in great quantity at this very day (47).

But it is plain beyond all controversy, that this plant is the natural growth of *Arabia*, especially in the neighbourhoods of *Mecca* and *Medina*, where it grows wild even in sandy grounds, though that which is cultivated in gardens is reckoned the finest

+ *Psalm* l. p. 678, a, b. *Vid. & Levit. xviii. 12, & seq. xx. 19.* (45) *Frid. Connell. sub A. ant. Christ.*
 187. (46) *Nat. Hist. l. xii. c. 15.* (47) *Vid. Dapper. descr. of Egypt.*

and brought *Herod* a considerable revenue ^d. On the other, she was soliciting that a monarch to an amour all the time she stayed with him. *Herod*, who had conceived a great aversion to her, was consulting all the time he entertained her with utmost magnificence, of some means of putting her to death, whilst he had her in his power; but his friends dreading the consequences of such a fact, did not only dissuade him from it, but prevailed on him to glut at least her avarice with costly presents, which he did with surprising profuseness. However, as he had refused to gratify her other predominant passion, he feared lest her resentment on that score, joining with the invincible hatred which the *Jews* had conceived against him, should one day prove fatal to him. To prevent which, after he had accompanied her as far as *Pelusium*, he went and fortified the castle of *Massada*, and furnished it with arms and provisions ^b for ten thousand men, that at all events he might have a sure place of refuge to flee to. At the same time he took constant care to send that princess the revenues of those territories which *Antony* had given from him to her, that she might have no pretence to fall out with him upon that score ^e.

BUT this was not sufficient to prevent the effects of that base princess's resentment; and she soon after laid such a plot against him, that all his strength and courage were hardly sufficient to save him from ruin. We have elsewhere taken notice that she had obtained a great many provinces from *Antony*, in *Syria*, *Phœnice*, and *Arabia*. The latter of these had paid tribute to her constantly enough, whilst *Antony* was in power; but after his defeat, at the battle of *Actium*, of which we shall speak in a more proper place, *Malchus*, then king of that country, refused all further payment to her. *Herod*, who had got a complete army, with which he designed to assist his friend *Antony* against *Octavianus*, received orders from him to turn his forces against the *Arabians*. This was *Cleopatra's* plot; who by bringing these two kings to a battle, proposed to get the territories of the conquered, let the victory fall on which side it would. But as her spight against *Herod* was most prevailing, she sent one of her generals, named *Athenion*, who equally hated him, at the head of an army, under pretence of assisting him, but in reality to betray and ruin him, because she foresaw that he was like to have the better of his enemy. For *Herod* upon the first encounter had given them a great overthrow, and obliged them to get a fresh army ^d together, which *Malchus* brought into *Cælo-Syria*. Here a second battle was fought near *Cana* (G), in which *Herod* was on the point of getting anew victory; when *Athenion*, who had stood neuter all the time of the engagement, fell upon his troops, before they could rally themselves, and in spite of *Herod's* speedy assistance and bravery, cut the greatest part of the *Jews* in pieces, and plundered their camp, *Herod* himself escaping with great difficulty, with a small number of his men ^f. The *Maccabees* book adds, that *Athenion* was ordered to surround that monarch with his troops, as soon as he had engaged those of the *Arabians* ^g. However that be, *Herod* from that time forbore coming to an engagement with them, and contented himself with making frequent incursions against them, incamping always on the mountains; by which he got this double advantage, that he harassed the enemy, and inured his own troops to the trade of war.

Cleopatra's plot against Herod.

He is betrayed by Athenion.

^d Ibid. c. 4. Bell. Jud. lib. i. c. 13. & vii. c. 28.
^f Antiq. ubi supra, c. 6. ^g Cap. lvi.

^e Antiq. ubi supra, c. 5. Bell. Jud. lib. vii. c. 28.

finest (48). We have taken notice in a former volume of some that grew near the lake *Asphaltus*, and which brought a considerable revenue to the owners [†].

The balm was gathered from the shrub in the months of *July* and *August*, and in some warmer grounds even in *June*. It either drops of itself, or is made to do so by incision, with a sharp knife made, not of iron or steel, which they say is death to the plant, but either of glass, flint, or ivory. The liquor that distils from the plant is whitish at the first, then by degrees turns greenish, yellowish, and when very old, almost of the colour of honey. It is at first thin, and by degrees contracts a density like our terebinth, and is of so light a body, that

it swims on the surface of water, and when beaten with it, will turn white. There is so little that is brought genuine into *England*, that it is rarely used, though its virtues have been cried up by many ancient and modern authors; but even that which is least adulterated has a very ill quality amongst its excellent ones, namely, that the frequent use of it will in time dissolve the solid parts of the blood.

Besides what comes from the countries above-mentioned, there are some sorts of it brought from *America*, the most esteemed of which are those of *Pern* and *Tholu*.

(G) Probably *Cana* in *Syria*, on the other side of the *Libanus*, or *Cannash* on the other side *Jordan*, in the neighbourhood of *Bostra* in *Arabia* (49).

(48) *Id. ibid.* [†] Vol. III. p. 434, d. (49) *Enseb. Loc. Hebr. Vid. & Steph. Byz. sub voc. Cannash.*

Herod

- a Herod was by this time got into the seventh year of his reign^b, when Judæa was shaken with such an earthquake, as had never been felt before, and which destroyed great numbers of cattle, and many thousand persons who perished under the ruins of their houses (H). His troops indeed escaped the common ruin, because he kept them incamped in the open field; nevertheless, the great loss which the kingdom sustained by this calamity, obliged him to send an embassy to sue to the *Arabians* for peace. But by this time the account of his loss having been greatly magnified to them, they not only rejected his offers, but slew the ambassadors that brought them, and invaded Judæa with utmost speed, expecting to have found it destitute of defence. It was with the greatest difficulty that Herod kept his men from abandoning him; but having at length dispelled their fears, and offered the usual sacrifices, he went to meet the enemy on the other side of the *Jordan*, and there gave them two such signal defeats, that he forced them in their turn to sue for peace, and to accept it on his own conditions; after which he returned in triumph to *Jerusalem*^c (1).

Judæa greatly
damaged by an
earthquake.
Year of the
flood 2968.
Before Christ
31.

- BUT his happiness was soon after troubled by the defeat of *Antony* by *Augustus* at the battle of *Actium*, by which he saw himself deprived of a most powerful as well as steady friend, and on the brink of falling a sacrifice to the conqueror's resentment. The best expedient he could think on under this consternation, was to send advice to *Antony* to put *Cleopatra* to death, and to seize on her kingdom and treasures; by which he might be enabled to raise new forces, and either make a fresh push for the empire, or, at the worst, obtain easier conditions of peace. He promised him on those terms to stick fast to his interest, and to furnish him with money, troops, and strong-holds, and all other assistance to carry on the war against his rival. But *Antony* was still too great a slave to that princess, to consent to such an expedient; which when *Herod* perceived, he thought no more but how to make his peace with the conqueror on the best terms he could. He had still another dread upon him as great as the displeasure of *Cæsar*. *Hyrkan*, the only surviving male of the *Ashmonean* race, had been formerly acknowledged king of *Judæa*, and as such, had entered into alliances with the *Roman* senate. *Herod* on the other hand had been chiefly upheld in his throne by the interest of *Antony*; and *Alexandra*, ever watchful for all opportunities of being revenged on the usurper, had begun to try to gain some advantage from the late change of affairs against him. *Herod* therefore, who had his spies about him, thought it unsafe to go to *Augustus*, till he had drawn the father and the daughter into a snare, which might afford him a pretence for putting the former to death, which he did by causing him to be beheaded in the eightieth year of his age (K).

Antony's de-
feat at Actium.
Year of the
flood 2969
Before Christ
30.

THIS was the dismal end of that unfortunate prince, after a long series of unhappy vicissitudes. He was at first raised to the pontifical dignity by his mother *Alexandra*, and succeeded her soon after in the kingdom also; three months after which, he was deprived of both by his brother *Aristobulus*. He was restored to both by *Pompey*, and

^b Vid. Usser. Annal. sub A. M. 3973.

^c Antiq. ubi supra, c. 8, & 9. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 14.

* See his speech to *Augustus*, Bell. Jud. ubi supra, c. 15.

(H) Our historian in one place mentions but ten thousand slain (50), but in another he makes them to amount to three myriads, or thirty thousand men (1); which last is the more likely of the two, and agrees much better with the description he gives of that calamity.

(1) The first of these battles was fought near *Philadelphia*, in which five thousand *Arabians* were either killed on the spot, or trod to death in their flight. *Herod* having afterwards closely besieged them in their camp, where they were ready to perish for want of water; they offered him at first fifty talents for their freedom, which being rejected, they in great numbers came to surrender themselves till the fifth day, on which the rest in despair, and without hopes or prospect of success, attacked him, and had seven thousand killed. Upon which they submitted to his conditions, one of which was, that he was declared by them governor or protector of their nation (2).

(K) So says the fourth book of the *Maccabees* (3). The trap into which he was drawn was a master-

piece of his politic rival, who corrupted some of his and his daughters confidants, to set on foot a kind of treasonable correspondence, whether real or counterfeited, with *Malchus* king of *Arabia*, wherein *Hyrkan* desired to put himself again under his protection, and begged of him to send him some horsemen to conduct him from a private place near *Jerusalem*, to the lake *Asphaltites*, which was about ninety miles distant from that metropolis.

Dositheus, the agent of this correspondence, betrayed to *Herod* both this letter and the answer, in which the *Arabian* king promised him a safe escort to convey him away; *Herod* summoned the pontiff before his council, and having taxed him with it, and upon his denial, shewed him the very letter, caused him to be condemned to die.

This last article *Josephus* tells us (4), he took as he found it in the commentary which *Herod* left behind him; but at the same time he relates the matter somewhat differently from other hands. We refer the reader for it to the place last quoted.

(50) Antiq. ubi supra, s. 7.

(1) Bell. Judaic. l. i. c. 14.

(2) Ibid. ad fin. Antiq. ubi supra,

ad fin. (3) cap. 54.

(4) Antiq. ubi supra, cap. 9.

enjoyed them near forty years, till deposed again, and disqualified by *Antigonus*, who cut off his ears, and sent him prisoner into *Parthia*, from whence he unfortunately returned at the pressing invitation of *Herod*, who owed his life, crown, and all his greatness, to him, and who repaid all his kindnesses with a violent death¹.

Herod goes to Augustus.

Herod's next care before he departed, was to secure his family the best he could, in case he should miscarry in his address to *Augustus*. To that end, he committed his mother *Cyprus*, and his sister *Salome*, to the care of his brother *Pheroras*, whom he sent into the castle of *Alexandria*, with orders to this last to seize on the Jewish crown, and defend it to the last, in case he heard that it went ill with him. As for his wife *Mariamne*, and his mother *Alexandra*, he sent them into the strong fortress of *Massada*, and put them under the care of his treasurer, named *Joseph*, and of *Sobemus*, one of his chief confidants, with express orders to put those two princesses to death, as soon as he received the news of his ill success at the emperor's court; and then to go and assist his brother with all his power. He embarked soon after for *Rhodes*, where *Augustus* then was; and having obtained an audience from him, appeared before that prince in all his royal ornaments, except his diadem, and spoke to him with such a seeming confidence, as if he was sure before-hand to obtain what he came for. He made no difficulty to own his former attachment to *Antony's* interest, his assisting him with men, arms, money, and other necessaries for the war; and even the counsel he had given him after his defeat, of killing *Cleopatra*, and seizing on her kingdom, and immense treasure, in order to obtain a more advantageous peace. All this, said he, concluding his speech, I thought myself bound in honour, gratitude, and friendship, to do for *Antony*; but since he has rejected my last advice, and left me at liberty to make you a tender of my future services, if you think them worth your acceptance, and can but forget what is past, you shall find me henceforth as sincere and steadfast a friend to you, as I have been hitherto to your rival. An earnest of which he had already given to the emperor in the timely succour he had sent to *Q. Didius*, his governor in *Syria*, against *Antony's* gladiators (L). *Augustus* was very much taken both with his speech and gallant behaviour: he had likewise been acquainted with the succour he had sent to *Didius*, and thanked him for it, assuring him that he readily accepted of his friendship, confirmed the kingdom to him; in token of which, he ordered him to take up his diadem, and wear it before him. *Herod*, pleased with his good success, made some presents to *Augustus* and his favourites, according to his usual profuseness, and was from that time in greater esteem with him than any other tributary prince; so that he returned to *Jerusalem* highly satisfied with these additions of honour and power; but all this was soon soured by the ill reception he met with from his favourite *Mariamne*, and her exasperated mother^m.

His speech to him.

Is well received by him.

Troubled with domestic jars.

FOR these two princesses looking upon their confinement at *Massada* only as a more honourable imprisonment, and remembering with horror the bloody orders he had formerly left with his uncle *Joseph* concerning them, did not doubt but he had given the same to their two new guardians. To be satisfied of it, they spared neither presents nor caresses, till they got the fatal secret from *Sobemus*, so that when *Herod* came to *Massada*, and was going to embrace the queen with his usual tenderness, and to acquaint her with his success, he was surprized to find all his caresses answered with sighs and tears, and all other marks of grief and disdain. His resentment rose to such a height, that it extorted from him the bitterest reproaches, accompanied with such threatenings, as would have alarmed any woman but her. But his love, which was no less violent, seldom suffered those sallies of anger to be long-lived; till his mother and sister, tired and affrighted to see him still floating between those opposite passions, found out a way to work her effectual ruin, by raising the vilest surmises and calumnies against her unspotted character.

¹ Antiq. ubi supra, c. 9.

^m Ibid. c. 10.

(L) These were an abject race, whom *Antony* had brought up at *Cyzicum* to exhibit triumphant sports; and these, when they heard of his defeat, determined to go into *Egypt* to his assistance. They had fought their way through several provinces in their march thither, *Didius* was the first who put a stop

to their progress, being privately assisted by *Herod* with some troops; and at length prevailed upon them to quit their gladiatorial employment, after they had waited a long time in vain for *Antony's* joining them (5).

(5) Antiq. ubi supra, c. 10.

■ IN the mean time *Augustus* passing through *Syria* in his way to *Egypt*, *Herod*, who went to meet him as far as *Ptolemais*, entertained him and his army with incredible magnificence; and besides a present that he made to him of eight hundred talents, took care to furnish his army with bread, wine, and other provisions, as they marched through some barren deserts, where they might have been otherwise in danger of wanting even bread and water. He accompanied him as far as *Pelusium*, and that emperor was so charmed with his politeness and generosity, that he made him ride by his side whenever he went to review his troops, or upon any diversion. He gave him the same magnificent reception upon his return from *Egypt*, as he passed through *Syria*; in return of which, *Augustus* made him a present of the four thousand *Gauls*, which had served as life-guards to *Cleopatra*, and restored to him the territories and revenues of *Jericho*, *Gadara*, *Hippon*, and *Samaria*, in the inlands, and those of *Gaza*, *Anthedon*, *Joppa*, and the tower of *Straton* on the sea-side, which made a considerable enlargement both to his kingdom and revenues. But upon his return to *Jerusalem*, he relapsed into his former discontent and jealousies, on account of his beloved queen, whose aversion to him did daily increase, insomuch that she came at last to treat him with such contempt, and accompanied it with such bitter reflections, as easily convinced him that she had conceived an irreconcilable hatred against him. She gave him a mortifying instance of it soon after, and such a one as hastened her death, by giving her enemies an opportunity of taking the blackest means for pushing his fury against her to the highest pitch.

His magnificent reception of Augustus.

Mariamne's aversion to him.

Herod, who had by this time floated near a year between the most violent affection and resentment, had withdrawn himself into his chamber to rest himself during the heat of the day; he sent for her, and in the kindest manner invited her to lie down by him; but she, instead of complying with this last request, returned his caresses with invincible scorn, upbraided him with all the other wrongs he had done to her and her family, and particularly the death of her father and brother, which so exasperated that fierce monarch, that he was on the point of killing her with his own hands. *Salome* did not let this opportunity slip of putting her hellish engines at work against that unfortunate princess: she had corrupted the king's cup-bearer before-hand to be ready on the first call with one of the blackest accusations against her; and now she sent him to *Herod*, with a poisoned cup in one hand, and a sum of money in the other, to acquaint him that *Mariamne* had bribed him with the one to administer the other to him. The rage this new accusation threw him in, made him order one of her favourite eunuchs and confidants to be put to the rack; but all the confession he could extort from him was, that he believed the cruel orders he had lately left with *Sobemus*, had exasperated that princess against him (M). *Herod*, enraged that a person in whom he reposed so great confidence, should dare, in spite of his express commands to the contrary, to disclose so important a secret, was easily persuaded that there must have been some criminal conversation between them, and therefore ordered that favourite to be put to immediate death. As for *Mariamne*, he resolved to have her publicly tried, and having packed up a set of judges of his own creatures, he himself carried on the prosecution with such violence, that they easily understood they must condemn her to death, though they all hoped and begged that he would not precipitate their sentence, but confine her to some castle, till he had more maturely consulted with his own heart. But *Salome*, who knew how apt her brother was to relapse, and fearing some discovery might come out of her treachery to her, if her death should be delayed, did at length obtain an order from him for her execution, under pretence that the nation would rise up in arms for her, if he suffered her to live any longer.

She is falsely accused.

Tried and condemned to die.

Mariamne received the fatal summons with an heroic courage becoming her exalted virtue and quality, and marched to the place of execution with incredible serenity, till an accident befel her, which put her constancy to the severest trial. Her mother, the turbulent intriguing *Alexandra*, who expected nothing but to follow her in a short

(M) The fourth book of the *Maccabees* (6) says, it was *Joseph*, and not *Sobemus*, that betrayed the secret, and that it was not the eunuch, but *Mariamne* herself, who in a fit of resentment upbraided the brutal king with it. But it is hardly probable, considering the punishment that she had seen inflicted on *Herod's* uncle for the like discovery, that *Mari-*

amne would have exposed either of these to the effects of his fury.

Besides, we cannot suppose, that either *Joseph* or *Sobemus* would have ventured to disclose the matter to her without some previous promise of secrecy, and *Mariamne* was a princess of too strict virtue and honour to have broke it upon any account.

time, could think on no better expedient to avert the impending storm, than by trying to ingratiate herself to *Herod*, by insulting her unfortunate daughter all the way she was led to the fatal place; and not contented to load her with the bitterest of reproaches for her ingratitude and faithlessness to the best of husbands, she made several offers to strike her, and pull her by her hair. *Mariamne* bore all her pretended resentment without betraying any other change in her countenance, than an inward shame at so base an artifice, which proved however far enough from succeeding, as the sequel will presently shew. *Mariamne* submitted to her death with the same constancy and intrepidity as she had lived^a, and with her ended all the happiness of her tyrannic husband.

Her death.

Herod's remorse.

A grievous plague. Year of the flood 2971. Before Christ 28.

Herod's rage being soon quenched with the blood of that amiable princess, his love broke out the more fiercely, and filled him with such pungent remorse, that his life became a burthen to him. He tried in vain to divert his grief with feasting, and other diversions; *Mariamne* was still uppermost in his thoughts, he called aloud after her, and sometimes would order those of his attendance to fetch her to him. A grievous pestilence, which happened soon after, and swept away multitudes of people of all ranks, added a fresh load to his misery, because it was universally looked upon as a just judgment on him for all the blood he had shed, and especially that of his injured queen. At first he withdrew himself into some of the neighbouring deserts, under pretence of hunting; but really to avoid the sight of men. At length being seized with a violent distemper in his bowels, he returned to *Samaria*, where his physicians tried in vain to give him some ease; their medicines did but increase his pain, through his wilfulness, and irregular living. His constitution did however get the better of his disease, but never could of his sour and brutish humour; to which he abandoned himself more and more, as he recovered his health and strength. He grew up at length to such a height of cruelty, that he spared neither friend nor foe in his fits of rage, and went on sacrificing numbers of his relations and best friends to his passion, even to the day of his death.

Alexandra put to death.

Salome divorces her husband. Year of the flood 2973. Before Christ 26.

Alexandra, the base and unnatural mother of the late virtuous *Mariamne*, was one of the very first that fell a victim to his rage after her injured daughter. The hopes of *Herod's* death, while he lay sick at *Samaria*, had made her set her wits to work to corrupt the governors of the two principal fortresses of *Judaea*, the one called *Antonia* near the temple, and the other in the city of *Jerusalem*, to deliver them up into her hands (N), together with *Herod's* children, pretending thereby to secure the kingdom for his sons by *Mariamne* in case of their father's death. But her restless and intriguing genius was so well known to those governors, that instead of complying with her request, they informed the king with it, who sent orders back to have her immediately put to death, which was accordingly done without further trial. The next was his brother-in-law *Costobares*, who was an *Idumean*, and had married *Salome*, after *Herod* had put her first husband to death, as we have related above. This man, whom *Herod* had raised from an inferior rank (O) to the government of *Idumea*, had justly incurred his displeasure, by endeavouring to make himself and that province independent from him, and applying to *Cleopatra* for assistance. *Herod* would have put him to immediate death, had not *Salome* interposed; but she being since fallen out with, and willing to get rid of him, first sent him a bill of divorce; and to justify that unlawful action to her brother (P), told him that she had discovered a treasonable design, which

^a Ibid. c. 11.

(N) These two fortresses were justly looked upon as the two main keys of the kingdom, the one commanding the temple, and the other the city; so that it was of utmost consequence to the candidates for the crown to be masters of them, or at least of the first of them; for the *Jews* had such an invincible attachment to the worship of the temple, that there was scarce any thing, even life itself, which they would not sacrifice to the liberty of coming to that sacred place at all proper times and solemnities.

(O) He was descended from the ancient priest of *Chofe*, a deity of the *Idumeans*, before they were

forced by *Hyrtan* I. to embrace the *Jewish* religion.

This deity is not unrightly supposed to be the *יהוה* or *jee*, prophet or law-giver of the *Hebrews* (7); for if we may believe *Epiphanius* (8), both the *Idumeans* and *Arabs* of *Arabia Petrea* did worship *Moses*, and paid divine honours to his statue.

(P) According to the *Mosaic* law, the husbands alone were permitted to divorce their wives, but not the wife the husband (9). However, *Salome* relying on her brother's friendship, and her own politic head, assumed that prerogative, which no *Jewish* woman, that we know of, had ever done before.

(7) *Calmet. Hist. vet. test. sub A. M. 3976.* (8) *Harif. 55.* (9) *Vid. Deuter. xxiv. 1, & seq. Matt. xix. 3, & seq. Mark x. 2, & seq. Maimon. de repud.*

- a was carried on by her husband in conjunction with *Lyfimachus*, *Dositheus* and *Antipater*; and, as a proof of it, told him, that he privately kept the sons of *Babas* (Q) under his protection, contrary to his express commands; all which *Herod* having found true, he ordered them all to be put to death.

Herod having by this time rid himself of the *Amonean* race, and of their most considerable partisans, began now to shew a greater disregard to the *Jewish* religion than he had hitherto ventured to do, by abolishing several of its ceremonies, and introducing some foreign customs, which were forbidden by it. He began with building a stately theatre in the city, and a spacious amphitheatre in its suburbs, and ordered public games to be celebrated in them every fifth year, in honour of *Augustus*; and to draw the greater concourse to them, he caused them to be proclaimed, not only in the neighbouring provinces, but in the most distant kingdoms, and promised magnificent prizes to those that should gain the victory. Besides great numbers of the most expert musicians, players, couriers, gladiators, &c. which he had sent for thither, he caused also some of the fiercest wild beasts to be brought, and fought upon the stage; all which did not a little displease the zealous *Jews*, who thought it unlawful and inhuman to expose men to the fury of wild beasts. But what exasperated them most, were the trophies with which he had caused those sumptuous places to be adorned, and which they mistaking for statues, thought contrary to their law, which forbids all kind of imagery, whether carved or even painted. They therefore cried out against him, that he had profaned their city, and that they would never tamely bear such idolatrous monuments to be set up in it. *Herod* tried in vain to undeceive them by fair speeches; he was forced at length to lead some of the principal of them to the place, and to order the armour of the trophies to be taken down, and thereby to convince them, that there was nothing under them but bare posts. This demonstration did indeed satisfy them as to this one point, and turned their outcries into laughter; but the generality of the nation retained such an aversion against him, upon the account of his other heathenish novelties, that they looked no longer upon him as a *Jewish* king, but as a heathen and a tyrant.

- d TEN of the boldest of them took it at last into their heads to enter the theatre with daggers hid under their cloaths, and either to stab the king or some of his retinue, not doubting but even their perishing in the attempt would render the tyrant still more odious. They were not mistaken; for *Herod* being informed of their design by one of his spies, and causing the assassins to be put to a most excruciating death, the people were so exasperated against the informer, that they cut and tore him to pieces, and cast his flesh to the dogs. *Herod* tried in vain to discover the authors of this affront; he was at last forced to order some women to be put to the rack, and to extort from them the names of the principal of them, whom he caused likewise to be hurried to death, together with their innocent families. This last act of cruelty drove the *Jews* into such desperate hatred against him, that he expected nothing less than a general revolt; to prevent which he set about fortifying *Jerusalem*, rebuilding *Samaria* (R), and garisoning several other fortresses in *Judæa*, whose situation was

Samaria rebuilt.

Year of the
flood 2976.
Before Christ
23.

(Q) These had been great sticklers for the *Amonean* race, and, at the siege of *Jerusalem*, had strenuously opposed the opening of the gates to *Herod*, for which that prince, upon his taking of the city, had given charge to *Castobarus* to secure them; but he had let them escape, and had excused the matter to him; but *Herod* finding now, that he had sent them into an asylum, and maintained them there, he put their protector, and as many of them as he could find, to death.

(R) We took notice in a former section, that this city, which had been destroyed by *Hyrcan*, had been in part rebuilt by *Gabinus* governor of *Syria*, and called from him *Gabinianna*; but he being soon after turned out, it advanced no higher than a good large village. *Herod* therefore chose to finish that work, and to restore that place to its pristine splendor; because being but one day's journey, or thirty-five miles, distant from *Jerusalem*, he could easily make it a place of retreat, in case of necessity.

He adorned it with magnificent buildings, fortified it with walls and towers, and invited six thou-

sand foreigners to come and settle there, who finding the soil very fertile, became very rich in a short time. He gave it the name of *Sebastæ*, which signifies the same in *Greek* as doth *Augustus* in *Latin*.

The other places which he fortified and garisoned, were, the tower of *Straton*, which he called *Cæsarea*, in honour of the emperor, and made it so strong, that it seemed to command the whole country. He built likewise another strong fortress in the midst of a plain, and put in it a garison of horse. A third he built in *Galilee*, named *Gabala*; and a fourth in *Eschmonitis* in *Perea*; all which being also well stored with arms and provisions, were a great check to the whole kingdom (11).

But he bestowed the most cost on his new *Sebastæ*, to which he allowed a circuit of twenty stades, or two miles and a half. In the centre of it was a spacious square of about a stade and a half, and in the middle a stately temple. In a word, he spared no cost to render it one of the richest and most beautiful cities of his realm, and looked upon it as his favourite master-piece (12).

(11) *Idem* *ibid.*

(12) *Antiq. l. xv. c. 13.*

most likely to keep the country in awe", and whose names the reader may find at the end of the last note.

Judæa visited
with famine
and pestilence.

ABOUT the same time, which was the thirteenth year of his reign, *Judæa* was visited with a grievous drought, which brought on a famine, and ended in a raging pestilence, of which great multitudes died daily for want of proper help and sustenance. *Herod*, whose treasury was exhausted by building so many cities and fortresses, and whose finances were reduced to the lowest ebb through the famine and death of his subjects, was forced to melt down all his plate, and to send it down into *Egypt*, to procure a fresh supply of provisions, in order to stop the mouths of the people, who, as is usual in such calamities, threw all the odium of them upon him. The drought having likewise killed such quantities of their cattle, that they had not wooll b sufficient left to cloath themselves against the approaching winter, he took care also to procure a sufficient supply of it betimes; and *Petronius*, the *Roman* prefect then in *Egypt*, notwithstanding the multitudes of people who applied to him from other provinces for the same things, did so far befriend him, as to send him a sufficient quantity of them; which *Herod* caused to be immediately distributed among his subjects, but to the *Jews* preferably to any of the rest. This generosity did, for the present, change their hatred into admiration, and his praises were for a while the main subject of their discourse; but as he soon relapsed into his cruel and savage humour, so their love was soon turned into hatred again, which continued to his death. However, his prudent liberality having stored the country with plenty of c corn, and the long drought being succeeded by more refreshing seasons, they began to cultivate their lands again, and found them, to their great comfort, restored to their former fecundity.

Relieved by
Herod's gene-
rosity.

As soon as the land had recovered itself from the late calamity, *Herod* went on with his building (S), particularly his stately palace near the temple of *Jerusalem*, in which the gold, marble, cedar, and other precious materials, seemed to outvie one another. There were in it, among other apartments, two magnificent ones, to the one of which he gave the name of *Augustus*, and to the other that of *Agrippa*. At the same time he was not unmindful to ingratiate himself to the emperor, by more substantial services than building of places to his honour; for *Gellius* having been sent d with an army to attempt the conquest of *Arabia*, *Herod* failed not to send him very considerable succours, and among the rest five hundred of the stoutest of his guards; and tho' that enterprize proved unsuccessful to the *Romans* in a country where the air, water and aliments, were as contrary to them as the temper of the people*, yet *Herod's* assistance proved so useful and seasonable to them, that *Cæsar* could not chuse being highly pleased with it.

THIS very year also he married another *Mariamne*, who was the daughter of a Jewish priest of *Alexandria*, named *Simon*, the son of *Boetibus*, and a woman of extraordinary beauty. To raise her father up to a condition fit for such an alliance, he placed him upon the pontifical chair, after having dispossessed *Jesus* the son of *Phariseus* of that dignity. Soon after these nuptials, he went and built the magnificent e palace of *Herodion*, on the place where he had formerly defeated the *Antigonians*. The situation of it was so inviting (T), that the *Jews* and other people gladly came and built round it; so that from a palace it soon became a considerable city. In a word, he spared no cost to leave every-where some monuments of his unmeasured magnificence, as well in *Judæa* as out of it; but with this difference, that those in

* Antiq. ubi supra, c. 11.
ubi supra, & bell. Judaic. l. i. c. 16.
Vide & PLIN. hist. l. v. c. 14.

• Ibid. c. 12.

* De hoc bell. vide STRABO. l. xvi.

† Ant.

† Antiq. ubi supra, & l. xviii. c. 7. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 11 & 16.

(S) Amongst them, that of *Cæsarea* mentioned in the last note, was the most magnificent next to *Sebastæ*. He bestowed twelve years in the finishing and adorning it. It stood on the coasts of *Phœnicie*, and was very convenient for trade, but had till then a very dangerous harbour, so that no ships could be safe in it when the wind was at south-west. *Herod* remedied this inconveniency at an immense labour and charge, and made it one of the most convenient havens on that coast. He beautified also the place with stately buildings. The reader may see in

Josephus (12) a full account of this immense work, and of many others, in other places, erected by that prince; which, joined to his profuse munificence, justly gained him the surname of *Great*.

(T) This stately building stood on a pleasant hill, about seven miles from *Jerusalem*, and had the prospect as well as command of all the country round about. The gradual declivity of it was no less beautiful. The reader may see it described, as well as the city, by the authors quoted above.

- a *Judæa* were not adorned, as the rest were, with temples and other buildings, with statues and other carvings, which he knew the *Jews* would never have borne with any patience; but as for those which he built out of it, he gave himself all the scope which either his pride, or desire of pleasing the *Romans*, could inspire him with; for all which he had a salvo ready, namely, that he did in all this only obey, and even much against his will, the orders of the emperor, who had a right to command him.

- By this time *Herod* seemed to be at the height of all his wishes; his being in such high esteem with *Augustus* made him either loved or feared by his subjects and neighbours; and therefore, that he might cultivate that prince's favour still more, he sent b his two favourite sons, whom he had by *Mariamne*, and who were grown up by this time, to be educated under his eye. *Pollio*, his intimate friend, was ordered to provide a stately house at *Rome*; but the emperor took that care off his hands, and assigned them apartments in his own palace; and so well pleased was he with the confidence which their father put in him, that he gave him full power to name which of them he pleased to be his successor. He likewise added several provinces to his kingdom, whose names, as well as the occasion of the gift, the reader will find in the margin (V). *Zenodorus*, from whom they had been taken, having tried in vain several ways to regain them from him, took the opportunity of the emperor's coming into *Syria*, to bring a deputation from the *Gadarenes* with him to *Antioch*, c there to renew their complaints against *Herod*, and to accuse him of oppression, tyranny, and other such crimes; and *Augustus* did seem to comply so far with their request, that he set a day for *Herod*, who was there also, to make his defence before them; but, when he came to do it, the emperor betrayed such visible favour and partiality towards him, that his accusers, fearing to be delivered up to his resentment, chose to dispatch themselves out of the world that very night; which they did, some by drowning, some by hanging themselves, and other such desperate ways. *Zenodorus* in particular was so terrified by it, that he took a strong dose of poison, which quite corroded his bowels, and ended his life by the next morning^r.

- Augustus* however stopped not his kindness here, but looking upon the desperate d exit of *Herod's* accusers as a proof of his innocence and merit, appointed him his procurator in *Syria*, and forbid his governor there to undertake any thing without his knowledge and advice. At the same time *Herod* took this favourable opportunity to obtain a tetrarchy for his brother *Pheloras*, that he might live according to his birth, and without depending on his successor's favour after his death (W). In acknowledgment for all these gifts, *Herod* having accompanied the emperor to the sea-port, built a sumptuous temple in honour of him, all of fine white marble, near the *Panion*, or place whence the *Jordan* has its origin[†]. The vast number of edifices he built,

Herod sends his two sons to Rome.

Accused by Zenodorus.

And acquitted. Year of the flood 2978. Before Christ 21.

^r Antiq. l. xv. c. 13.

[†] De hoc vide supra, Vol. I. p. 577, (S), & 578, 2.

(V) These were the three districts of *Trachonitis*, *Auranitis* or *Iturea*, and *Basanea*, which were situate between *Libanus* and *Perem*, on the other side *Jordan* (14).

They were given to him on this occasion; *Zenodorus*, tetrarch of a small toparchy, had farmed these from *Varro* the then president of *Syria*, and suffered the inhabitants of it, who lived chiefly in rocks and caves, to make excursions into all the neighbouring countries impunely. A complaint of this had been sent by *Varro* to *Augustus*; upon which orders were brought back to him at any rate to extirpate those robbers; and, for the more effectual doing of it, the emperor commanded him to take those three toparchies from *Zenodorus*, and to put them under *Herod*, who, with his usual success, soon ferreted them out, and cleared the country of them.

Zenodorus however went to *Rome* to complain of the injustice done him in taking those districts from him; but the emperor, who had reason to suspect that he had made a gain by protecting a vermin which he ought to have suppressed, would not so much as hear him.

Agrippa being soon after sent into *Syria*, *Herod* went to meet him at *Mitylene*; and, soon after his return, *Zenodorus*, in hopes of meeting with better success with him, stirred up the *Gadarenes* to come and proffer sundry grievous complaints against him. But he found the new governor too well rooted in *Herod's* interest to hear any accusation against him; on the contrary he sent them bound to *Jerusalem*, where *Herod*, hoping to gain them by fair usage, ordered them to be set at liberty.

Zenodorus, thus disappointed again, went and sold the territories of *Auranitis* to the *Arabs* for fifty talents; so that a war was like to have ensued between *Herod* and them, they being deaf to all his offers for ending the dispute in an amicable way (15), when *Augustus's* coming in a lucky time decided the controversy in his favour, as has been seen above.

(W) *Josephus* does not tell us where this tetrarchy was situate; but, by what we find in another place (16), it seems to have been beyond *Jordan*, and at some distance from *Jerusalem*.

(14) Dr. his conf. Luc. iii. 1. *Joseph. Antiq. l. xvii. c. 7. St. Jerom. & Euseb. loc. Hebr. & al.*
(15) Vide Antiq. ubi supra, c. 13. (16) Ibid. l. xvii. c. 5.

and adorned with carvings and other imagery, which the *Jews* looked upon as a destructive of religion and good manners, did so exasperate them against him, that he was forced to remit them a third part of their yearly tribute. His pretence indeed was, that the last grievous dearth, which had greatly impoverished the land, required this largess from him; but, at the bottom, it was the murmurs and private meetings of the people, which were now more frequent than ever, that extorted it from him, in hopes that it would in some measure allay the sourness of their spirits. However, to let them see, that he was neither insensible of their mutinous cabals, nor afraid to put a stop to them, he issued out an edict, expressly forbidding all public and private assemblies, whether on account of feasts, or any other pretence, under the severest penalties. But as he not only had his spies every-where, but did sometimes mix himself among them in disguise, he quickly found all these precautions were like to prove to little purpose to keep the people in obedience. This made him bethink himself of exacting an oath of fidelity from them; but this new imposition was so strenuously refused by *Pollio*, or *Hillel*, and *Shamai*, at the head of the whole sect of *Essenians*, and by all the chiefs of the *Pharisees*, that he was forced to set it aside, without venturing to shew any resentment against those that had opposed him in it, for fear of exasperating the whole nation against him.

Proposes the rebuilding the temple.

He fell soon after upon a much better expedient to quiet them, and at the same time to satisfy his invincible itch of eternising his memory by the number and magnificence of his buildings. The great attachment which they had for their temple, made him conceive the hopes, that his rebuilding of it in a more stately manner, would not fail to recommend him, not only to the present *Jews*, but also to posterity. The difficulty was, to convince them of his being both willing and able to rear such a costly edifice, after he had pulled down the old one; and this he did in a set speech, which he made to their assembly, wherein, with his usual eloquence, he failed not to display his zeal for the glory of God, and for the promoting of his religion. Among other things he reminded them how vastly inferior that sacred place now was to that which had been formerly built by *Solomon* (X); but this, he told them, was rather to be imputed to the want of ability in those that returned from *Babylon*, than to their want of zeal; but now that God was pleased not only to raise him to the *Jewish* throne, but to bless him with peace, plenty, affluence, and with the friendship of the *Romans*, he thought himself bound to make some signal acknowledgment to him for all these blessings, and hoped, that the rebuilding of his temple in the manner he proposed, could not but be acceptable both to him and them; but as he found them very much hesitating at the difficulty, length and expensiveness of such a work, he was forced to engage not to move a stone from the old edifice, till he had prepared all the materials for the new. As soon as he had gained their consent (Y), he set immediately ten thousand workmen to work, under the direction of a thousand priests, the best skilled in carving, masonry, &c. all whom he kept under his pay. One thousand carts were likewise employed in fetching of all the materials; and, in a

* Antiq. ubi supra.

(X) *Josephus* makes him say here (17), that the present temple was lower by sixty cubits than that of *Solomon*; which cannot be understood of the holy place, which, we are told (18), was but thirty cubits high; whereas that built after the captivity, was, by *Cyrus's* own grant, sixty cubits high (19). If therefore there be no mistake crept into the text, both *Herod* and the *Jewish* historians must probably speak of some of the galleries, which might be so much higher in the first than in the second temple. The reader may recur to what we have said on the subject at the beginning of this †, and in the appendix to the first volume.

(Y) This assembly seems to have been held about the time of the *Easter* solemnity, when there was the greatest concourse of the *Jews* at *Jerusalem*; for *Josephus* says it was in the eighteenth year of *Herod's* reign; that is, as the learned *Usher* observes, reckoning from the death of *Antigonus* (20), which happened not till about the *Midsummer* after his im-

prisonment; according to which, reckoning the nineteenth year of *Herod* not beginning till the nineteenth year before Christ, the six first months must have belonged to the eighteenth year of his reign, which brings it to the passover feast above-mentioned (21). We must not however look upon this building as a new temple, as distinct from that of *Zerubbabel* as that was from that of *Solomon*, but rather as the same rebuilt, enlarged and adorned, upon the old foundation, and with the same materials, as far as they could go. The very *Jews* themselves still looked upon it as the second temple, and that which was to exceed that of *Solomon* in glory, by the presence of the Messiah, according to the prophecy of *Haggai*; but, as we cannot enlarge on this subject, we shall refer the curious reader to the elaborate preface of *Constantine l'Empereur*, prefixed to his comment on the book of *Middoth*, where he will find that point discussed to his satisfaction.

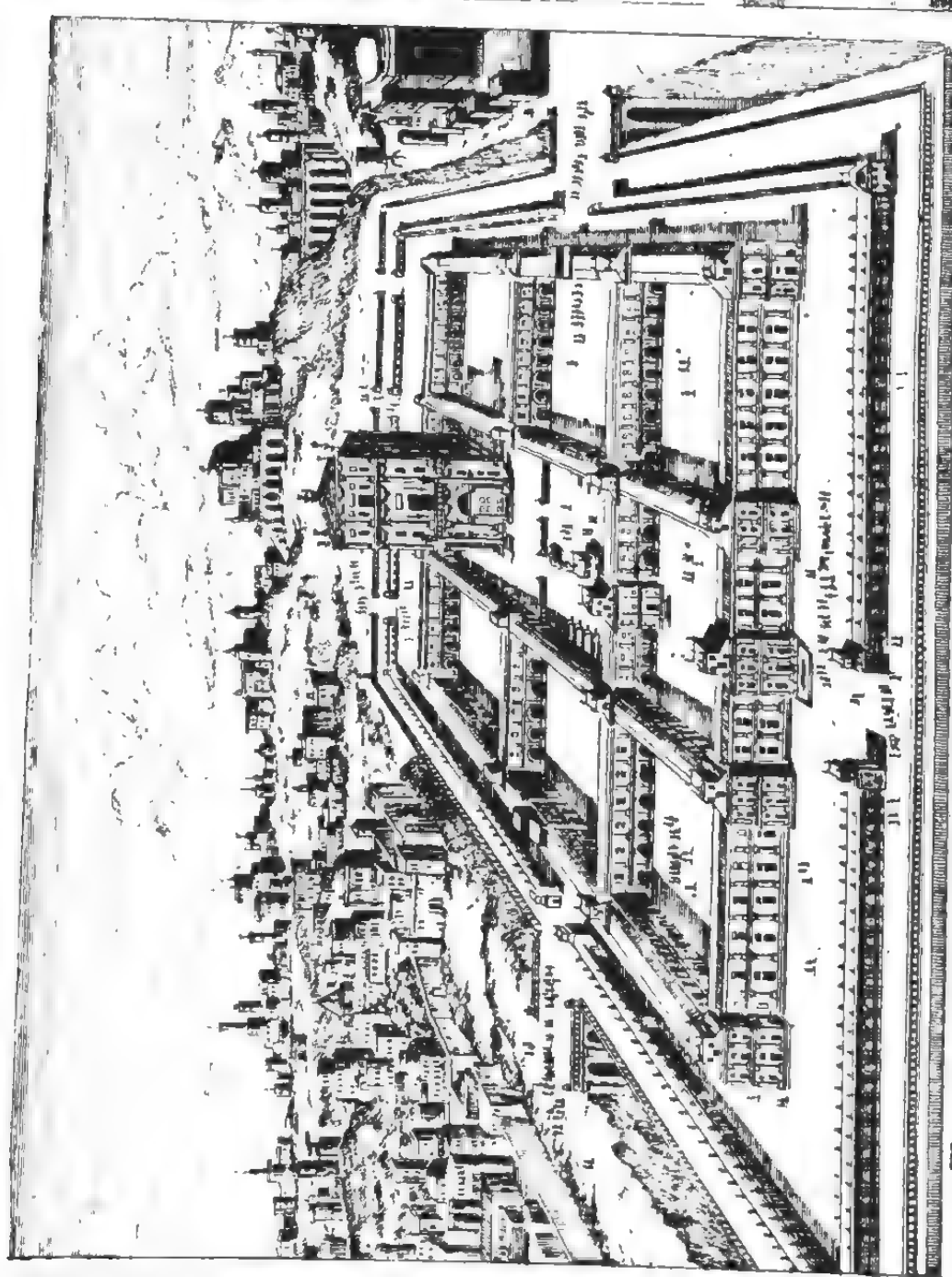
(17) *Antiq. ubi supra*, c. 14.
(20) *Annal. sub A. M.* 3987.

(18) 1 *Kings* vi. 2. (19) *Exra* vi. 3.
(21) *Vide Priid. connect. sub A. C.* 19.

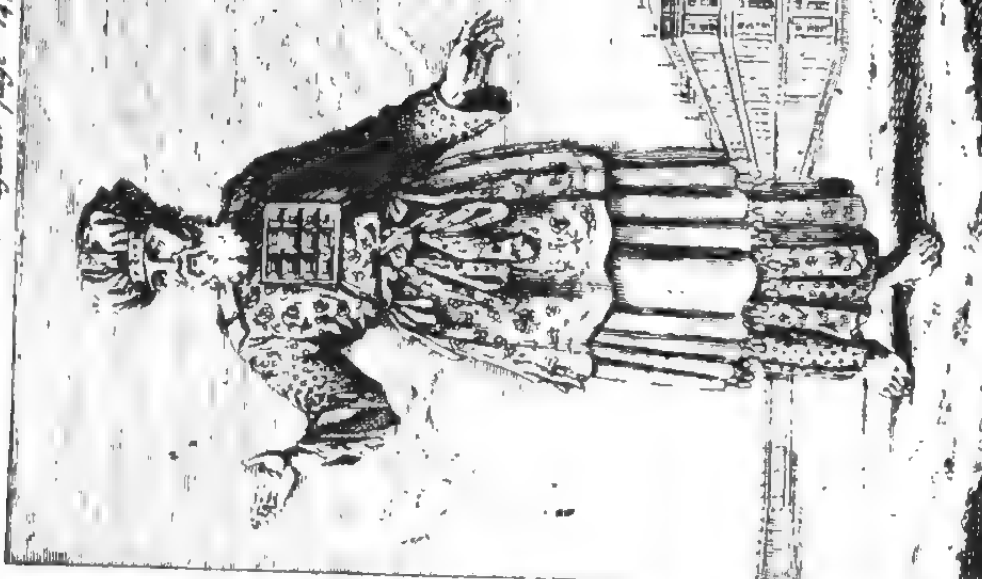
† See p. 6, (K).



JEWISH PRIEST ON THE DAY OF EXPIATION.



THE ELEVATION OF THE TEMPLE OF JERUSALEM.



THE JEWISH HIGH PRIEST IN HIS PONTIFICAL HABIT.



- a word, such a number of hands was employed, and such expedition used, that he got every thing ready within the space of two years, after which they set about pulling down the old building, and with the same dispatch, rearing the new one; so that the holy place, or temple properly so called, was finished in a year and a half's time; during which, we are told ^c, it never rained in the day-time, but only in the night. The remainder took up a little above eight years, by which time it was, if not wholly finished (Z), yet made fit for divine service, according to the king's first design. The temple, properly so called, or holy place, was but sixty cubits high, and as many in breadth; but in the front he added two wings or shoulders, which projected twenty cubits more on each side; which made a front of one hundred and twenty
- b cubits in length, and as many in height, with a gate seventy cubits high, and twenty in breadth, but open, and without any doors. The stones were white marble, twenty-five cubits in length, twelve in height, and nine in breadth, all wrought and polished with exquisite beauty, the whole resembling a stately palace, whose middle being considerably raised above the extremities of each face, made it afford a beautiful vista at a great distance to those that came to that metropolis (A). Instead of doors, the gates closed with very costly veils, enriched with variety of flowering of gold, silver, purple, and every thing that was rich and curious; and on each side of the gates were planted two stately columns, from whose cornices did hang gold festoons, and vines, with their clusters of grapes, leaves, &c. curiously
- c wrought. As for the galleries that surrounded this sacred place, the porticos, towers, courts, and other embellishments of it, we do not design to swell this section with them, but give a short sketch of them in the margin (B), and refer our readers for a

The building finished with wondrous speed and magnificence.

^c Ibid. c. ult.

^a Bell. Judaic. l. vi. c. 6.

(Z) *Josephus* shews us, in another place (22), that the whole was still continued till the beginning of the Jewish war under *Gellius Florus*, when eighteen thousand workmen being dismissed, and like to be idle, the Jews, unwilling their treasure should be laid up to become a prey to the Romans, petitioned the king (*Agrippa*) to build the eastern porch, which inclosed the most outward parts of the temple; but the king having refused their suit, those men, for want of work, began to raise those seditions which hastened the destruction both of the city and temple; so that it is plain, some part of that building had been still carried on till this time.

And hence that saying of the Jews to Christ, Forty and six years hath this temple been hitherto a building; for so the text ought to be read, according to the import of the aorist there used by the evangelist (23); and indeed so long a time had elapsed from the beginning of the building to the first pass-over after Christ had entered into his ministry, at which time the Jews were objecting this to him (24).

(A) This superstructure, which was probably reared on the old foundation, without sufficient additions to it, proved, as *Josephus* tells us (25), too heavy for it, and sunk down about twenty cubits; so that it was reduced to the height of one hundred. A project was set on foot for raising it again to its former height in Nero's time; but, upon some account or other, it was set aside.

(B) We have already spoken in a former volume [†] of the foundations of this stupendous work, some of whose walls were raised from the deep valley beneath, to the height of three hundred cubits and upwards, and some of the stones of it forty cubits long, all fastened to each other with lead and iron, to be proof against time, wind and weather. The platform was a regular square of a stade or furlong on each side; and in that description we gave of

the superstructure ^{*}, we confined ourselves to what the sacred writers had said of it, without introducing the vast additions that had been made since by Herod and his successors.

Since then we have two accounts of Herod's temple, the one written by *Josephus* (26), who had been a curious viewer of it; the other by *Jehudah Hakkoðesh* (27), the compiler of the *Talmud*, above one hundred and twenty years after its destruction by the Romans. From these the authors quoted in the margin (28) have reared each their separate edifices, disposed, beautified and adorned them more by the strength of their imagination than by any superior knowledge they had of the authors they copied from; tho' with respect to even these, whoever considers their swollen style, will be apt to look upon their accounts of that building, rather as panegyrics than historical descriptions of it. However, if either is to be preferred to the other, *Josephus*, who had both seen it, and described it soon after, if not before its destruction, when he might have been contradicted by numbers, who had viewed it as well as he, is certainly more to be credited than the *Talmudists*, who wrote so long after, and when they were sure there was none left to gain-say them. From him therefore we shall endeavour to give the best and shortest sketch and plan of that stately work, which is as follows:

Each front of this square, which, as we hinted above, was a furlong long, had a spacious gate or entrance, enriched with suitable ornaments; but that on the west had four gates, the one of which led to the palace, the next to the city, and the two others to the suburbs and fields. This inclosure was surrounded on the outside with a strong and high wall of large stones, well cemented; and on the inside had, on each front, a stately piazza or gallery, supported by columns of such a bigness, that three men could but just embrace them, their circumference

(22) *Vide Antiq. l. xx. c. 8.*

(23) *John ii. 20.*

(24) *Vide Usser. sub A. M. 3987.*

(25) *Antiq.*

ubi supra. [†] Vol. I. p. 795. (I).

^{*} Appen. to Vol. I. p. 2. & seq.

(26) *Ibid.* & *bell. Judaic. l. vi.*

c. 6. & *alib. pass.*

(27) *Mishna Jeph Middoth.*

(28) *Villalpand. Capell. Lempereur, Gros. Le Clerc.*

Lamy, Prideaux, Whiston, Calmet, & al. multis.

fuller account to *Josephus*, the *Talmud*, and to such other writers as have been at the pains of compiling their several descriptions from them.

Herod goes to Rome.

Makes a severe law against robbers.

Marries his two sons.

WHILST the work of the temple was carrying on with such surprising expedition, as raised the admiration of the *Jews*, *Herod* made a voyage to *Rome*, to pay his compliments to the emperor, and a paternal visit to his two sons. Perhaps also did he chuse this time to be out of the hearing of some of the murmurings, which the zealous *Jews* raised against a law which he had lately made to suppress the frequent incursions and robberies which were committed in *Judæa*. By this law, it seems, he condemned every man that was found breaking through the walls of any house, to be sold for a slave into foreign countries; and this had greatly displeased the nation, because, contrary to that of *Moses*, it made their slavery perpetual; whereas, had they been only sold among their brethren, the sabbatic or the jubilee year would have put an end to it. Another objection raised against that law, was, that those slaves would, in all likelihood, be tempted to forsake the *Jewish* religion, and turn idolaters; upon which account it was still more universally exclaimed against*. It is therefore likely, that *Herod*, who resolved at any rate to suppress those robbers, got out of the way, that he might not be importuned to repeal it. On his arrival at *Rome* (C), *Augustus* received him with all the marks of friendship, entertained him in the most sumptuous manner, and delivered his sons to him. *Herod* could not but be highly pleased to behold them so greatly improved under the care of that emperor. He acknowledged the favour in terms, and by presents, answerable to the high sense he had of the obligation, and, after a short stay, took the two young princes with him back into *Judæa*. Here they were received with the loudest acclamations of the people, who could not forbear admiring their majestic port and behaviour, which, joined to the excellent education they had received in *Italy*, had rendered them in all respects truly accomplished princes. He married them soon after to suitable matches; *Alexander*

* *Antiq. l. xvi. c. 1.*

rence being about twenty-seven feet. There were, in all, one hundred and sixty-two of them, which supported a cedar ceiling of exquisite workmanship, and formed three galleries, the middlemost of which was the largest and highest, it being forty-five feet in breadth, and one hundred in height; whereas those on each side were but thirty feet wide, and fifty in height.

The piazzas and court were paved with marble of various colours; and at a small distance from the galleries was a second inclosure, surrounded with a flight of beautiful marble rails, with stately columns at proper distances, on which were engraven certain admonitions in *Greek* and *Latin*, to forbid strangers, and those *Jews* that were not purified, to proceed further under pain of death. This inclosure had but one gate on the east-side, none on the west, but on the north and south it had three, placed at equal distances from each other.

A third inclosure surrounded the temple properly so called, and the altar of burnt-offerings, and made what they called the court of the *Hebrews* or *Israelites*. It was square like the rest; but the wall on the outside was surrounded by a flight of fourteen steps, which hid a considerable part of it; and on the top was a terrace of about twelve cubits in breadth, which went quite round the whole inclosure. The east side had but one gate, the west none, and the north and south four, at equal distances. Each gate was ascended to by five steps more, before one could reach the level of the inward court; so that the wall which inclosed it, appeared within to be but twenty-five cubits high, tho' considerably higher on the outside. On the inside of each of those gates were raised a couple of spacious square chambers, in form of a pavilion, thirty cubits wide, and forty in height, each supported by columns of twelve cubits circumference.

This inclosure had likewise a double flight of galleries on the inside, supported by a double row of columns; but the western side was only one continued wall, without gates or galleries. The women had likewise their particular courts separate from that of the men, and one of the gates on the north and south leading to it.

The altar of burnt-offerings was likewise high and spacious, being forty cubits in breadth, and fifteen in height. The ascent to it was, according to the *Mosaic* law †, smooth and without steps, and the altar of unbewn stones. It was surrounded at a convenient distance round about with a low wall or rail, not above a cubit in height, which divided the court of the priests from that of the lay *Israelites*; so that these last were allowed to come thus far to bring their offerings and sacrifices; but none but the priests were allowed to come within that inclosure. The reader will more easily understand this description by the plan here subjoined, to which we have referred all the particulars under each paragraph by proper references.

All that needs be added here is, that *Herod* caused a new dedication of the whole to be performed with the utmost magnificence, and presented to it many rich trophies of his former victories, after the custom of the *Jewish* monarchs (29).

(C) *Josephus* adds, that, in his way to *Rome*, he had the curiosity to stop at *Elis* to see the solemnity of the CXCIIIrd olympiad; and that the poverty of the *Elians* having sunk the pomp and splendor of those games, he settled a constant revenue on them, in order to restore them to their ancient lustre (30).

The like piece of generosity he shewed to the *Chians*, for whom he paid a large sum, which they were indebted to *Cæsar's* receivers; after which he gave them another sum to rebuild their porticoes, which had been demolished in the wars (31).

† *Exod. xx. 25, 26.* (29) *Antiq. l. xv. c. ult. Bell. Judaic. l. i. c. 16. l. vi. c. 6. & alib. pass.*
(30) *Antiq. l. xvi. c. 9. Bell. Judaic. l. i. c. 16.* (31) *Antiq. l. xvi. c. 3.*

- a to *Glaphyra* the daughter of *Archelaus* king of *Cappadocia*, and *Aristobulus* to *Berenice* the daughter of his sister *Salome* ^v.

BUT the admiration and love which the people expressed for those two excellent princes, failed not to raise the envy and jealousy of the restless *Salome*, and of those of her accomplices, who had forwarded the death of *Mariamne*, as they had reason more than enough to fear their avenging that princess's death. To prevent so just and sad a catastrophe, they had recourse to their vile artifices, which had succeeded so well against that innocent princess. They began with spreading of reports abroad, that the two young princes could not endure their father, whom they looked upon as still reeking with the blood of their mother; not doubting, but when the rumour reached that jealous monarch's ears, it would inevitably render them obnoxious to him, and hasten their ruin. In the mean time *Agrippa* being come to *Asia Proper*, *Herod* went to invite him into *Judea*, where having shewed him his new-built cities of *Sebaste*, *Alexandria*, *Cesarea*, &c. he thence led him to *Jerusalem*. There the people met them at some distance from that metropolis, in their festival dress, and conducted them with loud acclamations into the city, where his reception was suitable to the magnificence of his host. *Agrippa*, having sacrificed a whole hecatomb at the temple, was forced to depart sooner than he would otherwise have done, by reason of the approaching winter, and *Herod* failed not to load him and his retinue with suitable presents, whilst the people accompanied him with loud huzzas, and strewn the way with flowers and odoriferous herbs where-ever he passed; insomuch that that prince did ever after take a particular delight in expressing the pleasure of that journey, and extolling the magnificence of the temple and royal palace, and of the priestly ornaments, the stately buildings, and generosity of *Herod*. *Pbilo* adds, that he made the *Jews* some considerable presents, and did every thing he could to oblige them, without hurting the interest of their king. On the spring following *Agrippa* sailing with his fleet to the *Bosporus*, was agreeably surprized with *Herod's* coming to meet him with another at *Lesbos*, wherein he had brought him some considerable reinforcements of men, arms and provisions; all which did so endear him to that prince, that he never undertook any thing without his knowledge and advice, nor scarce any party of pleasure without his company ².

Agrippa's
spie and re op-
tion in Judaa.
Year of the
flood 2014.
Year before
Christ 15.

ON his return to *Jerusalem* he assembled the *Jews*, and acquainted them with the success of his arms and those of *Agrippa* against the *Bosphorans*. He added, in order to lessen their discontent, that he remitted the nation a fourth part of their tribute; which made them some satisfaction for the late murmurings which his law against robbers had occasioned ¹. But whilst things went thus smoothly on in his kingdom, his family was plagued with intestine jars, occasioned by the hatred which *Salome* bore to his two worthy sons. The truth is, they spake both of her and of her brother *Pheroras* in such resenting terms, as made them dread something worse from them. They even ventured to complain sometimes of the injustice done to their mother, and in their behaviour shewed so little tenderness towards their father, that *Salome* found it an easy matter to alienate his affection from them. To suppress in some measure the presumption of the two brothers, *Herod* caused *Antipater*, another of his sons (D), whom he had till then educated in a private manner, to be brought to court, where he heaped such caresses on him, as only rendered him more obnoxious to them, and them more indiscreet in their speeches against their father, all which were still carried back to him, and very often aggravated; whilst *Antipater*, wholly employed to cultivate a good understanding with him, was careful never to let a word slip even against his two brothers, tho' he had taken care to place such about him as should do it more effectually.

- f AMONG many other marks of *Herod's* affection to this new favourite son (E), he obtained of *Agrippa* the favour of his accompanying him to *Rome*, and of his being presented by him to the emperor; so that by this time every one began to look upon him as his father's successor. *Antipater* set out accordingly; but, to prevent his two

¹ Ibid. c. 2.

² Ibid. & c. 3. Vide & Pm. o. legat. ad Cai. p. 1033.

³ Antiq. ibid. c. 5.

(D) This last son he had by another wife, whom *Josephus* calls *Doris* (32), and the fourth book of *Maccabees* (33) *Desissem*.

(E) One of which was, that he recalled his mother, whom he had repudiated to marry *Mariamne*, the high-priest's daughter.

(32) Ibid. c. 4.

(33) *Cap. ult.*

Herod accused
his two sons of
high treason
before Augustus.

Returns to
Jerusalem.

Cæsarea
finished.
Year of the
flood 2989.
Before Christ
10.

rivals regaining their father's favour during his absence, he ceased not, both by his letters and by his agents, to turn his heart against them, till at length he began to look upon them as his enemies, and resolved to take them with him to *Rome*, and there to try them at *Cæsar's* tribunal ^b. *Cæsar* being gone by that time to *Aquileia*, *Herod* came to him, and there accused his two sons of high treason, and required justice against them in such strong terms, as extorted a flood of tears from them; after which *Alexander* pleaded his own and his brother's cause with such becoming modesty, as easily convinced both the emperor and the audience of their innocence. *Augustus* did, in a genteel manner, reprove *Herod* for his too rash belief, and reconciled them together; but it was not likely this peace should be long-lived. *Herod* was too jealous, his sons too indiscreet, and their enemies too cunning and indefatigable not to give cause for fresh dissensions. *Herod* himself laid the foundation for a new and dangerous one, by a speech which he made to the *Jewish* assembly upon his being returned with his sons to *Jerusalem*; for there having acquainted them with his success at *Rome*, he declared to them, that it was indeed his intention that his sons should reign after his death, and not till then, *Antipater* first, and then *Alexander*, and lastly *Aristobulus* (F); but that, whilst he lived, he did not think fit to part with the reins of government. This was indeed casting a bone of discord among his sons, and so it proved in the sequel ^c.

By this time the city of *Cæsarea*, which had been twelve years a building, being finished, *Herod* caused the dedication of it to be performed with the greatest pomp and splendor, and appointed games to be performed in it with the utmost solemnity every fifth year. *Julia*, the emperor's wife, or, as the *Jewish* historian always calls her, *Livia*, contributed towards the splendour of those sports five hundred talents out of her own coffers; and *Herod* entertained his guests there, who were very considerable, both in quality and number, with surprising magnificence; insomuch that *Augustus* said of him, That his soul was too great for his kingdom; and that he deserved to have been king of all *Syria* and *Egypt*. Besides the city of *Cæsarea*, which, by reason of its beauty, pleasant situation, and commodious harbour, became in time the residence of the *Roman* procurators, he built also those of *Antipatris*, in honour of his father; of *Cypron*, in honour of his mother, and *Phasaelis*, in honour of his brother; besides several other towers and castles of prodigious size and strength ^d. On the next year the *Jews* of *Asia* and *Cyrene* having been greatly oppressed by the *Greeks*, especially on account of their religion and customs, sent a deputation to *Augustus*, and obtained an effectual redress from that emperor. The purport of his decree in their favour the reader may see in the margin (G).

Herod might have viewed, with no small pleasure, both himself and the whole *Jewish* nation respected and protected by the emperor and senate on the one hand, and by his friend *Agrippa* on the other; but his domestic jars, which daily increased by the hellish machinations of his brother and sister, and the emptiness of his coffers, which he had exhausted by his profuseness in buildings and feasts, made him too wretched to taste any pleasure in other things. To remove these two corroding sores, he betook himself to remedies more desperate than the disease. To supply his present necessi-

^b Ibid. c. 6 & 7.

^c Ibid. c. 8.

^d Antiq. ibid. c. 9, & seq.

(F) During his stay at *Rome*, *Augustus* had, it seems, not only renewed his former grant to him of appointing any of his sons to be his successor, but had likewise given him the further liberty of dividing the kingdom amongst them in what proportion he should think fit.

He had likewise granted him one half of the revenue of the mines of *Cyprus*, and had appointed him his overseer of the other half. Several other rich presents were also interchanged between those two monarchs, which shewed their great intimacy to each other (34).

(G) That they should be allowed to live according to their laws, and with the same privileges as they had enjoyed under the late *Cæsar* and *Hyrcan*; that their temple at *Jerusalem* should still receive their yearly tribute towards the repairs and worship of it; that the *Jews* should not be obliged to appear

at the courts of judicature on the eve of the sabbath after the ninth hour, (answering to three afternoon) nor on the sabbath; lastly, that whosoever should lay hands either on the temple tribute, or on any of the sacred books of the *Jews*, should be punished as a sacrilege, and all his goods should be confiscated to the *Roman* commonwealth.

This decree was ordered to be set up in a public place at *Ancyra*, which had been dedicated by the whole people of *Asia* to the honour of that monarch (35).

King *Agrippa* made much such another decree in their favour, and ordered, that whoever stole any of the sacred treasure, or *Jewish* books, and took sanctuary in any temple or asylum, should be torn thence, and delivered up to the *Jews*, to be punished by them (36).

(34) Antiq. ubi supra, c. 8.

(35) Ibid. c. 10.

(36) Idem ibid.

ties,

- a ties, he cast his eyes on the tombs of *David* and *Solomon*, out of which he had heard, or pretended to have heard, that *Hyrca*n had formerly drawn some large sums; and those places, he thought, would prove a lasting fund for his extravagant expences. We shall not repeat what we have observed heretofore concerning this pretended theft of the *Maccabian* pontiff †. All we shall add with respect to *Herod*, is, that he executed his design with the utmost privacy, and went to the place in the night, accompanied only with some few confidants, where, instead of the coined gold and silver he expected, he found only some quantity of rich vessels, curiously wrought, which he caused to be carried off. Not content with these, he ventured farther, to search into the very coffins of the dead monarchs; but some sudden damp, or, as *Josephus* calls it, a miraculous flame, which consumed two of his guards, having scared him and his retinue, put a stop to his further search. *Herod*, to make some satisfaction for his sacrilege, caused a stately monument of white marble to be erected at the entrance of the sepulchre *; but this was looked upon by the *Jews* rather as a monument of his crime than an expiation of it.

Herod plunders David's sepulchre.

- But his cruelty to his sons and their friends rendered him still more abhorred. His vile sister (*H*) had raised his jealousy against them to such a height, that he acted more like a furious tyrant than a father or king, filling the city with blood, and turning his own palace into a slaughter-house. *Alexander* had been accused to him of having corrupted, by dint of presents and promises, two of his favourite confidants, namely, his high steward and cup-bearer. *Herod* ordered them immediately to be put to the rack; whereon they confessed their having indeed received some presents from that prince; but denied his having betrayed to them any ill design against the king. This confession not satisfying his jealousy, they were tortured afresh, and again, till he had extorted enough from them to justify his sending his son to prison, and loading him with irons. Here the young prince being grown desperate, sent his father four different confessions, in which he owned all, and more, than the torture had extorted from the other two, and at the same time accused *Salome* and *Pheroras*, with two of the king's prime ministers and favourites, of being all alike concerned in the plot; and particularly that *Salome* had even ventured to come to him in the dead of night, and lying down by him, had used many cogent arguments to convince him, that they must expect neither peace nor happiness, till they had rid themselves of the tyrant ‡.

His cruelty to his sons

Alexander's desperate confession.

- This accusation, which was only calculated to set all on fire, had the desired effect; and the jealous king, not knowing whom to trust to, flew into the greatest excesses of cruelty. There was now nothing to be heard of but racks, imprisonments, and dreadful executions abroad, whilst the tyrant was so tormented with fears at home, that he often started out of his bed, as if pursued sword in hand by his sons and their accomplices. Thus it was hourly expected when these fits of rage and dread would have run him mad, or hastened his son's execution; when *Archelaus* king of *Cappadocia* came in a lucky minute (*I*), and, by his interposition, settled a calm again, at least for a time. This discreet prince, who knew the violence of *Herod's* temper, began at first with pitying his sad condition, and condemning the unnatural perfidy of his son, threatening to take his daughter from him, and to leave him to his father's just resentment; but, in the end, he had the address, by degrees, to explode all these malicious accusations and extorted confessions, and not only to persuade him

† Vide *supra*, p. 91, h, (M).

* *Antiq. ibid.* c. 11.

‡ *Ibid.* c. 12.

(H) One of her hellish projects, and which cost her dear, was to get *Pheroras* to tell young *Alexander*, that the king was become so desperately in love with his wife *Glaphyra*, that nothing but his forcing her from him could satisfy his unruly passion. *Alexander* taking it for granted, went to his father, and, in the humblest manner, mixed with a flood of tears, expostulated the matter with him. *Herod*, surprized at such a black accusation, of which he was wholly innocent, sent for his brother, and asked him, How he could lay such a black perfidy to his charge?

Pheroras threw all the blame on his sister, and pretended she was the person who had whispered the thing to him. *Salome* being sent for, denied the whole with her usual assurance; but the king reading her guilt in her looks, in spite of her pro-

testations to the contrary, caused her and her brother to be banished the court, and highly commended his son's moderation; but all this good understanding was soon after dashed by a more hellish accusation, which they brought against that young prince, and which we are going to relate.

(I) We have already taken notice, that he was the father of *Glaphyra*, whom *Alexander* had married. This prince, who was of a prudent and cool temper, had received *Herod* and his sons in their return from *Rome*, where they had been acquitted by the emperor, and, by his wise counsels, had finished that reconciliation which *Augustus* had begun.

But being now informed to what height of cruelty things were carried at *Jerusalem*, he thought himself obliged to come thither, and to use his best endeavours to settle peace in that monarch's family.

Reconciled to
Herod.
Year of the
flood 2991.
Before Christ 8.

that his son was innocent of any design upon his life or kingdom, but even to make him a turn intercessor in his behalf. *Pheroras* hearing of this reconciliation, found no better expedient to obtain *Herod's* pardon, than by coming in a mourning dress, and, at his feet, confessing himself the author of all the slanders raised against the two princes. *Herod* thus reconciled to his sons, set out with them for *Rome*, to acquaint the emperor with the whole affair, after having accompanied *Artabellus* as far as *Antioch* in his way homewards. He was indeed under an obligation to go and clear his son at the *Roman* court, because he had, after their second falling out, exhibited several grievous complaints against him to the emperor.

Herod out of
favour with
Augustus.

DURING this, and his last journey to *Rome*, the bands of robbers, whom he had driven out of *Trachonitis*, having taken shelter in *Arabia Petrea*, under the protection of *Obodas* the king of it (K), had made such terrible inroads into *Judea*, that *Herod*, on his return, not being able to come at them there, put all their relations and friends to death which he could lay his hands on; which made them more cruel and desperate than ever. By this time the temple being finished, as was hinted above, *Herod* caused the dedication of it to be performed with his usual magnificence, and, on the following spring, set about the suppressing of the *Trachonitish* robbers. He began with a law-suit against *Syllæus* for sixty talents which he had lent him; and having gained his cause before the prefects of *Syria*, *Saturninus* and *Volumnius*, *Syllæus*, instead of paying the money, slipped away to *Rome*; whereupon *Herod* having got leave of those two governors to right himself by arms, marched into *Arabia*, and there defeated the robbers, demolished their castle, and returned to *Jerusalem*, without taking any further revenge. But this expedition was like to have cost him dear, through the treachery of *Syllæus*, who, upon the first hearing of it, went and complained to the emperor, and aggravated the wrongs done to the *Arabians* to such a degree, that *Augustus* sent him a very sharp reproof, and would have wholly cast him off, had not he been better informed soon after. *Herod* had sent two embassies to that prince, and neither of them had been able to get an audience. At length he sent *Nicolas Damascen* thither, who finding how prejudiced the emperor was against his master, bethought himself of an happy expedient to explode all the accusations of *Syllæus*, by means of the ambassadors of the *Nabathean Arabs*, without discovering his errand, till they had cleared the way for him (L). *Augustus* being now satisfied of *Herod's* innocence, and of his own too great credulity, was thinking to have taken the *Nabathean* kingdom from *Aretas*, and to have made him a present of it; but whilst he was deliberating about it, fresh complaints came to him from that unhappy monarch against his sons, which diverted the emperor from pursuing his design.

Reconciled to
him.

Presents new
complaints
against his sons.

For whilst these things had been agitating, *Salome* and *Pheroras* had again filled *Herod's* head with new plots and assassinations intended against him by his sons; and tho', upon inquiry, nothing could be proved against them, but a design of retiring into some other country, where they might peaceably outlive their father's tyranny; yet the jealous king took all the rest for granted upon this single evidence, and sent two of his ministers to *Rome*, with orders, that, if they found the emperor reconciled to him, they should deliver his letter to him, and obtain justice against the two young princes. *Augustus* having read the letter, and finding *Herod* desperately bent upon the ruin of his unfortunate sons, sent immediately orders to have them tried at

* Ibid. c. 13.

(K) This prince had a favourite minister named *Syllæus*, who had formerly made his addresses to *Salome*; but *Herod* refusing to give her to him, unless he turned Jew, and *Syllæus* not daring to consent to it, she had been given to *Alexas*, one of *Herod's* confidants. Hence arose a mutual hatred between them, which *Syllæus* improved, by persuading *Obodas* to protect those banditti, who did accordingly assign them the fortrels of *Repta* for a place of retreat, from which they sallied out, and committed innumerable outrages and cruelties, both in *Palestine* and in *Cælo-Syria* (37).

(L) These were come to demand justice against *Syllæus*, who had by that time caused *Obodas* to be poisoned, and was there soliciting the emperor for that kingdom; but the *Nabatheans* having set up

a king of their own, sent this embassy to *Rome*, to have him confirmed there, and to have the assassin punished.

Damascen therefore having privately gained them, directed them how to manage their audience in such a manner, as to clear *Herod* of all that was laid to his charge, without betraying any other design than that of accusing *Syllæus*. The thing succeeded to his wish, and *Damascen* putting himself at the head of their embassy, managed his accusation with such address, backing it with the suffrages of his *Nabathean* colleagues, that *Syllæus*, who was then present, could not disprove one single point; but was condemned to pay *Herod's* debt, and then to lose his head (38).

(37) *Antiq. ibid. c. 11 & 13.*

(38) *Conf. Antiq. ubi supra, c. 13. & l. xvii. c. 4. Strab. c. 16.*

Berytus,

^a *Berytus*; before the governors of Syria, and other neighbouring provinces, and in particular before *Archelaus*; and, if they were found guilty, he gave their father leave to punish them as he should think fit. *Herod* convened them all accordingly, except the *Cappadocian* king, whom he suspected of too great partiality to his sons; and having left these two unfortunate princes under a strong guard at *Platone*, a small town of the *Syrianians*, under pretence that they might be easily brought thence, if the judges did think it necessary, he pleaded his own cause before an assembly of above five hundred persons; but with such violence and brutish resentment, as rather raised their indignation against, than pity for him. He spared for neither evidence nor arguments to have them condemned to die, and concluded with telling them, that
^b being a king, he might have done it by his own authority, according to the laws of *Judea*; but that he rather chose to have them tried before such an assembly, to avoid the imputation of injustice or cruelty. After a full hearing, *Saturnius*, who had been formerly consul, voted that they should be punished indeed, but not with death, and was seconded by his three sons, who were then his lieutenants; but they were over-ruled by *Volumnius*, who condemned them to death, and drew the rest of the judges after him. Only they left it to *Herod* to execute the sentence when, and how he thought fit.

Gets them condemned.

Damascen, on his return from *Rome*, did try in vain to dissuade him from too rashly depriving himself of two such sons, and leaving himself in his old age to the mercy of the ambitious *Antipater*. *Tyro*, another old experienced soldier, came likewise to beg of him, that he might be admitted to speak to him on the same subject; and, upon his permission, freely told him the danger he was in from that young prince, who, he assured him, entertained some treasonable designs against him, whilst the chiefs of the *Jewish* nation, to whom he was grown odious on that account, did highly pity his two condemned sons, as less guilty than that brother. *Herod* stopped him short there, to make him name those chiefs; and, upon his so doing, caused them to be imprisoned. *Tyro* himself was, by the subtlety of *Salome*, accused by *Herod's* barber, of having hired him to cut his throat. *Herod* had recourse to the rack, which he caused to be given to the accuser, and to *Tyro* and his son, a youth of about the
^d age of *Alexander*; and the latter, to save his father from the torture, confessed, that himself alone, without his father's privity, had resolved to kill him, and to save *Alexander*. Scarce any body believed his confession but *Herod*, who thereupon caused his two sons to be conveyed to *Sebaste*, and there strangled, or, as the fourth book of the *Maccabees* has it, hanged on a post or gallows. Their bodies were afterwards buried at *Alexandrión*, among their *Amonean* ancestors ^b.

Puts them to death.

Antipater having now no rival left but his father, and *Pheroras*, tho' highly obliged to his brother, having lately fallen out with him (M), these two entered into a plot to take him off as soon as possible. *Herod* had about this time sent *Glaphyra*, *Alexander's* widow, back into *Cappadocia*, and returned her dowry out of his own coffers.
^c There were still two sons left of hers, and two which *Aristobulus* had had by *Berenice*, all whom the king had caused to be carefully educated. He had likewise expressed an uncommon concern for them, as well as a remorse for the untimely death of their fathers; and as he found himself upon the decline, he was contriving how to have those young princes so advantageously matched, that he might see them safely and happily settled before he died. But *Antipater*, who looked upon them in another view, found means to break all his measures, and to persuade him to change the disposition of his family, contrary to his first design ⁱ. It will not be amiss here to give an account of that monarch's wives, and of their issue, in order to understand the sequel of this history. The reader will find both in the margin (N).

Near of the flood 2904. Before Christ 5.

IN

^a Antiq. ubi supra, c. 17. & 4 MACCAB. c. ult.

ⁱ Antiq. l. xvii. c. 2 & 3.

(M) The occasion of this rupture, *Josephus* tells us (39), was, that *Herod* had formerly offered his brother his daughter in marriage, whom he had refused for the sake of a favourite servant, with whom he was deeply in love, and did soon after marry. *Herod* hereupon insisted upon his divorcing her, and marrying another of his daughters. *Pheroras* bound himself in the most solemn manner to perform it within a month; but when the time came, he ab-

solutely refused; and *Antipater* taking the advantage of this breach, easily drew him into his treasonable design.

(N) *Herod* had nine wives, the first of whom, named *Doris*, was the mother of *Antipater*. The second was *Mariamne*, the daughter of *Simon* the high-priest, by whom he had a son named *Herod*, called also *Philip*, who had married *Herodias*, on whose account the baptist was afterwards beheaded.

The

(39) Antiq. l. xvi. c. 11. & l. xvii. c. 3.

New troubles
in Judea.

Herod falls
sick.

Antipater's
plot against
him discovered.

IN the mean time another thing happened, which rendered *Herod* more odious to the Jews, and more irreconcilable to his brother. An edict lately issued out, commanding the Jewish nation to swear allegiance to *Augustus*, and to the king, had been strenuously opposed by the pharisees to the number of seven thousand, as contrary to the Mosaic law^k; for which contumacy *Herod* had condemned them to a severe fine, which had been paid by *Pheroras*'s new wife. This generous deed of hers had therefore so ingratiated her to that sect, that they scrupled not to persuade the people, from a pretended prophetic spirit, that God was going to transfer the crown from the line of *Herod* to the posterity of his brother's wife. *Salome* failed not to acquaint *Herod* with it, who having put several of the ring-leaders to death, commanded his brother to put his wife away, as the cause of this new sedition. *Pheroras*, upon his obstinate refusal to comply with his command, was forbid the court, and the rest of *Herod*'s family to have any further conversation with him. *Pheroras* was glad to take this opportunity of retiring into his tetrarchy, and took an oath never to return to court again whilst *Herod* lived. His being at that distance from the metropolis, was indeed a likely expedient to prevent his being suspected of having a hand in what he was then hatching against the king's life; and for the same reason *Antipater* procured himself to be sent for to *Rome* to attend upon *Augustus*. Thus had these two politic persons contrived to screen themselves from discovery, whilst their instruments were on work to bring about their treacherous design; but an accident soon after happened, which brought their whole treason to light.

Herod, who was fallen sick, and still retained a great love for his brother, had sent for him to communicate some private orders to him, and *Pheroras* had refused it, on pretence that he dared not violate his oath. He fell sick soon after, and *Herod* recovered, and was so far from resenting his late refusal, that he paid him an affectionate visit, without staying for an invitation from him. *Pheroras* dying two days after his arrival, he caused him to be magnificently buried at *Jerusalem*. But his death proved the beginning of *Antipater*'s disgrace: for two of the deceased's freed-men came and demanded justice against his wife, whom they accused of having dispatched him with some poison, which she had given him on that very evening, on which he was taken ill. *Herod* had recourse to his old way of extorting the truth by the rack; in particular, the women of *Pheroras*'s family suffered it at first with a surprising constancy; but one of them was at length forced by the excess of the torture to cry out, that she prayed to God, that *Doris*, *Antipater*'s mother, might bear her share of the torments, which she had been the cause of. At these words *Herod* having caused them to be more cruelly tortured, as well as one *Antipater*, an officer under his treacherous son, the whole plot was unravelled; and upon comparing their several depositions, and the intelligence which *Salome* had already given to the king, it was found, that the poison, of which *Pheroras* died, had been procured from *Alexandria* by a friend of *Antipater*, from whom it was conveyed by *Antipater*'s mother to *Pheroras*, in order

* Vid. Deut. xvii. 15.

The third was his brother's daughter. The fourth his first cousin. He had no children by these two last.

The fifth was called *Martac*, a Samaritan, by whom he had *Archelaus* and *Antipas*, the former of whom succeeded him in the half of the kingdom under the name of *Tetrarch*, and the latter, called also *Philip*, married *Salome*, the dancing daughter of *Herodias* above-mentioned.

The sixth, named *Cleopatra*, was a native of *Jerusalem*, by whom he had two sons, *Herod* called also *Antipas*, and *Philip*. *Herod* having married *Herodias*, his brother *Philip*'s wife, during his life, was reproved for it by *John* the baptist, and caused him to be put to death.

Pallas was his seventh wife, by whom he had a son, named *Phasael*. The eighth was *Phadra*, by whom he had only one daughter, named *Roxana*; and by the last, called *Elpis*, he had another daughter called *Salome* (40).

As to his grandsons, by his beloved *Mariamne*, mother of *Alexander* and *Aristobolus*, lately put to death, they make likewise a considerable figure in history, and especially those of the latter in the gospel, and deserve here a particular mention.

Aristobolus left two sons, and a daughter whom he had by *Berenice* his wife, as we have seen a little higher, namely *Agrippa*, *Herod*, and *Herodias*. *Agrippa*, at first clapt into prison by *Tiberius*, and afterwards made king of *Judea* by *Caligula* (41), was he who put *James* the brother of *John* to death, imprisoned *Peter*, and was smitten with death at *Cæsarea* (42). *Herod* was made king of *Chalcis*, and is only known in *St. Luke* for his marriage with the dancing daughter of *Herodias*, as we hinted above.

As for *Agrippa*, he left a son of the same name, before whom and his sister *Berenice* *St. Paul* was admitted to plead his cause at *Cæsarea* (43), and another daughter, named *Drusilla*, married to *Felix*, governor of *Judea* (44).

(40) De his vide bell. *Jud.* l. i. c. 18. *Antiq.* l. xviii. c. 7. Vid. & *Matth.* xiv. 1, & seq. *Mark* vi. 14, & seq. *Luke* ix. 7, & seq. (41) Bell. *Jud.* l. ii. c. 8. (42) *Act.* xii. 1, & seq. ad fin. (43) *Act.* xxv. in fin. *Plot.* (44) *Ibid.* xxiv. 24.

- a to be given to the king upon the first opportunity. All which was upon further examination acknowledged by *Pheroras's* wife, who added that she would go and fetch it to him; and, instead of doing so, flung herself down from a high gallery; but her fall not proving mortal, she, upon *Herod's* promise of a general pardon, depose further, that her husband being stung with remorse at his receiving this last visit from him, had ordered her to fetch the poison, and to burn it before his face, which she had accordingly done, except a small dose that she had reserved for herself in case of necessity. The box, and rest of the poison being produced, and acknowledged by other witnesses, convinced *Herod* of his son's perfidy, not only to himself, but to the two sons of his favourite *Mariamne*. His other wife of that name was likewise accused
b of being in the same plot, and though nothing was proved against her, yet was she banished, her son *Herod* disinherited, and her father deposed from the high-priesthood (O). *Doris* was likewise stript of all her costly ornaments, which amounted to a large sum, and banished the court¹.

BUT it is now time to leave for a while *Herod* in his sad distracted condition, and the nation in their feuds and resentments against him, and turn our eyes on more important matters; those great and inestimable blessings which heaven was then ready to shower down, not only on the *Jews*, had they not rendered themselves unworthy of them, but on the whole world, who, we are told, were then in an universal expectation of them under the promised Messiah. For about this time the angel *Gabriel*, who had been
c formerly sent to manifest to *Daniel* the precise time of his coming, by a determinate number of weeks^m (P), was again sent to *Zachary*, a pious and upright priest of the

John the baptist born.

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¹ Antiq. ubi supra, c. 4, 5, & 6.

^m Dan. ix. 24, & seq.

(O) *Simon* was succeeded in that dignity by one *Mattias* the son of *Theophilus*, a native of *Jerusalem*. But this pontiff having on the following expiation eve contracted some pollution †, which incapacitated him from officiating on that grand solemnity, a near relation of his, named *Joseph*, the son of *Ellemus*, was substituted in his room: *Mattias* enjoyed his dignity but one year, after which he was deposed for being privy to an insurrection raised at *Jerusalem*, and succeeded by *Joazar* his brother-in-law (45).

(P) This is justly allowed one of the noblest prophecies in the whole *Old Testament*, and one of the strongest proofs of christianity against the *Jews*, since it determines the very time on which Christ was to come into the world, enter into his ministry, and be cut off for the sins of the people; soon after which was to follow the destruction of the *Jews*, or, as the prophet words it, their ceasing to be a nation or people, and the promulgation of the gospel, or of the new covenant, in and by that Messiah.

The whole prophecy runs as follows (46): *Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people, and upon thy holy city to finish (or restrain) the transgression, and make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to anoint the most holy one. Know therefore, and understand, that from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem, unto the Messiah, the prince, shall be seven weeks; and threescore and two weeks the street shall be built again, and the wall, and even in anxious (or perilous) times; and after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself; and the people of the prince that shall come, shall destroy the city and the sanctuary, and the end of it shall be with (or like) an inundation, and unto the end of the war desolation is determined; and he shall confirm the covenant with many during one week, and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease; and he shall make it desolate on account of the*

over-spreading of abominations, until the determined extermination be poured on the land, or people, that is become liable to that desolation.

It will not be expected that we should here enter into a comment on this prophecy, much less into a dissertation on the various ways of computing the seventy weeks here mentioned, and the various times, which interpreters, both *Jewish* and *Christians*, have assigned for the beginning and ending of that prophetic epocha. And yet, as the subject is of no small moment, the reader will doubtless be glad to hear at least how it is best calculated and made out by the latter, and by what subtrefuges the former endeavour to evade the force of it.

The generality of the *Jews* do agree with us, that those prophetic weeks are weeks of years, or of a day for a year, according to the prophetic style. Though some of them, in order to puzzle the cause, have pretended to understand them of weeks of jubilees, or of seven sabbatic *, that is, forty-nine weeks each, amounting in all to 3430 years (47). A good long epocha, and very proper to keep up the drooping hopes of the *Jews* about the Messiah's coming. Others stretch it still farther, to seven thousand years, that is, by allowing a hundred years to every week; but the generality understand those weeks of seven lunar or *Jewish* years, as we do, according to which seventy weeks will make four hundred and ninety years. But here they finding themselves closely pinched by that computation, have had recourse to various pitiful shifts to explode it. We shall give our readers a sketch of some of the best of them, by which he may guess at the rest.

Some of them pretend, that the words of the prophet, from the going forth of the command to restore and to build, are not to be understood from the issuing out of *Cyrus* or *Darius's* decree; but from the time of those words being prophetically pronounced by *Jeremiah* to *Zedekiah* king of *Judah* (48),

time

† Antiq. l. xvii. c. 6. Vid. & Vol. I. pag. 618, c. d. 634, & seq.

(46) Dan. ix. 24, & seq.

612, 2, & (L).

& alib. pass.

* Concerning those jubilees and sabbatic years, see before, Vol. I. p. 615, & seq.

(47) Vid. N. De Lys in Daniel. ix.

(48) Jerem. xxiv. 8, & seq. xxxiv. 1, & seq.

course of *Abiab*, whilst he stood offering the sacred incense in the temple, according to the priestly office^a, to foretel him the birth of a son, the miraculous child of old age and barrenness; a son whom he should shortly have by his virtuous wife *Elizabeth*, and who should be a *Nazarite*, and the fore-runner and great harbinger of the world's redeemer^o. Here the good old priest, surprized at the vision, and conscious of his and his spouse's extreme old age, could not forbear desiring to have his faith confirmed by some further miraculous token; and the angel granted his request, and in such a manner, as might at once be a reproof to his diffidence, and a confirmation of the message he had delivered to him. *Zacharias* was accordingly struck dumb on that instant, and continued so, till the promised child was actually born.

Six months after this vision, the same heavenly messenger was sent to an obscure young virgin, named *Mary*, who dwelt then at *Nazareth*, with, and under the guardianship of her espoused husband *Joseph*, both of them of the house and lineage of

^a Vid. Exod. xxx. 7, 8, & sup. Vol. I. p. 692, 2, & seq.

^o Lux i. 5, & seq.

some years before the captivity (49); and to shew their wretched skill in chronology, conclude the epocha with us at the destruction of the temple. Others, St. *Jerom* tells us (50), began it at *Darius* the *Mede*, and ended it with those above-mentioned at the destruction of *Jerusalem*; only they allowed the eight remaining weeks for the total dispersion of the *Jewish* nation completed under the emperor *Adrian*.

A third sort begin the seventy weeks at the destruction of the first temple by *Nebuchadnezzar*, and end it at the destruction of the second, by *Titus Vespasian* (1). Shrinking thereby an epoch of six hundred and sixty years into this of four hundred and ninety, to make it agree with the seventy weeks, and thereby betraying still more their ignorance of chronology. This devastation of the city and temple, and the dispersion of the *Jews*, is according to this latter system to last till the overthrow of *Gog* and *Magog* by the *Messiah*; but when that will happen, they do not pretend to guess. For these reasons they are altogether at a loss how to explain this prophecy, so as to evade the consequences drawn from it by the christians against them, and have fallen into various hypotheses, equally absurd and ridiculous, about the *Messiah*. Some think, that the sins of the nation have retarded his coming; others, that he came at the appointed time, but did not appear publicly; others, that he is still hid in some obscure part of the world, waiting till they are fit to receive him; others have imagined two *Messiahs*, one humble, obscure, and rejected; and another as yet to come, glorious, warlike, victorious, and universally acknowledged. Lastly, and to name no more, from a sense of the manifest deficiency of all these evasory shifts, they have agreed to leave the dispute about the *Messiah* in *suspensio* till better times, and have prohibited all further inquiries and calculations about it under a severe anathema (2).

The christians are not exactly agreed either in the placing the beginning and end of these weeks, or in the calculations of those lunar or *Jewish* years. Both differences however are inconsiderable, if duly attended to; the former is intirely owing to our imperfect knowledge of the chronology of those times. Had we a sure guide in it, the point would not be long unsettled. But whilst in this uncertainty one author will place the beginning at the decree of *Cyrus*, another at that of *Darius*, a third at that of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, and each of them endeavours to stretch or shorten the chrono-

nology of each interval, as best suits with his hypothesis; it is no wonder there is so little agreement among them, and so little certainty to be gathered from the whole dispute.

The difference arising from the various computations of the *Jewish* years is still more inconsiderable, since it can amount at most but to nine or ten years between those who make it longest, and those who make it shortest; and who can wonder at it, or urge it as an objection against this prophecy, that considers the variety of computations, of either the *Jews*, of which we have formerly spoken more fully*, or of other nations, from which this epoch is to be calculated and rectified? Upon the whole then, these difficulties duly considered, an impartial reader will doubtless rest satisfied with that system, which best adjusts the seventy weeks or four hundred and ninety years of the prophecy to the chronology of that epoch, according to the best light that can be had of it from the sacred and profane historians.

Waving therefore some minute differences between the authors that have written on that subject, the system most universally received by protestants as well as *Roman* catholics is that of *Julius Africanus* (3), as it has been amended by some late eminent chronologers (4), who place the beginning of it, expressed in the words of the prophecy, *From the going forth of the commandment to rebuild*, &c. at the beginning of its execution, which was not done till *Nehemiah's* coming to *Jerusalem* to see it punctually performed, and the end of it at the death of the *Messiah*; which interval makes up the four hundred and ninetieth year here foretold. For as to the first, it is plain, that *Nehemiah* found the work quite obstructed, and set aside, at his first arrival there, and that he set immediately about and finished it (5). This command, which was given in the twentieth year of *Artaxerxes* (6), is not however to be understood, according to them, of the twentieth year of his reigning alone, which would make the whole period too long by ten years; but of the twentieth of his reigning in partnership with his father (on a supposition that he was admitted into it by him ten years before his death) which will be the tenth of his reigning alone.

This system, which seems clearly to remove all difficulties, is attended with only one, viz. the silence of historians, and the unlikelihood of *Artaxerxes* being admitted so early into partnership with his father; and this objection, small as it is, has been however

(49) Vid. Munster. in Dan. ix. Note g. (50) In Daniel ix. (1) Rabbis. plurim. Vid. int. al. *Abraham*, *Solom.* *Jarchi*, & *De Lyra* in loc. sup. citat. (2) Vid. int. al. *Basnag.* *Dissert. de 70 hebdomad.* * See Vol. I. p. 110, (N), 611, c. & (K), & alib. (3) Apud Hieron. in Daniel, ubi supra. (4) Petavi. de Doctr. Temp. lib. xii. cap. 32, & seq. Ration. Temp. part. 2. l. iii. c. 10. Usser. sub A. M. 3550. (5) Conf. Nehem. i. 11, & iii. pass. See also before, p. 21, & seq. (6) Nehem. i. 2.

- 2 of David p (Q), with the glad tidings, that she was chosen by the special favour of heaven, to be the happy mother of the promised saviour of the world, to whom she should

MATTH. i. 18. LUKE i. 26, & seq. iii. 23, & seq.

however thought weighty enough to oblige the learned *Prideaux* (7) to steer a new course, which our readers will perhaps better approve than the former. But as he has treated the subject in such a full and prolix manner, as would swell this note beyond due bounds, and the book itself is in every body's hands, and in our own language, we shall refer the readers to it for the further clearing of this noble prophecy.

In the conclusion the prophet is told, that after the cutting off of the Messiah the temple and city shall be destroyed by a strange nation, that shall come like an inundation against it, and that the desolation of the land shall be preceded by an overflowing of abominations; all which sufficiently prefigures the *Roman* eagles set up in the temple, prophetically also alluded to by Christ himself (8), followed by the profanation, plundering and firing of that holy place. In the middle of the week, the sacrifices, oblations, &c. were to cease, not actually, for they did not do so till the destruction of the city, about forty years after; but they lost their efficacy, and became useless and insignificant after the grand sacrifice of the Saviour of the world, which they were to prefigure, and from which alone they received their efficacy. Lastly, those who had thus rejected, and put to death the Messiah, were to cease to be a people, be dispersed, desolate, &c. all which the *Jews* have sufficiently felt to their cost.

The destruction and lasting desolation of the city, but more particularly of the temple, was indeed to be the finishing stroke of the christian evidence against the *Jews*. We have shewn in a former volume †, how these evade the pregnant prophecies of *Jacob*, that the *shepards* should not depart from *Judah*, &c. (9) and the reader has now seen what wretched shifts they make to elude this of *Daniel's* week, at the expence of sense and chronology. There seemed therefore still wanting a more irrefragable proof, if not to convince, at least to silence that insatuated nation, with respect to this important article of the Messiah's being come at the appointed time, and of the vanity of those that still expect him; and this was the prophecy of his coming during the standing of the second temple, and rendering it more glorious by his presence than that of *Solomon*, notwithstanding its great disparity in other respects, concerning which the reader may look back to what has been said at the beginning of this chapter *. When therefore this temple was destroyed, it ought to have convinced them that he was really come, as his apostles and disciples affirmed, though there had been a new one immediately built; how much more when all attempts for the rebuilding it have been hitherto frustrated? But of this we shall have a proper occasion to speak more fully in the sequel.

We beg leave here only to observe further, that if the total destruction of the city and temple, and the dispersion of the *Jews*, did not immediately follow the crucifixion of the Messiah, they became obnoxious to it from that time; and God seems only to have protracted the sentence during those forty years to give them time to repent of that atrocious fact, which, as St. *Peter* observes (10), they had committed through ignorance. Accordingly we find that vast numbers of them prevented it by a timely conversion (11), whilst the more obdurate sort refusing to acknowledge that crime (12, and em-

brace the proffered mercy, were thereupon dispersed throughout the world, to be, against their will, a standing evidence of the truth of the scriptures and prophecies, and of their own judicial blindness and punishment.

(Q) We have taken notice in a former volume, that the *Jews* had a law which expressly forbid heiresses to marry out of their own tribes (13). It is true, the virgin *Mary* seems to have been far enough from being one of that sort, at least in possession, whatever she might be in reversion, or by virtue of the jubilee laws, according to which all lands and inheritances were to revolve to the original owner, or to his next heir or heiress †. But there was still a much greater tie, which kept the virgins of the tribe of *Judah*, but especially those of the house of *David*, from marrying into another tribe or family, namely, the sure expectation they had that the Messiah was to be of that lineage, and to be born in *Bethlehem*, the city and patrimony of that monarch; and how careful every family was to preserve their genealogy, needs not be repeated.

It is therefore in vain that the *Jews* exclaim against the uncertainty of Christ's being of the seed of *David*, because *Joseph's* and not *Mary's* genealogy is deduced from him by the two evangelists, who is yet affirmed by them to have had no share in his conception. The certainty of the virgin's descent from that house is rendered evident enough by what we observed above, especially if we add the testimony of the evangelists themselves, who call her miraculous child the son or descendant of *David*. If it be asked, why they chose rather to give us that of her husband? it may be answered, that they conformed in it to the custom of the *Hebrews*, and even of the sacred writers, who deduce their genealogies from the male rather than the female line; for if Christ the son of *Mary* was the son or descendant of *David*, it must follow that his mother must be so too.

But the greater difficulty is, to reconcile the variations of the two genealogies of St. *Matthew* and St. *Luke*, and we much question whether the greater part of our readers would care to have all repeated that has been said on that subject, though in ever so succinct an epitome, especially considering that the point has not been so sufficiently cleared hitherto, as to leave no room for fresh cavils and objections. Yet that our silence might not be interpreted for a giving up of the cause, we shall subjoin a few observations we have been able to make, some of which, though intirely new, may yet furnish the curious inquirers into these abstruse matters, with a better key to reconcile those two genealogies, if not to clear and confirm the one by the help of the other, than they have as yet met with; and as we design the following remarks chiefly for such of our studious readers, we shall content ourselves with giving them as hints for them to exert their talents upon, without confining ourselves so much to method, as we do in other notes.

First, then, we beg leave to observe, that the titles of father and son, as well as the terms *so begot*, and *be begotten*, in the language of scripture, do not always imply an immediate, but frequently a remote succession. Hence the phrase often used by *Moses*, when thou shalt hereafter begot children and children's children (14), and the name of father or son given

(7) Connect. part 1. Book 5. sub an. 458.

(9) Genesis xlix. 10.

seq. iii. pass.

† De hoc vid. *ibid.* p. 614, & seq. 617, b.

* See *h. fore*, p. 6, b, & (K).

(12) *Ibid.* v. 28.

(8) Matth. xxiv. 15, & *alib.*

(10) Acts iii. 17.

(13) De hac vid. Numb. xxxvi. pass.

(14) Deut. pass.

† Vol. I. p. 462, (G).

(11) *Ibid.* ii. 36, &

Vol. I. p. 537, b.

should therefore give the significant name of *Jesus*, or Saviour, according to the prophecies long since written of him. Those that relate to this particular head, are as follow : *Behold a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Emanuel,* &c.

given to a predecessor or successor at the distance of two, three, or more generations, as will more fully appear by the sequel. This being premised, will serve as a basis to the following remarks on the subject of those two gospel genealogies.

1st, St. *Matthew* gives one genealogy, and St. *Luke* another, and both in some names vary from the *Old Testament*.

2dly, St. *Matthew*, who begins his from *Abraham*, divides it into forty-two successions, called by him generations ; that is,

fourteen before } the regal government.
fourteen under
fourteen after

3dly, The first fourteen are the same with those in the *Old Testament*, and in St. *Luke*.

4thly, The next fourteen in St. *Matthew* contain the legal succession of the line of *Solomon*, until its extinction in *Jechoniah*, *ab. Coniah*, and *Jehoiachim* (15), when the line of *Nathan* the son of *David*, and brother of *Solomon*, took place.

5thly, The inheritance in the *Jewish* polity being unalienable farther than the jubilee, as was before hinted, and then revolving to the next surviving heir, the latter, though at some distance from the former, was called the son, that is, properly the successor of the former. Thus *Salathiel*, who by St. *Luke's* genealogy appears to have been the descendant of *Nathan* the son of *David*, is by St. *Matthew* said to be begotten by *Jechoniah* (16), the last of the *Solomonic* line, because he was the next surviving heir of the house of *David* after *Jechoniah's* death. Had not therefore *Solomon's* line been set down, and the end thereof noted, it could not have appeared from St. *Luke*, how *Salathiel* came by his title of succession ; for the line of *Nathan* could not have any claim to it, whilst that of *Solomon* subsisted, unless in an uncertain reversion ; and this will account for the difference between St. *Luke* and St. *Matthew*, in these middle fourteen generations.

6thly, But there is likewise in this latter succession a manifest variation as to the number from the books of the *Old Testament*. It has indeed been solved by saying that the evangelist aiming only at the three round numbers of fourteen generations above-mentioned, had overlooked or purposely past by some of the redundant ones ; and this answer hath hitherto past for current.

But the difference seems to arise from something more material, than the bare aim at an equality of numbers. The historical books set down all the kings in general that had reigned from *David* to *Jechoniah* ; but St. *Matthew*, as a genealogist, seems to take notice only of those who had a legal title, and to omit the others. Of this latter sort we take *Ahaziah* the son of *Jehoram* by *Athaliah* to have been, who is said to have been made king by the inhabitants of *Jerusalem* upon his father's death, because his elder brother had been killed by *Philiſtes* (17), which seems to intimate that they had chosen him in lieu of some infant son of his deceased brother. For had not this been the case, he would have succeeded of course, without the people's choice. In the same class we may put *Joash*, who succeeded his father *Ahaziah*, and *Amaziah* the son of *Joash*, all who might succeed each other in prejudice to the elder branch, till this being extinct, made way for the younger in *Uſiah* or *Oſias*,

the son of *Amaziah*, who is therefore called by the evangelist, the son (18), that is, as we have hinted above, the successor of *Jehoram*, though at the distance of three generations above-mentioned.

Thus again *Zedekiah*, who was set up by the king of *Babylon* in prejudice of his elder brother *Jechoniah*, is likewise omitted by the evangelist. Now when these irregular successions are taken away, there will remain but the same fourteen which are mentioned in his genealogy.

7thly, The next variation between the two evangelists is in the last fourteen generations, and arises from the one's constant care of pointing out the passing of the inheritance as far as it goes in the elder branch. They both agree as far as *Zerubbabel*, after which St. *Matthew* goes on with *Abiud*, and his heirs, down to *Eleazar*, where the line of *Abiud* ends ; and then he sets down as his son and successor *Matthan* (19), who is by St. *Luke* mentioned under the name of *Matthat*, and was of the line of *Rhesa* (20) the son of *Zerubbabel*. So that he entered into the regular succession after the extinction of that of *Abiud*.

Thus again, *Matthat* or *Matthan* dying childless, *Eli* was obliged, according to the *Mosaic* law, to take his wife, and raise up seed to him, and by him begot *Joseph* the husband of *Mary*, who, according to the same law, was still reputed as the son of the dead elder brother. For this reason St. *Matthew* rightly calls him the son of *Jacob* ; whereas St. *Luke*, who did not proceed on the same method, calls him the son of *Eli*. The first gives us the name of his legal, the other of his natural father.

St. *Matthew* might in all probability have fetched his genealogy from the records of *Beulahem*, the patrimony of *David*, and wherein therefore none were entered, but such as by a regular lineal descent were in actual possession of it, and where the younger branch, though in actual possession of the crown, could not be regularly inrolled, as long as there was any heir of the elder left alive, or till such a time as this latter failed. St. *Luke*, on the other hand, who, as he tells us in the preface to his gospel, proposed to supply such defects as he found in those who had writ the history of *Jesus Christ* before him, fearing lest these omissions should cause some confusion, for want of pointing out when the younger succeeded the elder branch, had recourse to the book of the chronicles, where the series of the successions, both regular and irregular, legal and illegal, are exhibited. So that both had their genealogies from the most authentic, though different records, and scrupulously adhered each to his own, according to the scheme they had in view, and consequently, instead of clashing, do more probably clear and confirm each other.

There is still one difficulty left with respect to St. *Luke's* genealogy, viz. his introducing of *Cainan* in the line of *Shem*, adding thereto one generation contrary to the *Hebrew* text in *Genesis* and the *Chronicles*, and all the versions of it, except the *Septuagint*, contrary to the concurring testimony of *Josephus*, *Philo*, and other *Jewish* doctors, as well as to that of the ancient fathers ; all who not only omit *Cainan's* name, but reckon only ten generations from *Noah* to *Abraham*, whereas with this there would be eleven.

This

(15) Conf. *Jerem.* xxii. 24. ad fin. 2 *Kings* xxiv. 8. & seq. 2 *Chron.* xxxvi. 9. & seq. (16) Conf. *Luc.* iii. 27, ad 31. & *Matth.* i. 12. (17) *Vid.* 1 *Chron.* xxii. 1. & 2 *Kings* viii. 24. & seq. (18) *Matth.* ubi supra, vers. 8. (19) ubi supra, vers. 15. (20) ubi supra, v. 27.

- ^a Ec. 9 (R). — *Unto us a child is born ; unto us a son is given ; and the government shall be upon his shoulder ; and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, the mighty God, the everlasting Father, the Prince of peace* * (S) ; with some others of the same nature, which are not quite so manifest, nor so universally agreed on (T). But the surprised

¹ ISAIAH vii. 14.

² Ibid. ix. 6.

This difference has given commentators more pains to reconcile, than we think it deserved, considering the likelihood there is of its having been jumped into St. Luke's text by the carelessness of the transcribers, there being another *Cainan* mentioned in the verse immediately following, which might be a.60, according to the old close way of writing, in the very next line. But allowing it to have been originally in St. Luke, it is plain, he must have had it out of the septuagint, which version both he and the other sacred writers his contemporaries used, and the copy which he then had might have been corrupted after the same careless manner ; for it doth not appear that all the copies of that version had this name, else it would be found in all the *Latin* versions of it, as well as in *Josephus*, *Philo*, and the fathers ; and then they must have reckoned eleven instead of ten generations.

The time may be said even on the supposition, that it was originally put in by the seventy interpreters ; for as neither they, nor the transcribers of the *Hebrew* copy, which they took with them into *Egypt*, were infallible (at least we think we have made it appear they were not, when we spoke of their version) how easily might that word have crept into the text by their inadvertency !

But if all this will not satisfy the scrupulous, what we have observed above of the distinction of natural and legal parents, will easily remove the difficulty ; so that *Arphaxad* might be the natural father of *Sala*, and the legal one of *Cainan*, or *vice versa*. There is therefore no need of having recourse, as some have done, to injurious suppositions against the *Jews*, as if they had purposely scratched out the name of *Cainan* in their *Hebrew* copies, that they might take occasion to cry down the septuagint version ; much less to other more violent means, to account for so small a variation, which, for aught appears to the contrary, was occasioned by the mere oversight of a transcriber, and the more probably, of St. Luke's own copy, than of either original or *Greek* version.

(R) This prophecy has been very much canvassed of late by our modern sceptics, and as learnedly answered by several eminent hands. Those disputes are so recent, that we need not refer our readers to the authors who have wrote on either side. As for the difficulty that is raised, how the prophecy of a child thus miraculously born, could be a satisfaction to *Ahaz*, to whom it was addressed, unless it was fulfilled in his time, we have answered it in a former volume, to which the reader may, if he pleases, have recourse †.

(S) Our readers may perhaps be willing to know what answer or evasion the *Jews* make use of against such pregnant prophecies ; and it will not be amiss here to give them a specimen of them out of one of their subtlest and boldest champions (21), by which he may guess at the rest.

First then, to the former of these prophecies, where the miraculous child is called *Jesus* or *Saviour*, because he was to save his people from their sins, they in general, and this in particular, answer to this effect : Who has told you that the sin of *Adam* has intailed any guilt on his posterity ? Was not that of his son *Cain*, who murdered his brother, a thousand times greater than the biting of an

apple ? and yet no such thing is said of his posterity being tainted with it. Besides, where is there any mention made that the Messiah was to save his people from their sins ? and if there was, how did *Jesus* save us from them, when you own he made us commit one infinitely heavier in crucifying him ? In vain do you tell us of a redeemer of souls, we expect none but a redeemer of bodies, a Messiah that shall deliver us from slavery, and make us again a flourishing victorious nation and kingdom.

To the second prophecy, the sarcastic author above quoted gives the following answer in a kind of triumphing tone. We will join issue with you, tho', according to your interpretation, it should have been written *his names* (instead of *his name shall be called*) but waving that, how can his (*Jesus's*) name be called wonderful counsellor ? Did not *Judas* rather defeat his council, when he betrayed him unknown to him ? He could not be the gibbor, or mighty one, seeing he was put to death : He could not be the *Abbi*, the everlasting father, or father of eternity, because he was cut off in the midst of his days. Lastly, he could not be called the prince of peace, because he enjoyed none himself, neither have wars ever ceased since his time ; yea, himself lays, that he did not come to bring peace, but war upon earth.

Others endeavour to elude the force of the prophecy, by pretending that the impersonal וְיִקְרָא שְׁמִי, *he shall call*, refers to God ; and consequently that all those titles there mentioned refer to him, and not to the child there spoken of. But this evasion is so ungrammatical, and contrary to the plain import, in a vast number of parallel places, that others of them have disowned it.

(T) Of this kind is that of *Jeremiah* (22) : *The Lord will create a new thing upon the earth, a female (or woman) shall encompass a man* ; which the context plainly shews to allude to the days of the Messiah, and most probably, from the natural sense of the words, to the miraculous pregnancy of this virgin. However, the *Jews* not only take them in a very different sense, but exclaim against us for urging this text to them.

Especially the *Jewish* author above-quoted, who here, as every-where else, rather exposes his inveterate rancour against the *Christians*, than his skill in the prophetic writings. It would doubtless offend our reader's ears, to tell him what a filthy word this vile wretch has found for the blessed mother of Christ, by the alteration of the first letter of her name, or the blasphemies which most of their other writers vent against him and his religion. It shall suffice to have given this hint of it once for all. We shall spare them for the future, since their distorting the obvious sense of the sacred writings, whilst they acknowledge the divine authority of them, doth but the more evince the truth of the one, and the invincible obstinacy of the other.

Another text hitherto misunderstood, and worse translated, and which we think to be prophetic of the birth of Christ of a virgin, is that of the *Proverbs*, chap. xxxi. verse 19. *The way of the man, not with the maid, as our version renders it, but in the virgin* ; but this we have had occasion to explain in a former volume, to which we refer the reader *.

† Vol. I. p. 831, a. & (K).

Evangel. S. Matth. c. i.

(21) *Author. libr. Nitzaon. vid. Munster in loc. & nos. in vers. Hebr.*

(22) *cap. xxxi. 22.*

* Vol. I. p. 679, (P).

virgin was so far from calling to mind those prophecies, that she looked on her virginity, which it is most likely she had resolved to preserve under the guardianship of an aged religious husband, as an obstacle to the accomplishment of the angel's word, till, assured at length by him of the miraculous conception of that divine child, with an humble confidence she wholly submitted herself to the will of heaven. The angel having at the same time acquainted her with the pregnancy of her cousin *Elizabeth* in her old age, she went up into the mountainous country to congratulate her and her husband upon it. At the first embracing of these three holy persons, whose ecstatic joy can only be guessed from the pathetic account which the evangelist has left us of it^a; *Elizabeth*, who was far advanced in her pregnancy, felt her child give a leap in her womb, from which she began to conceive a higher notion^b of her visitor, and which she expressed in terms of the deepest respect and gratitude. *Mary*, on her part, being filled with rapturous joy at what she had heard, testified her humble sense for all the divine favours she saw herself blest with in that most heavenly canticle, which the same evangelist has preserved to us; and after three months abode, returned to her homely habitation at *Nazareth*. During her stay there, *Elizabeth* being delivered of the promised son, gave him the name of *John* (U), as his father had been commanded by the angel; and *Zacharias* having testified his consent to it in writing, found his tongue immediately loosed, and his heart filled with the Holy Ghost; and broke out into an eucharistic and prophetic hymn, which inspired the wondering by-standers, with singular hopes concerning this new-born child^c.

The Trachonitish robbers suppressed.

DURING this time, that part of *Judaea*, which is called *Trachonitis* (W), and which was very rocky and mountainous, had been the receptacle of a great number of banditti, and free-booters, who, as we have already hinted, lived chiefly upon the plunder which they got by their constant excursions, sometimes towards *Judaea*, sometimes towards *Arabia*. What was still worse, they infested the roads that led from the *Babylonish* territories to *Jerusalem*, and hindered the concourse of the *Jews* of those quarters to the annual feasts. *Herod*, who had already been at a vast deal of pains to ferret them out of their dens, and lurking-holes, bethought himself at length of a way of suppressing them effectually. He began with enlarging and fortifying a village, which was conveniently situated in the heart of the country, and became in time a considerable town. Hither he invited a certain *Jewish* captain, named *Zamaris*, who was gone at the head of five hundred well-armed men to settle in a castle in the neighbourhood of *Antioch*; and gave him and his men so many encouragements and immunities, that they came and fixed their abode there, and soon cleared all that country of that plundering vermin^d. *Zamaris*, who was both valliant and religious, did not only signalise himself in this province, but left a noble offspring like himself, whose very names were sufficient to deter the rest of that gang from settling there any more.

Christ the Saviour of the world born.

THE virgin *Mary*, who was returned, from her visit to *Zacharias*, to *Nazareth*, the place of her abode, began now to give such signs of her pregnancy, as made her aged spouse, who had wholly abstained from matrimonial converse with her, to conceive some strong suspicion of her incontinency. He was thereupon contriving some means to give her a private divorce, without exposing her to the rigour of the law; when he was apprised by an angel, that her conception was altogether miraculous, and that he ought not to hesitate one moment to take her and her child under his patronage, since that miraculous son was appointed by heaven to be the saviour of his people. *Joseph* immediately obeyed, and took her to his home, but lived in perfect continence with her till the time of her delivery^e, if not, of his death (X). In the mean time *Beth-lehem*,

^a LUKE i. 40, & seq.

^b Ibid. v. 27. ad fin.

^c Antiq. l. xvii. c. 2.

^d MATT. i. 18, & seq.

(U) In the Hebrew יוחנן *jochannan*, a name very expressive of that gracious dispensation, which heaven was going to display by the gospel, of which this child was appointed the harbinger.

(W) This region, which had *Arabia Deserta* on the east, *Batanea* on the west, the land of *Damascus* on the north, and *Iturea* on the south, seems to have had its name from two famous mountains,

which an ancient geographer calls *Trachones* (23). The greatest part indeed of it, according to *Josephus*, who places it between *Palestine* and *Cælo-Syria*, had such ridges of rocks and mountains, especially on the sides of *Arabia* and *Iturea*, that some of them had caverns large enough to lodge a thousand men (24).

(X) This last is the most received opinion, and it is certain that the particle *till*, especially according to

(23) *Strab. Geogr. l. xvi.*

(24) *Vid. Joseph. ubi supra, l. i. c. 7. Euseb. in loc. sub voc. Kanath. Hieron. loc. Hebr.*

- a *lehem*, the city of *David*, and not the obscure city of *Nazareth*, being the place pointed at by the prophet for the birth of the Messiah ¹, the divine wisdom so ordered it, that the decree of *Augustus* for taking a fresh survey of the *Roman* empire, *Augustus's* and the number and estimate of all persons, estates, riches, &c. (Y) should reach *Judæa* ^{decrees} about this time, which obliged the pregnant virgin and her husband to repair thither, to be inrolled with all those that were of the house and lineage of *David*. The great concourse of people coming to that place, put this poor little family under two inconveniencies, viz. a long stay, and the want of a lodging, and proper entertainment; yet was this also conducted by a special providence, that he, who was to be the pattern of humility, should begin and end his race in the same low and dejected path. Accordingly, when the pregnant virgin found herself near the time of her delivery, she was forced to take up with the mean accommodation of a stable, where having brought forth her god-like son, she wrapped him up in swaddling-cloaths, and for want of a better, made the poor manger serve him for a cradle.

- But this humble rising of the sun of righteousness did soon break out into its peculiar lustre, when an angel, at the head of an heavenly host, proclaimed his wonderful birth to the watching shepherds, and celebrated it with that noble hymn, *Glory be to God on high, on earth peace, good will towards men*; and here began the first part of the character of that divine child, hinted above out of the prophet, to be displayed, *And he shall be called Wonderful*; wonderfully conceived, wonderfully born, and as wonderfully manifested. Accordingly, the angel having declared to the shepherds, that on that day was born in the city of *David* a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord, gives them these wonderful signs to discover him by: *Ye shall find the babe wrapped up in swaddling cloaths, and lying in a manger* ²; and the shepherds going to the place, and finding all things as had been told to them, became themselves the publishers of the joyful news, and began to fill the neighbourhood with hopes of their long-expected and now assured deliverance. The child's parents, according to the *Mosaic* law, circumcised him on the eighth day, and gave him the name of *Jesus*, as they had been directed by the angel (Z) ³.

ANOTHER

* Mic. v. 2.

† Luke ii. 8. ad 12.

* Ibid. vers. 21. Matt. i. 21.

to the genius of the *Hebrew* tongue, doth not always imply the duration of a thing to such a time, but often carries a continuation unto the end; otherwise Christ would have his session at the right hand of God no longer than till his enemies were made his foot-stool (25). *Timothy* would have been obliged, according to St. *Paul's* exhortation (26), to have vacated to the scriptures, and other episcopal duties, no longer than till the coming of that apostle to him; and *Jacob* would have been no longer intitled to the divine protection, than till God had performed the promise of bringing him safe to his own home again (27). The reader may see many more instances of the like nature in the famous concordance of indeclinables printed by *Froben* (28).

If it be objected, why *Joseph*, who is by St. *Matthew* called a righteous man, should scruple to expose his wife to the rigour of the *Mosaic* law, which condemns all such to death; it is answered, that the word *righteous* is here used by the evangelist in opposition to one of a severe and rigorous disposition, and rather means a charitable person, who, though he abhors the crime, yet thinks there is a debt of mercy and compassion due to the offender; and who could have a greater claim to it, than a young and unexperienced virgin?

(Y) When this way of surveying came in vogue in the *Roman* empire, how and by whom it was performed, shall be shewn in the *Roman* history. We need only take notice that *Augustus* caused three of these to be made in his time, of which this was the second; it had been begun somewhat above seven years before the vulgar or christian æra, that is,

above three years before the birth of Christ; and it might be well all that time going through the provinces of *Cælo-Syria*, *Phœnice*, and part of *Judæa*, before it came to *Bethlehem* (29), since that which had been made by *David*, of the single province of *Judæa*, (though it doth not appear that the commissioners were to take an estimate of the estates, but only the number of fighting men) had taken up three whole years, though they were recalled before they had gone through with it (30).

It may not be amiss to observe further concerning this decree of *Augustus*, that there is a kind of dissonance between St. *Luke* and *Josephus*, the former calling it a decree for taxing the empire, and the other affirming that no tax was paid in *Judæa* during *Herod* and his son *Archelaus's* reign, and that it did not begin till the deposition of the latter, when that province was put under a *Roman* governor or president. This was not till twelve years after, when *Cyrenius*, as he is called by the *Greeks* and the evangelists, or in the *Roman* style *Pub. Sulp. Quirinius*, was sent president of *Syria* (31).

The difference is easily reconciled; the decree issued out by *Augustus* was in order to have the empire taxed according to the estimate made by this survey. *Judæa*, though then subject to *Rome*, was excepted by the favour of the emperor, till the deposition of *Archelaus*, when it began to take place there under that new president. This sense, which seems the obvious one of the evangelist, doth in no way really clash with the *Jewish* historian (32).

(Z) This wonderful advent of the Saviour of the world happened, according to the best computation

wro

(25) Psalm cx. 1.

(26) 1 Timoth. iv. 13.

(27) Genes. xxviii. 15.

(28) Sub voc. *Donec*.(29) Conf. *Sueton. in Octavio*. & *Luc. ii. 1*, & seq.

(30) 2 Sam. xxiv. 1, & seq. See also Vol. I. p. 788, d.

& nos. (31) *Antiq. l. xviii. c. 1*.(32) De hoc vid. *Usser. Erid. Calmet, & al.*

The temple of
Janus shuts.

ANOTHER remarkable occurrence, and very proper to usher in both this character of Wonderful, as well as the other of Prince of peace, was, that the temple of *Janus* was then shut, which was never done, but when the empire enjoyed a profound peace^a, as it did at this time, and continued to do twelve whole years (A). But the most signal manifestation of this new-born Saviour, and which put the whole city of *Jerusalem* into an uproar, was the arrival of the magi, or wise-men from the east (B), to that

^a See the authors quoted under the following note.

we have, that of our most excellent *Usher*, in the four thousand year of the world; and falls in exactly with an old tradition of the *Jews* mentioned in a former volume, that the world should last two thousand years before the law, two thousand under the law, and two thousand under the Messiah, according to the six days of the *Mosaic* creation; after which was to follow the seventh, or millennium †.

Accordingly, we find that there was about this time an universal expectation of him among all the *Jews*, and even among the *Heathens*, who might have it probably from them; the sacred books having by this time been a considerable while translated into *Greek*, as we have seen in a former section. Neither is it improbable, they might still retain a kind of traditionary notion of him from the prophecy of *Balaam* concerning the wonderful star that was to arise out of *Jacob* (33); and this may be the reason why these so readily embraced christianity, whilst the *Jews*, blinded with prejudice, and soothed into the hopes of a conquering deliverer, rejected both him and his doctrine. But of this hereafter.

We have seen a little higher how the *Jews* evade those prophecies, which fixed the coming of Christ to this time by several manifest indices; and need we wonder they should do the same thing by this tradition? Their common salvo, that the sins of the nation has retarded his coming, is a plain acknowledgment, that they look upon the time as long since expired, though they will hardly own it in so many words. But here they go from a received notion of their doctors, that though God may protract or even remit the evils he denounces against men, as he did in the case of the *Ninevites*, yet he never doth so with his promises, but punctually performs them in due time. According to which notion they used to try a true from a false prophet; that is, they did not condemn him, if his threatening did not come to pass, but only when his promises failed.

This notion of the Messiah's coming being retarded on account of the sins of the nation, is indeed the natural offspring of a much greater error; their expecting him to have appeared in the pomp and grandeur of a conquering and victorious monarch, who was to free them from the *Roman* yoke, and bring this, and all other nations, under that of the *Jews*; for this is the sense they put on all those prophecies which set forth the glories of his kingdom; and these being the chief blessings they expected from him, and on which they set the highest value, what more likely cause could be assigned for his delay, than that of their sins?

But could they have opened their eyes to the opposite part of his character, which is there as plainly and expressly foretold, and in the very same chapter of the same prophet (34), namely that of his humiliation and sufferings, of his being rejected, reproached, blasphemed, and persecuted, even to death; they must have concluded, that nothing less than their sins could be the cause of his coming being so long suspended. On the contrary, they would have

seen, that since a person of his glorious, beneficent, and irreproachable character was to be so cruelly treated, so unjustly and so inhumanly butchered by his own people, no time could be fitter for his coming, than when their nation was come up to the height of ingratitude and injustice, of inatuation and inhumanity, as it really was, when those prophecies were fulfilled in him.

(A) This was the fifth time of its being shut since the foundation of *Rome*, the first time was under *Numa*; the second at the end of the *Punic* war; the third under *Cæsar Augustus*, after the defeat of *Marc Antony*, and death of *Cleopatra*, twenty-nine years before the birth of Christ; the fourth four years after, or twenty-five years before Christ, on the reduction of the *Cantiberians* or *Cantabrians* in *Spain*; and the fifth at this time of our Saviour's birth, and under the same emperor (35).

(B) It would doubtless prove an inquiry worth making, could we come at any tolerable certainty concerning these wise men, who they were? what part of the world they came from? what time of the year they arrived at *Jerusalem*? how many they were? and many more such questions, which have been started to little purpose, and to which no satisfactory light can be given. However, to spare our curious readers the trouble of consulting the various accounts that have been given of them, we shall here subjoin the most that can be found concerning them.

1st, It is generally agreed, that they were of the sect of the *Mages*, of whom we have given an account in a former volume †, persons wholly addicted to the study of philology, astronomy, and divination; and are supposed by some to have been the disciples or descendants of *Balaam*, whom we have mentioned a little higher, on account of his notable prophecy of the Messiah. This will not appear improbable, if we consider that both they and their supposed master are said to have come from the east (36). Now the latter is said to have been sent for from the city of *Pethor* (37), which is there affirmed to have been situate on the banks of the river of the land of the children of his people, or, as the targum of *Onkelos* renders the place, on the river *Euphrates*, and elsewhere is said by *Moses* to have been a city of *Mesopotamia* (38). So that this country of *Arabia Deserta* seems most probably to be the place they came from; for they generally bear the name of eastern in the sacred writings. Another ancient author, whom we shall have occasion to mention under the next note, tells us, that they were *Chaldeans* by birth, and by profession great astronomers; and that it was by the help of this art that they understood what this new-risen star prefignified, which made them take their journey into *Judea*, where the new Jewish king was born. Now *Chaldaea*, properly so called, being situate along the river *Euphrates*, was still nearer *Judea* than the other two above-mentioned.

This will also give us some light into another question concerning them, viz. How long they were a coming

† Vol. I. p. 613, b. (33) *Numb.* xxiv. 17. (34) *Isaiah* liii. pass. vid. & *Pf.* xxii. pass. & alib. plur. (35) *De his* vid. *Plutarch.* in *Numa.* *Liv.* lib. i. *Flor.* lib. ii. *Dio. Cass.* l. li. & al. *Oros.* l. vi. c. 20, & seq. † Vol. II. p. 71, & seq. 206, & nos. (36) *Conf.* *Numb.* xxiii. 7. & *Matth.* ii. 1. (37) *Numb.* xxii. 5. (38) *Deut.* xxiii. 4.

a that metropolis, under the guidance of a miraculous star (C), which ceased not to go before them, till it had brought them to the place and person they were in search of.

^a coming from their country to *Jerusalem*? for if they came from the latter, they might easily reach it on their camels or dromedaries, the usual, but expeditious carriage of those parts in and about a fourteenth night; and if from the former, through the latter, one week or ten days more might suffice. For upon the supposition above-mentioned, of their coming from *Mesopotamia*, and the banks of the *Euphrates*, the greatest distance from that river to *Jerusalem* will not much exceed six hundred miles. What further seems to confirm this conjecture is, the prophecy of the kings of *Sheba* and *Saba*, or *Arabia*, bringing their gifts to the king Messiah. For of him is this psalm (19) allowed by *Jews* and *Christians* to have been writ.

Some ancient authors indeed, who have fetched them from the remotest parts of *Persia*, have allowed them a two years travel, and found their supposition on the inquiry which *Herod* made of the exact time of the star's appearing to them, and his destroying all the male infants from two years and under (30); but what quite overturns this conjecture, and proves that they must have been at *Bethlehem* within less than forty days after his birth, is, that this was the place where they found him; whereas after his parents had presented him to the Lord at *Jerusalem*, which was to be done at the end of forty days, they are said to have gone and dwelt at *Nazareth*, their usual habitation (31).

Besides, if they had been two years a coming, the star must be also supposed to have appeared to them so long before, and to have directed them all that time, which is absurd, as we shall further shew under the next note. *Herod* therefore, by slaying all the males under two years, might only do it for his greater security, and from some doubt, either that the *Magi* might not have observed the first appearance of the star, or that they had purposely concealed it from him, out of a forecast they had of his bloody design against the child. We have seen already through his history, that he was never sparing of the lives of his subjects, whenever his jealousy or resentment rendered them obnoxious to him.

Neither sacred nor ancient ecclesiastical writers tell us, how many in number, or of what quality they were; but this has not hindered those more recent, fixing these and many more minute circumstances, even as far as the names, age, complexion, dress, retinue, and such-like. As for the number, the most received opinion is, that they were but three, and this notion seems founded on the three kinds of presents they brought with them, as if each of them had presented a different one. But this is said without foundation. An old apocryphal book has multiplied them to twelve; and adds, that they were chosen from their whole nation, and went every night on the high mountains to watch the appearance of the star (32).

Those that give them the title of kings, found their opinion partly on the text above-quoted out of the psalmist, and partly on a notion, which *Tertullian* had taken (33), on what ground is hard to guess, that all those eastern nations were governed by kings chosen out of the sect of the *Mages*. To the royal crown the *Armenians* (34) have added to them that of martyrdom, which they pretend they suffered in that country. The great constable of *Armenia*, in his letter to the king of *France*, (*St. Lewis*) adds, that they came thither from the pro-

vince of *Tangut* (35). All this is said on the authority of a tradition they have among them, and not from any authentic records; so that we may oppose to it that of the city of *Cologne*, which pretends that they died there in their way home, and shews not only their tomb, but their three heads in the cathedral of that city. Their epitaph, which is in *Latin* verse, gives them the names of *Gaspas*, *Melchior*, and *Balthazar*.

We shall add one tradition more concerning them, which is, it seems, as stiffly believed in some parts of the *Indies*, as the two last are in *Armenia* and *Germany*. We have it on the credit of *Jerom Ofsirius*, bishop of *Algarba* in *Portugal*, who assures us he had it from persons of undoubted credit, well versed in the ancient monuments of those countries, and is to this effect:

Chiperimal, king of *Cranganor*, in the kingdom of *Calecut*, having undertaken some long voyage by way of expiation for an incest he had committed, came into *Carmania*, where he met with two *Mages* going into *Judea* to pay their homage to a miraculous child newly born of a virgin. The king begged leave to accompany them, and on his return caused a stately church to be built in honour of the virgin and her son, and in which he caused her image to be set up, holding the child in her arms. We shall stop here, seeing there is no going further in search of them without danger of being still more bewildered.

However, before we dismiss this note, it will be very proper to take notice, once for all, that from the very earliest times of christianity, there started up a number of heretics, who, the better to colour their impious tenets, trumped up divers false gospels and writings under the names of some of the apostles, or most famous disciples of Christ, and stuffed them with such variety of miraculous circumstances and stories, as obliged the heads of the church to condemn and explode them, as they justly deserved. But though the books vanished, except their names, and some few fragments of them, yet the memory of those additious stories and miracles was not so easily extinguished among the vulgar, who were ignorant of their foul origin; but was propagated by a kind of popular tradition, which was afterwards too indiscriminately received by the writers of the fourth, fifth, &c. centuries, especially where they thought it served to clear a text, or supplied those circumstances of men and things, which had been omitted by the sacred writers.

Thus the various notions about the wise-men, mentioned above, of the miraculous star, we shall speak of in the next note, and many more of the like kind, too gross to deserve a place here, seem to have flowed from the pseudo-gospels of *Joseph* the carpenter, of *Joseph* of *Arimathæa*, of the infancy of *Jesus*, and some others, falsely attributed to one or other of the apostles; but in time their origin being forgot, they were received as common tradition, and quoted as such by some of the latter fathers. So that it would be unjust to charge those great and good men, with either forgery, or even with a fondness for what we call pious frauds, seeing the persecuted state of the church during so many centuries made their mistake almost unavoidable, which were in better times happily discovered and rectified.

(C) We have likewise a great variety of conjectures concerning this wonderful star, according as men

(29) *Psalms* lxxii. 10. (30) *De his vid. Calmes. Comment. in Matth.* (31) *Luke* ii. 39. (32) *Auth. ap. imperf. in Matth. homil. 1.* (33) *Cont. Marcion. l. iii. & lib. cont. Judæos.* (34) *Vid. Chardin's travels into Persia, tom. 3.* (35) *Spicileg. ap. Calmes. ubi supra.*

Wise men come
from the east to
Bethlehem.

of. However, as they looked upon him as the king of the *Jews*, they first repaired to the metropolis, where he was most likely to be either born, or heard of. Upon their first inquiry after him, *Herod* and the whole city was moved, and the grand sanhedrin being consulted about the place of his birth, directed them to *Bethlehem*, the place mentioned by the prophet above quoted. Whatever hopes the rest of the *Jews* might conceive from this wonderful phenomenon, and the tidings of the new-born Messiah, *Herod*, who dreamt of nothing but of an earthly kingdom, began to look upon that wonderful child as a dangerous rival, and resolved from that instant to nip him in the bud. To this end, he caused the magi to be privately brought to him, and having carefully sifted them concerning the time of the star's appearance, and other circumstances, which might serve his bloody design, he dismissed them with these words; Go and search diligently for the child; and when you have found him, bring me word, that I may go likewise and pay my homage to him. They set out accordingly, and were not a little over-joyed, when upon their leaving *Jerusalem*, they beheld the same star still going before them, till it stood and shot its rays perpendicular upon the house where the child and his parents were. Here they approached the divine babe with suitable reverence, and having laid open their treasures, they offered him the presents of gold, frankincense, and myrrh (D); and being warned not to go back to *Jerusalem*, they returned

men are inclined, either to lessen or to multiply miracles. Of this second sort are those who think it to have been a mere comet, only with some peculiar lustre, or some other index, well understood by the wise-men (36); and others, who make no more of it than a meteor, vastly below the orb of the moon †; though either of these can hardly be admitted without the interposition of a miracle, since the supposition of an extraordinary lustre in the former, and the long and regular motion of the latter, contrary to all that we understand of meteors, seems to have required a supernatural hand. Since therefore a miracle must be admitted, and it is plain God was never less sparing of them, than upon this glorious juncture; others have with greater probability believed it to have been a luminous body created on purpose; others, that it was the very light which had appeared to the shepherds, which having been seen at a distance to the wise-men like a star, came lastly to appear to those in a more resplendent manner (37). Some think it was an angel in that figure (38); others have run still greater lengths, making it to have been the Holy Ghost, appearing in that visible shape, and have attributed such an unusual brightness to it, as even eclipsed the sun; if so, 'tis a wonder no cotemporary authors, either sacred or profane, should have laid something of it.

And this will in a great measure explode the notion of those we mentioned in the last note, who make the wise men to have been two years a coming to *Jerusalem*, and the star to have gone all that time before them; since its long continuance, and irregular motion, with respect to other heavenly bodies, could not but awaken the attention and wonder of all those countries, in which it must have been seen. But this difficulty has been removed, by pretending that it appeared either to none but to the *Magi*, or only two or three times, enough for those who were watchful observers of it, but overlooked by all the rest. But this is said without foundation, or even shadow of probability; and the question of the *Magi* at *Jerusalem*, seems much rather to imply that it had been seen at least in all the countries between *Judea* and their own.

We will not take upon us to say which of all these hypotheses is the most probable, since the sacred historian has left us in the dark, and the rest of ancient historians are quite silent about it. We

shall only subjoin here what the Platonic philosopher *Chalcidius* says of it (39): It is not easy indeed to guess at the time in which he lived; but that he was a christian, the very passage itself plainly shews: "Let us now turn our thoughts, says he, to another, and more holy history, and such a one as is more worthy of our admiration. I mean that which ment on the appearance of a star, not of the nature of those which portended either a sickness or mortality, but which manifested the descent of God upon earth, to dwell among men, and to bless them with his choicest favours. Some of the *Magi*, or wise men of *Chaldaea*, having observed this star in the night, and being thoroughly versed in astronomy, went immediately in search of this new-born God, and having found him, presented him with gifts suitable to his divine character". The reader will find in the next note, what may have been probably the meaning of this last expression.

(D) The piety of some ancient times, when allegory was in greatest vogue, and mysteries were diligently looked for in every part of holy writ, hath led men into such lengths, as it would be dangerous to follow in these days. Particularly in these presents, which the wise-men offered to the holy *Jesus*, they have pretended to find out, either his three distinct offices of king, priest, and prophet, or his divinity, royalty, and manhood (40); or, lastly, the divine virtues he was endowed with, and was to communicate to his true followers, viz. purity by the myrrh, which is an excellent ingredient to preserve from corruption, incense; the smoke or perfume of which is said to be the prayers of the faithful (41); and charity or beneficence, the most acceptable perfume that can be offered to the deity, and implied in the gold.

Others, grieving to see their fellow-christians feed their piety with such far-fetched notions, have sought a nearer meaning by running into another extreme, and concluded, that nothing else seems intended by those gifts, than the supplying the present and future indigencies of the child and his parents, who were shortly to be forced to take a long journey into *Egypt*. So that the gold was to defray their expences, the myrrh to preserve the babe's tender limbs in his travels, and the incense to dispel the common damps, and ill smell, either of his stable, or of those caravanzeras or inns, in which they would be obliged to lodge. But

(36) Orig. Maldon Gros. Le Clerc in Matt. ii. Whiston, & al.

† Calmet, ubi supra.

(37) Leo

Mag. in Matt. Lightfoot, & al.

(38) Chrysost. Theophylact. & al.

(39) Comm. in Timaeum Platon.

p. 19.

(40) Ambros. in Luke ii. 6. Leo serm. de Epiphania. Theoph. in Matt. 2. Bern. & al. multis.

(41) De his Vid. Baron. sub A. C. 1. sect. 40. & Calmet. sub Simeon 1V.

a returned home by another way ^b. As soon as the child was forty days old, the time prescribed for the purification of women after the birth of a son ^c, his parents brought him to *Jerusalem* to be presented to the Lord in the temple, and to be redeemed, according to the law concerning the first-born ^d, with the price of five shekels, or of a lamb, or a pair of doves, or young pigeons; which last was the price appointed for the meaner sort. And into such low condition was the family of *David* reduced (by this time) and so poor were the parents of the world's inestimable redeemer, that they were fain to redeem him at the lowest price. Here they were met by a venerable old man, named *Simeon* (E), a person of consummate piety, and endowed with the spirit of prophesy; to whom it had been revealed, that he should not see death before he had beheld the promised Messiah. Being therefore directed by the Holy Ghost to the temple at the same time, he took the babe in his arms, and having foretold to his mother the sorrows with which her pious soul would in time be pierced, on account of the many blasphemies and persecutions which this divine son was to be exposed to; and being now assured that nothing could add to his happiness but the joys of a future life, sung his own requiem in a short ecstatic hymn, and restored the babe to his parents. His testimony was accompanied with that of a venerable old prophetess, named *Anna*, who had dedicated the remainder of her life from her widowhood to the service of God, and of his temple; and coming at that instant to the place, began likewise from thenceforth to publish this new-born Saviour to all the faithful *Israelites* ^e.

c WHAT bloody expedient the jealous *Herod* pitched upon to frustrate all these predictions by ridding himself of this so dreaded child, and how he was disappointed in it by a peculiar providence, will be seen in the next section; and we shall close this, according to our promise, with a short view of the sects at this time reigning in *Judea*, that the reader may see how it came to pass, that a Messiah, so plainly and frequently foretold from the beginning, so miraculously conceived and born, proclaimed by angels, attested by prophets, and confirmed by innumerable miracles, the infallible seals of heaven, came yet to be rejected and persecuted even to death, and beyond, by those who were the keepers and expounders of those oracles, which foretold and typified him, and eye-witnesses of all his stupendous works. For though we are writing the history of the *Jews*, and not of the christians, yet, for as much as the destruction of their temple, city, and common wealth, was owing to their refusing

^b MATTH. ii. 1, & seq.

^c LEVIT. xii. 2, & 6.

^d EXOD. xiii. 2. NUMB. xviii. 15. See also

before, Vol. I. p. 616. b. & (F).

^e LUKE ii. 22. ad 38.

But there is a middle way between those extremes, which is, that the *Magi* offered these presents to this new-born monarch, as they looked on him merely as the future king of the *Jews*, and without any regard to his divinity, of which it doth not sufficiently appear that they were apprised. Only they supposed by the wonderful phenomena that preceded and accompanied his birth, that he was likely to prove such a glorious monarch, as that his reign would eclipse those of all his ancestors; but whether on account of his greater power, conquests, or for what other reason, it is not likely they could know without a particular revelation.

(E) The shortness of the evangelist's account concerning this venerable person, has been abundantly supplied by the pious and fruitful fancies of later writers, who have each contributed their mite towards the raising of his character. He has been by many (42) affirmed to have been a priest, and to have been then performing his function in receiving the child in his arms, according to the custom of redeeming the first-born. There is indeed nothing can make this incredible or improbable, if we except the silence of *St. Luke*, who, it is not likely, would have over-looked his being a priest, if he had been really such.

Some have affirmed him to have been the same

with *Simon*, surnamed *The Just*, disciple of the famous *Hillel*, often mentioned in this history, who was also the master of that *Garnatiel*, at whose feet *St. Paul* had been brought up (43), and that whilst he was endeavouring after an exposition of the prophecy, quoted a little higher, *A virgin shall conceive, and bear a son*, this revelation was made to him, that he should not die before he had seen it fulfilled. So that when he came to see the miraculous mother and child, he broke out into that divine and prophetic ecstasy mentioned by the evangelist, and died soon after. *Epiphanius* adds (44), that the noble testimony he gave to this new-born Saviour did so exasperate the stubborn *Jews*, that they denied him common burial.

Another set, which makes him one of the seventy interpreters of the *Greek* version mentioned in a former section †, tell us, that when he came to translate the prophecy just now mentioned, he found his faith stagger; but that his doubts were happily dispelled by this revelation, that he should see the accomplishment of it before he died (45). So that at that rate he must have lived to a good old age, since at the lowest that version was made above two hundred years before Christ, and those interpreters were scarcely chosen out of the youngest tribe.

(42) *Allas. Differs. de Script. Simeon sub init. prophet.*

† *Vid. p. 37, b. & note.*

(43) *Act. xxii. 3.*

(45) *De his vid. Allas. ubi supra.*

(44) *De vit. & mort.*

*Causes of the
Jews incredulity.*

to acknowledge the Messiah, after he had fulfilled in his own person all that the prophets had written of him ^f; it will be necessary to examine by what prejudices and infatuation they brought this total and lasting desolation upon their country and nation; and upon a review of the doctrines peculiar to each sect, it will be found, that their invincible attachment, each to their own tenets, were the main causes and hasteners of it. For on the one hand, that erroneous and pernicious opinion, which every one of them obstinately held of a temporal Messiah, and conquering deliverer, was attended with two very fatal consequences, namely the rejecting the Messiah, whom they saw appear in a quite opposite character; and their seeking him in those impostors, who flattered them in their delusion, and ripened them into an open rebellion. Such was *Judas Galileus*, the head of the *Gaulonitish* sect or faction, which proved the mother of infinite mischiefs to that infatuated nation, and hastened their total ruin; to say nothing of several other pretenders, to the character either of the Messiah, or of his fore-runner, which drew still vast multitudes after them. On the other hand, the irreconcilable hatred which every sect bore, either to each other, on account of their different tenets, or against christianity, which was still more opposite to their own, did so weaken and distract the whole body, that instead of joining their united counsel and strength against their oppressors, they did as much strengthen them by their mutual feuds and persecutions, as they did exasperate them by their seditious and hostile behaviour, and made their own ruin so much the easier to complete. All which will be better seen by the sequel, especially by a short view of each of those sects. a

Josephus reckons four principal ones among the Jews; 1. The pharisees; 2. sadducees; 3. essenians; and, 4. the *Galileans*, or the faction of *Judas Galileus* ^a. The evangelists add that of the herodians to the two former, and mention nothing of the two last, probably because they did not oppose the gospel with that inveteracy which the others did. How powerful and numerous the pharisaic sect was among the meaner, and what sway that of the sadducees did bear among the opulent, and what perpetual wars each waged against the other, has been already frequently hinted, and will now be better understood by a short review of their different tenets. b

Pharisees.

I. The rise of the pharisees is very much unknown; they claim indeed their famous doctor *Hillel* often mentioned in this chapter, for their father, as he is supposed by some to have lived during the pontificate of *Jonathas*, about a hundred and fifty years before the birth of Christ, but by others later; and more justly too, since, if he be the *Pollio* mentioned by *Josephus* along with the famous *Sameas*, he must have lived about the time of *Herod*, long before whom the pharisaic sect was in high repute. 'Tis therefore likely, they claim him rather as an ornament than as the author of their sect. The reader may see what we have already hinted concerning those two great men in a former section [†]. As to the pharisees, it is probable, they did not begin to distinguish themselves, till the opposite sect of the sadducees started up, and made them by degrees run into the other extreme. This seems evident from the etymon of their name, whether we derive it with the generality of critics from the Hebrew פָּרָשׁ, to divide or separate, or with others ^b, from another sense of that word, signifying recompense, or retribution, in opposition to their antagonists, who denied and derided it, at least as to a future life. c

We have formerly had occasion to mention one of their favourite tenets, namely that of an oral tradition conveyed down from *Moses*, and to which they attributed the same divine authority as to the sacred books [†]. This being strenuously opposed by the sadducees, as well as the *Samaritans*, and the *Caraites* (a sect of which we shall give some account at the close of this section) made them equally detested by them. But none more incurred their hatred and resentment than our Saviour, who took all proper occasions of reproving them for the unjustifiable preference which they gave to this pretended tradition to the written word of God, and for condemning those as apostates worthy of death, who paid not the same or even a greater regard to the former than to the latter. d

ANOTHER tenet of theirs in opposition to the sadducees was, that of the being of angels, the immortality of the soul, resurrection, and future rewards. But as to this

^f Ibid. c. ult. ver. 25, & seq. Acts iii. 12 ad 21. & alib. plur. ^a Antiq. l. xviii. c. 1, & seq. Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 7. & alib. pass. [†] Page 119, e. note. ^b Vid. BARNAGE hist. des Juifs, tom. 2. l. ii. ch. 19. sect. 2. [†] See before, Vol. I. p. 597, b. & IV. p. 14 (Z). & alib.

last,

- a last, they first excluded all that were notoriously wicked from having any share in it, and sent them immediately after their death into everlasting punishment. *Josephus*, who was himself a strict as well as learned pharisee, affirms, that those spirits, which they called devils, were no other than the souls of such wicked men, who still retaining their mischievous propensity, were ever seeking to annoy those of the living by obsessions, &c. In the next place, this resurrection, in those that were admitted to it, was no more than a transmigration from one body to another, more or less happy, according to their behaviour in their former state. Thus the disciples asked our Saviour, who had sinned, the blind man before them, or his parents, that he should be punished with blindness ^c; and thus *Herod* and the multitude supposed Christ to be either *John* the baptist, *Elias*, or some other prophet risen from the dead ^d.
- b When therefore that divine master came to preach to them a more glorious resurrection, this proud sect could not but look upon it as a derogation to what they thought their superior authority and judgment, which was therefore the more offensive to them, as coming from so mean, illiterate, and contemptible a person.

A THIRD tenet was, that all things were subject to fate, or, as some express it, to the heavens, except the fear of God. It is not easy to guess what they meant by it: *Josephus* ^e indeed will have it, that they designed to reconcile by this unaccountable jumble, the fatality or predestination of the *Essenes*, with the free-will of the sadducees. If so, this is not the only absurdity, or even contradiction, which they held; but our learned bishop *Bull* seems to have proved, that they attributed all to fate, or to that chain of causes, to which the creator had subjected all things from the beginning ^f; among which the influence of the heavenly bodies was looked upon to be one of the principal. This seems hinted at by *St. James* in the beginning of his epistle to his new converts, where he explodes that pharisaical leaven by the most beautiful opposition of the immutability of God, the giver of all good, to the mutability of the planets, which, according to that notion, must necessarily vary their aspects from a benign to a malevolent one, and *vice versa*, even by the natural change of their courses ^g.

HERE was then a new source of dislike to Christ's doctrine, which affirms men to be the authors of their own unbelief, disobedience, obstinacy, and so answerable for that and all the train of evils which it brings after it ^h. It must be owned however, that some critics have given a different sense to *Josephus's* words, and whilst one makes the *Jews* from it to fall into the worship of angels, as having the government of those heavenly bodies ⁱ, others have endeavoured to disculpate them even from their known attachment to astrology, by pretending that by the heavens is meant no more than the eternal decrees of God, which are yet supposed very consistent with the notion of a freedom of will ^k. Both sides had an end to serve, and seem to argue according to their different notions, which it is not our business to enter further into, much less to reconcile the pharisees notion, if it was really theirs, of a freedom of will, with the absolute and eternal decree of the supreme being. Sure, it seems, from the address of the proud pharisee with, God I thank thee ^l, that he looked upon him as the original source of all those fancied virtues he there boasts of, whatever channel he might suppose they flowed to him from; and doth not this at least intimate that he looked upon the want of those virtues in the despised publican to be owing to his being deprived, by the same arbitrary divine will or decree, of that superior grace which produced them in him? All which is contrary likewise to the doctrine of Christ, which teaches us, that God distributes to every man a sufficient share of it to profit withal, and increases it according to the improvement they make of it.

BUT their most distinguishing character, and that which rendered them most obnoxious to the just censures of Christ, was their superogatory attachment to the ceremonial law, their frequent washings, fastings and prayings, their public alms-deeds, hunting after proselytes, scrupulous tithings, affected gravity of dress, gesture, and mortified looks; their building the tombs of the prophets, to tell the world that they were more righteous than their ancestors, who murdered them, though themselves were then plotting the death of the best and greatest of all the prophets; their over-scrupulous observance of the sabbath to the exclusion of works of the greatest cha-

^a JOHN ix. 2. ^d MATT. xiv. 2. xvi. 14. & alib. ^e JOSEPH. ubi supra. Vid. & Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9. & xviii. c. 1, 2. ^f Harmon. Apost. dissert. poster. c. 15. ^g JAMES c. 1. v. 13, 16, 17. Vid. & BLACK. vindication of the sacred classics. ^h Vid. int. al. MATT. xxiii. 37. ⁱ BARONIUS ap. BASNAG. ubi supra, sect. 7. ^k BASNAG. ibid. & seq. ^l LUKE xviii. 11.

rity, and many more of the like nature ; whilst they were wholly negligent of the a moral and eternal law of mercy and justice, of charity, humility, and the like indispensable virtues. The best of them contenting themselves with abstaining from the finishing act of any sin, indulged themselves in all the thoughts, desires, and complacencies which came short of it ; whilst others, more hardened in their vices, made no scruple, not only to cover, but to devour poor widows houses, to commit the vilest of oppressions, injustices, and cruelties, and to encourage it in their own disciples, under the specious cloak of religion and sanctity. Well might Christ then compare them to whited sepulchres, beautiful indeed without, but within full of rottenness and corruption ^a.

HENCE that fatal and judicial insatiation, which made them overlook all the mira- b cles which he wrought before their eyes, because he chose to do some of them on the sabbath ; as if healing the sick, giving ears to the deaf, eyes to the blind, life to the dead, &c. was a violation instead of a hallowing of that day, and must denominate him a profane person, a sabbath-breaker, a false prophet and seducer, or any other odious name, rather than what those miraculous works, long before foretold by the prophets, demonstrated him to be, the Messiah and redeemer of mankind.

THE last erroneous notion we shall mention of theirs, which was indeed common to the other sects, but did more exactly tally with the haughty, rapacious, and cruel temper of the pharisee, was their expectation of a glorious conquering Messiah, who was to bring the whole world under the Jewish yoke. Infomuch that there was c scarce a kennel-raker among them, that did not expect to be made president of some opulent province under him. How unlikely then was it, that a meek and humble Jesus, whose doctrine breathed nothing but humility, peace, disinterestedness, sincerity, contempt of the world, and worldly things, and universal love and beneficence, should ever be relished by that proud, covetous, and hypocritical sect ; or even by the rest of the populace, as long as these their demagogues so strenuously opposed it ! But we shall enlarge no further upon them, those who are desirous to know more may consult the authors quoted in the margin ^a.

Sadducees.

II. THE sadducean sect was no less opposite to the doctrine of Christ. We have d already given some account in a former section [†] of their rise, and of their favourite tenet, that there was neither resurrection, reward or punishment, nor even life after this. They added, that God was the only immaterial being, in consequence of which, they admitted neither angels, nor any spiritual substances, but him. Whether this was the original doctrine of Saddoc their founder, as the Talmudists and Josephus affirm, or whether these and some of their other epicurean principles were afterwards gradually introduced by his loose disciples, in order to rid themselves of the dread of a sad hereafter, as some moderns think ; 'tis plain, this tenet was very rise with them in our Saviour's time, which made them take several opportunities of opposing and ridiculing his doctrine of the resurrection ^e.

ANOTHER of their tenets, equally opposite to the pharisees, and to the doctrine of Christ, was, that man was made absolute master of all his actions, and stood in no need of any assistance to chuse or act ^p. For this reason they were always most severe in their sentences, whenever they sat as judges. Josephus adds in another place ^q, that they looked upon the deity as above intermeddling with human affairs, which is in effect denying a providence, and consequently all religion. But this favours too much of the pharisaic scandal, and it can hardly be supposed that men of such principles should not only continue uncensured and uncondemned by the sanhedrin, but be permitted to have access to the temple, to propose their questions and objections, and perform their devotions there as freely as any pharisee ; and, which is still more surprising, f should be suffered to fill the highest dignities in church and state. Besides, such principles seem altogether incompatible with their allowed belief of the Mosaic books, though they had rejected all the rest, as they are by some supposed to have done ^r ; but Scaliger, we think, has sufficiently cleared them of even this last imputation ^s, which has no other foundation than that of our Saviour's chusing to confute them only from the pentateuch.

^a MATT. xxiii. 27, & alib. ^b LIGHTFOOT, DRUSIUS, SERRARIUS, CASMET, Pref. in comm. in Marc. & PRID. Connect. sub A. C. 107. ^c Page 95, b. & (W). ^d MATT. xxii. 23, & seq. & alib. plur. ^e Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9. ^f Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 7, & alib. ^g Hieron. in Matth. Orig. cont. Cels. l. i. SERRAE. tribzref. l. ii. PRID. ubi supra. ^h Elench. tribzref. cont. SERRAE. c. 16.

- a** It is true, they rejected all the pretended oral traditions of the pharisees, and stuck close to the text of the sacred books; perhaps they might also give the preference to those of *Moses* above all the rest. All the other *Jews* did so, and do to this day; but had they absolutely denied the authority of the latter, it is not likely they could have escaped being severely reprov'd for it, either by our Saviour and his apostles, or even by *Josephus*, who gives them such a foul character in other points; and yet he owns^a, that they received τα γράμματα, the written books; which expression is too general, and too much in their favour to have flowed from his pen, could he have charged them with rejecting any of them^a. Those who will have them to receive only the pentateuch, add another argument to that above-mentioned, and
- b** equally inconclusive, viz. that the other sacred books did too plainly impugn their particular doctrines; but must not they for the same reason have rejected those of *Moses*? Are there not numberless instances of angels and spirits? and are there not likewise several pregnant proofs in them, if not of a resurrection, at least of the rewards and punishments of a future life^a? The very pharisees themselves laid down as a fundamental principle, that it was not enough to believe the resurrection, unless one believed also that it was contained in the law, so they call the pentateuch.

ADD to all this, that the reading of all the other books in the temple and synagogues having been introduced long before, as we have elsewhere observed[†], it is not likely they would have assisted at it; and yet we do not find that they absented themselves from it, either upon that or any other account. What therefore the learned rabbi last-quoted says of them, seems most probably to have been their case, namely, that they did not reject them, but only expounded them in a different sense from the other *Jews*.

SOME other pretended erroneous tenets they are charged, by *Josephus* and the *Talmudists*, to have held, particularly that of condemning polygamy, as forbid by the *Mosaic* law; but as they were not opposite to the christian doctrine, nor an obstacle to their receiving it, we shall pass them by. Those we have already mentioned were more than sufficient to frighten them from it. The notion of a future life, universal judgment, eternal rewards and punishments to men, whom a contrary doctrine had

d long soothed into luxury, and an over-grown fondness for all earthly happiness, which they looked upon as the only reward they were to expect for their obedience; must of necessity appear strange and frightful; and as such, could not chuse but meet with the strongest opposition from them; especially if we add what *Josephus* observes, that they were for the generality, men of the greatest quality and opulence, and consequently too apt to prefer the pleasures and grandeur of this life to those of another. The *Jewish* historian concludes their character in opposition to those of his own sect, with telling us, that they were a set of men, churlish and morose towards each other, and cruel and savage to all besides^a.

SOME have looked upon this sect to have been quite cut off at the total destruction of

e *Jerusalem*^a. It is true, indeed, that they were very much weakened and thinned by the *Romans* on account of their riches and credit; but their doctrines, so pleasing to flesh and blood, were not likely to continue long without fresh advocates. Accordingly, we find them so well revived and numerous in *Egypt*, even from the middle of the third or beginning of the fourth century, that *Ammonius*, *Origen's* master, thought it high time to write against them, or rather against the *Jews*, for suffering them to propagate their irreligious principles. Some, we are told, are still to be met with in *Afric* and elsewhere, who still deny a future life, and hold all the other tenets of that sect^a. Perhaps were they less odious to the sober part of mankind, we should find them more numerous than they appear. However, bad as they are, we are told

f by a *Jewish* chronologer^b of a learned *Spanish* rabbi, named *Alpharag*, who in the twelfth century wrote a book in defence of that sect, wherein he affirmed, that the purity of the *Jewish* religion was only to be found among them; whilst the pharisees clogged it with an infinity of needless and intolerable ceremonies.

III. THE herodians are so little known, that we need not wonder at the vast variety of opinions, which both the ancient fathers, and the moderns, have entertained con-

^a Antiq. l. xiii. c. 18. ^a Vid. LE CLERC histor. eccles. proleg. sect. 1. sect. 3. ^w Vid. SCALIGER, ubi supra. [†] p. 15. (Z). ^a Glossar. in Sanhedr. Vid. & MENASS. BEN ISRAEL, lib. i. de resurrect. mort. c. 6. [†] Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 7. in fin. ^a Vid. SIMON. hist. crit. V. T. PRID. connect. ubi supra. ^a Vid. BASNAG. ubi supra, l. ii. c. 15, pass. CALMET. dissert. de sect. Jud. in prol. in evang. Marc. & al. sup. citat. ^b GANTZ Tzemach David.

cerning

cerning them, and of which the bare mention would swell us beyond our bounds. ^a *Josephus*, as we hinted above, makes no mention of them; and if the most general notion be right, that they were a set of men who cried up *Herod* as the Messiah, we need not be surprised, that this flattering historian should pass by a sect which applied those prophecies to that Jewish monarch, with which himself was complimenting his favourite emperor *Titus Vespasian*, as we shall see in the sequel. How *Philo* comes likewise to be silent of them, is past our finding out.

FOR it is plain from the evangelists, that they made a considerable sect or party in our Saviour's time; that they differed from those of the pharisees, sadducees, and essenians; and that they held some particular tenets of a dangerous nature, since Christ thought fit to forewarn his disciples against their leaven. It is true, some have confounded them with the sadducees ^d, because St. *Matthew*, in a parallel place ^c, mentions them instead of the *Herodians*. But as they are often mentioned elsewhere, in contradistinction to them ^f, it is likely, that one evangelist only supplies what the other has omitted. Hence it follows likewise, that they were not a kind of Jewish confraternity instituted in honour of *Herod*, and like unto the *Roman* sodales, augustales, &c. (which were not instituted in that empire till a long time after *Herod's* death) as some have imagined ^e, but a real sect, distinct from the rest in their principles and interests.

THERE is likewise a different opinion concerning them, among those who affirm them to have believed *Herod* to be the Messiah, namely which of the kings of that name they gave that title to. Some ^g thought it was to *Herod I.* surnamed the great, on account of his superior prowess, riches, magnificence, and of his kingdom's extending even beyond *Palestine*, which was more than any of his successors could boast of. They add, that he caused all the genealogies and records concerning the family of *David* to be destroyed, to prevent their being urged in opposition to his own lineage. But all this is easily confuted by the single consideration, that if he had been the person whom they took for the Messiah, his dreadful death, which was looked upon as a judgment from heaven, to say nothing of his wicked and hateful reign, would long before have convinced them of their error. Whereas we find them still very numerous, famed, and zealous for their sect in our Saviour's time, above thirty years after that monarch's death. Those therefore, who think that his son *Herod*, surnamed *Antipas*, the same who took the infamous *Herodias* from his brother *Philip*, and caused *John the Baptist* to be beheaded on her account, to have been the Messiah cried up by this sect, seem to judge with more probability. It is true, his dominion was confined within much narrower bounds than his father's; but then it is as plain, notwithstanding all *Josephus's* panegyrics on him, that his ambition was as unlimited; witness his joining in the conspiracy with *Sejanus*, and the vast magazines he had filled with arms, and of which we shall speak in its proper place. It is not therefore improbable, that this prince, no less politic than ambitious, who is on that account called a fox by a more impartial judge ⁱ, might take the advantage of the universal expectation which the *Jews* were then in of the Messiah, to form a party or sect of parasites, who should give it out that he was the glorious person they looked for; and that nation did not want for men at this time, base enough to flatter his ambition with that sacred title.

HOWEVER, other critics have with greater probability reduced that sect into a kind of herodian faction, set up in opposition to the pharisees and zealots; and that the herodians maintained the lawfulness of acknowledging and paying tribute to the kings that were set over them by the *Romans*, which was absolutely denied by the latter. The former likewise excused several unlawful innovations which had been made by *Herod the Great*, and his successors, as the effects of necessity rather than choice; whereas the latter cried them down as heathenish, idolatrous, and the effects of a base complaisance for the *Roman* emperors. Another critic, often quoted in this chapter ^k for his new genealogies of the herodian family, pretends, that they were a sect of platonic philosophers, whom *Antipater* had brought from *Albens*; and adds, that they held pretty much the same doctrines with the sadducees, or rather that those in *Judea* were the same with them. The reader may see that sanguine author

^a MARC. viii. 15.

^d HAMM. LE CLERC & al. in loc. sup. citat. HARDUIN. num.

^e MATT. xvi.

^c Conf. loc. sup. citat. cum MATT. xxii. 16. & alib.

^f SCALIG. anim. in chron. EUSEB. 1882.

CAUSABON. proleg. in exercit. Baronian.

^g Vid. PRID. connect. in 62. part. ii. l. v. CALMET. dissert.

de sect. Judæor. & al.

ⁱ Vid. BASNAG. hist. des Juifs, tom. 2. part. 2. ch. xxiv.

^k Hieron. cont.

Lucifer. TERTUL. de præscript. EPIPHAN. hæres. Herodian.

sufficiently

- a sufficiently confuted by *Basnage* in the place above-quoted. *Beza* on the contrary infers, that they agreed with the pharisees in denying the lawfulness of the tribute, from the insinuating question they came to put to our Saviour¹. But it is rather plain, that their design, and more especially that of the pharisees, who sent them to him, was of another nature. These had been just before determining at any rate to intangle him in his answers, that they might find some matter to accuse him, because he had been setting forth a parable that touched them to the quick. They therefore sent their own disciples in company with the herodians to intrap him with the question in dispute between them, *Is it lawful to pay tribute to Cæsar*^m? If he answered in the affirmative, they could object against him that he was an impostor, and not what he pretended, the Messiah, who was to free them from all foreign yoke and impost; and upon this they could intent a criminal process against him, which would make them amends for his having given the preference to their antagonists. And if he answered in the negative, they gained a victory over them, and at the same time exposed him to their resentment, or rather to that of the civil power, which, they knew, would not fail to crush both the doctrine and its divine preacher, especially at such a juncture, when there was another new faction started up into a sect, which began to appear somewhat dangerous.

- IV. THIS was that of the *Gaulonites*, so named from *Judas the Gaulonite*ⁿ, or *Gaulonites Galilean*, as he is called by *St. Luke*^o. It began to appear soon after the banishment of *Archelaus*, when his territories were made a *Roman* province, and the government given to *Cauptonius*. For the *Jews* looking upon this as an open attempt to reduce them into slavery, *Judas* took the advantage of their discontent to put himself at their head, and to ripen them for an insurrection. *Augustus* furnished him with a plausible pretence for it, by issuing out his edict to have the whole province of *Syria* new surveyed and taxed about this time. *Judas* therefore, who was a man of uncommon ambition, took occasion from it to display all his eloquence to convince the *Jews* that such a submission was no less than base idolatry, and setting up men upon the level with God, who was the only Lord and Sovereign that could challenge their obedience and subjection. The party which he drew after him became in a little time so considerable, that they put every thing into confusion, and laid the foundation for those great mischiefs which ensued, and which will be seen in the sequel.

- THIS sect, as well as that of the herodians, lasted no longer than till the destruction of *Jerusalem*; a learned author lately quoted, thinks them to have been the same sect, only called by different names, by *Josephus*, and the evangelists[†]; but what has been said above concerning that of the herodians, we think, sufficiently shews the contrary. Had their sect been the same, they ought to have been more properly called anti-herodians, since that monarch's authority was equally exclaimed against by their chief, as that of the *Romans*; and if their doctrine, against which our Saviour forewarns his disciples, had been the same with that of the *Gaulonites*, would it not have been equally absurd to have called it the leaven of *Herod*? *Josephus* tells us, that it differed in no point but this from that of the pharisees; and the evangelists introduce the pharisees and herodians as coming by one consent to inquire of Christ concerning the lawfulness of the tribute, from all which it seems at least very probable, that they were only two different parties, who split themselves into two extremes from the pharisaic sect; whilst these last kept, as it were, in a medium between the base complaisance of the herodians, and the seditious spirit of the *Gaulonites*, not perhaps so much out of a conscientious principle, much less out of any love, either to *Herod*, or to the *Romans*, as from a fear of their power and resentment.

- f V. THE *Essenians*, though not taken notice of by the writers of the *New Testament*, did yet make a considerable sect among the *Jews*, and are very much celebrated by *Josephus*^p, *Philo*^q, by *Pliny*^r, and by some of the fathers and other christian writers, both ancient and modern^s; and if they were the same with the *Hassidim* or *Hardanim*, as some have thought, we may add also, by the books of the *Maccabees*, and other *Jewish* writers. But this last is a mere conjecture, founded only on a fan-

¹ In *MATTH.* xxii. 16.^m *Vid.* *MATTH.* ubi supra, a ver. 2. ad 17.ⁿ *Vid.* *Antiq.* l. xviii.c. 1, 2. ^o *ACTS* v. 37.[†] *Vid.* *PRID.* & *BASNAG.* ubi supr.^p *Antiq.* l. iii. c. 9, 18, 12.*Bril. Jud.* l. ii. c. 7. & alib. pass.^q *Tract.* quod omnis probus liber.^r *Hist. lib.* v. c. 17.^s *EPH.**hæc* 29. de *Nazar.* c. 4. *SUID.* sub voc. *αρεται* *SERRAR* trihæref. l. ii. c. 1. & al. int. citat.

cied conformity between some of their principles, and austere way of living. The ^a far greatest part of the *Essenian* sect was chiefly in *Egypt*; there was but a small number of them in *Judaea*, probably by reason of the grievous persecutions, and intestine broils, that raged almost perpetually in it. And this may be one reason why the evangelists make no mention of it; to which we may add another, namely, that their eremitic life, which secluded them from places of great resort, and their over-weaning pretence to a superior sanctity, which inspired them with a contempt for the rest of the world, might make them less curious about Christ's person and doctrine. They might think, that if he was really the Messiah, he would not fail to come to seek them; and if he was not, he had already enemies enough to oppose him; and it was beneath them to leave their beloved solitude and contemplative life, merely to declare themselves ^b against him. What wonder then that the sacred writers should overlook a proud, recluse, and remote sect, which neither embraced nor opposed the gospel, and whose affectation to a greater and supererogatory degree of holiness stood condemned by the frequent censures which Christ pronounced against that of the pharisees?

It would be next to impossible to trace out their origin, or even the etymology of their name, with any certainty (A). *Pliny*, in the place above-quoted, tells us, from what authority is not easy to guess, that they were of several thousand years standing; and, what increased his wonder, that they had subsisted so long without procreation. But he was in part mistaken, because, though one branch of them condemned all intercourse with the women, as apt to extinguish devotion; there was ^c another sort who declared as much against celibacy, as tending to extinguish the race of mankind, as we shall see in the sequel. But to come to more authentic evidence, the first *Essenians* we read of are in the fourth book of *Maccabees*, under the name of *Hasdanim* ^d, and in *Josephus* ^e, where both agree that they were already settled in *Judaea* in the time of *Jonathan*, the brother and successor of *Judas Maccabaeus*, about a hundred and fifty years before Christ. We have had occasion to mention out of these two authors, one *Judas*, a prophet of that sect, who foretold the death of *Antigonus*, brother to *Aristobulus*, then king of the *Jews*, and which came to pass accordingly, though to the great surprize of even the prophet himself ^f. And it is not improbable, that this anchoretic sect took its rise a little while before the time of the *Macca-* ^d *bees*, when the faithful *Jews* were forced to live in deserts and caves, to avoid persecution. As for those who suppose them to have been a branch of the *Rechabites*, who flourished so long before the *Babylonish* captivity ^g, and of whom we have spoken largely in our first volume ^h; we can only say they guess very much in the dark.

We have already hinted their different opinions concerning marriage and celibacy. Those who allowed the former, were yet very sparing of matrimonial intercourse, and wholly abstained from it on the night before the sabbath, and other festivals, on fast-days, and the like; and at other times, they were no less careful to wash, and use other purifications after it. The other branch, who condemned it, did likewise ^e disallow all servitude, and thought the distinction of master and servant to be against the law of nature, for which reason they never indulged themselves the use of the latter; and when any of them was, either through old age, sickness, or other accident, rendered incapable of helping himself, he received all proper assistance from the younger, who all expressed an uncommon readiness, or even emulation, to perform that duty to him. But the other sort allowed themselves servants for all inferior offices.

^f cap. 6. ^g Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9. & 19. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 3, & 7. ^h See before, sect. 3. p. 97, (C).
w Vid. Suid. ubi supra. ⁱ p. 820, & seq. & (T).

(A) *Josephus* has evaded giving us the etymology of that name, most probably because he knew not well where to fetch it from; and *Philo*, who derives it from the Greek *Οσις*, holy, owes it to be ungrammatical; but this has not hindered other critics from aiming at it. *Epiphanius* (1) has gone the farthest for it of any, when he derives it from *Jesse* the father of *David*, or, as it is to be read, according to the Hebrew, 'שׂי, *jisai* or *jishai*. *Salmasius* de-

rives it from the city of *Essa*, mentioned by *Josephus*, as the place where *Zeno* had deposited his treasure (2).

If the reader be curious about such things, he need but read *Serrarius* (3), where he will find at least a dozen different opinions concerning the derivation of that word, enough, we think, to give him a disgust to etymological conjectures.

(1) Hares 29. de Nazar. c. 4. (2) Antiq. l. xiii. c. 23. (3) Tritares. l. iii. c. 1. Vid. & Calmes. dissert. de sect. Jud.

a THEY likewise distinguished themselves in their rules, and manner of life, into laborious and contemplative, otherwise called *Teraputes*, the first sort of them divided their time between prayer and labour, such as the exercise of some handicraft, or the cultivation of some spot of ground, where they sowed and planted such roots, herbs, corn, &c. as served for their food; and the latter between prayer and contemplation, or study. In this last, they confined themselves to that of the sacred books and morality, without troubling themselves with any other branch of philosophy. A late learned author has indeed ranked them among the *Pyrrhonian* or *Sceptic* philosophers; and it is true, they were very modest in their affirmations in points of divinity, and condemned the dogmatic assurance of the other sects; but that they ever b deigned to dive into the writings of the academy, or other philosophers, seems improbable, from the singular contempt they shewed of all the other *Jewish* sects; how much more, of those of the heathens?

For with respect to even the former, they refused to converse with them, for fear of contracting some pollution; and this notion they carried so far, as even to absent themselves from going to the temple, and contented themselves with sending their offerings to it by other hands.

BOTH the contemplative and laborious had their synagogues, their stated hours for prayer, for reading and expounding the sacred books. This latter province was always performed by the elder sort, who were seated at the upper end, according to c their seniority, whilst the younger, who were admitted to read the proper parashas or lessons, were placed at the lower end. Their expositions were generally of the allegorical kind, in which they seemed to have out-vied all their *Jewish* brethren. But they paid the greatest regard to the five books of *Moses*, and looked upon that law-giver as the head of all the inspired penmen; insomuch that they condemned to immediate death whosoever spoke disrespectfully either of him or of his writings. Upon this account they studied, read, and expounded him more than all the rest, and seem to have chiefly drawn all their divinity from the pentateuch. The doctrines and expositions of the elders were received with implicit faith, and in their practice they conformed with an intire submission to all the rules of their sect. To give a full d account of them, were to copy out *Josephus* and *Philo*, who have writ more copiously about them, and to whom we chule rather to refer our readers, who want a fuller detail. As for us, we shall content ourselves with giving them a short sketch out of those two authors (B), of their faith and practice, as far as they differed from the other *Jewish* sects.

WITH respect to their faith, they believed the being of angels, the immortality of the soul, a future state of rewards and punishments, like the pharisees, but seem to have had no notion of the resurrection. They looked upon the souls of men as composed of a most subtle æther, which immediately after their separation from the body, or from their cage or prison, as they affected to call it, were adjudged to e a place of endless happiness or misery: that those of the good took their flight over the ocean into some warm and delightful regions prepared for them, whilst those of the wicked were conveyed into some cold and intemperate climates, where they were left to groan under an inexpressible endless weight of misery. Some other *Pythagorean* notions are likewise attributed to them, neither with certainty, nor of great moment. One thing however is remarkable, that among their offerings, which they made to the temple, they never sent any living creatures to be sacrificed there. But whether they did it with any regard to the *Pythagorean* doctrine of transmigration, or from any other motive, we will not determine; much less pretend to reconcile this abstinence from bloody sacrifices with their pretended regard to the *Mosaic* law and writings, f where they are absolutely enjoined.

* HORT. foiblesse de l'entendement, & l. i. c. 14. sect. 61. γ Vid. Antiq. ubi supra, & l. xv. c. 13. ad fin.

(B) It will not be amiss to observe to our readers, that their accounts of this sect differ in some particulars, which may be probably owing to the difference there was between those of *Judea*, and those of *Egypt*. *Josephus*, we may reasonably suppose, was better acquainted with the former, and *Philo*, who was of *Alexandria*, with the latter; and both may

have described them according to the particular informations they had received concerning each.

However, *Philo* agrees with *Josephus*, that those of *Judea* amounted to but about four thousand, but he makes those of *Egypt* to have been vastly more numerous.

THEY were likewise intirely opposed to the sadducean doctrine of free-will, and attributed all to an eternal fatality, or chain of causes, little short of that of *Spinoza*; so that they seem to have run into the other extreme, whilst the pharisees appear to have kept a kind of medium between them. The *Essenians* were averse to all kinds of oaths, and affirmed that a good man's life ought to be such, as that he may be credited in every thing without them (C). The *Therapeutic* sort placed the excellency of their contemplative life in raising their minds so far above the earth, as to be able to see from thence what was done in heaven (D). When they had attained to this degree, they could dive into the nature of angels, give them proper names, or rightly interpret those already given, and pry so far into futurity, as to acquire the character of prophets. We have had occasion to mention some of them already at the beginning of this article, and in the course of this chapter. All we need to add is, that when they had once gained this name, they failed not to be highly respected, not only by their own fraternity, but by both kings and people. We have seen in a former section even a *Herod* shew a more than ordinary regard to the whole sect, for the sake of one of them, who had foretold his accession to the *Jewish* crown; and at a time when they were strenuously opposing his favourite scheme of obliging the whole nation to swear allegiance to him.

IN their practice they outdid all the other sects in austerity. If we may credit *Philo*, it was a fundamental maxim with them upon their entrance into the *Therapeutic* life, to renounce the world, and all their worldly properties, which they, it seems, generously divided among their friends and relations, whom they left behind them in it (E). They never eat till after sun-set, and the best of their fare was coarse bread, with some salt and hyssop, or some such stomachic herbs. Some of them, if we may believe *Philo*, would eat but every third, and others, every sixth day; and all of them very sparingly, even of that poor cheer they were allowed. Their cloathing was made of coarse wool, plain, but white. They condemned all sorts of unctions and perfumes as luxurious and effeminate. Their beds were hard, and their sleep short. In a word, as they looked upon all these austerities as the most effectual means to procure the favour of heaven, and the esteem of the brotherhood, to say nothing of that of the world, they never thought they could carry them to excess. Their heads or superiors were generally chosen according to seniority, unless there started up some of the brotherhood, more conspicuous for learning, piety, prophetic spirit, or any other distinguishing merit. But some there were so very contemplative, that they never stirred out of their cell, nor even looked out at window during the whole week. These spent their time in reading of the sacred books, and writing comments upon them.

ON the sabbath they repaired to their synagogues early in the morning, and continued the whole day there in prayers, singing of psalms, reading, or in expounding the sacred books; at which time they kept themselves in the profoundest silence. The feast of pentecost was observed by them with greater solemnity than other festivals, and in memory, it seems, of the *Israelites* passing the *Red-Sea*, and of that solemn eucharistical hymn, which was alternately sung by the choirs of men and women,

(C) And yet they seem to have enjoined something like them on their novices, before they were admitted professed members of their society; from which some conclude, that they did not wholly condemn them, but only such as were tendered or taken without manifest and absolute necessity (4).

(D) We need not remind our readers, that every nation and religion, not to say every age, has produced men of this sublime mould, who have trampled all sublunary things under-foot, to raise themselves up to a more intimate acquaintance with the deity. We read among the heathen, of *Plotinus*, a *Platonic* philosopher, who pretended to be ashamed to have a soul so refined as his, confined into a lump of matter, and of a *Porphyry*, who boasted of a vision, and divine intercourse, even before he was got into his dotage (5).

The *Perfes*, *Mohammedans*, and almost all the na-

tions of *India*, have had their *Therapentes*, and vision-mongers; and it would be difficult to name one church or sect of christians, that has not abounded with such mystical and super-rigid enthusiasts; but in spite of all their austerities, and pretences to greater degrees of sanctity and mortification, the uncharitable contempt they have expressed for the rest of the world has easily discovered what spirit they were of.

(E) Our authors have forgot to tell us how this set of men lived after their admission into that sect, if they left all their worldly substance behind; since they were not, like the other branch, allowed to follow any trade, or to cultivate any land, but divided their time between prayer and study, or contemplation; and had neither wives nor servants to provide food for them, nor any other visible means, that we can find, to subsist (6).

(4) *Vid. int. al. Le Clerc, eccles. hist. proleg. sect. 5. Calmet, ubi supra. & al. Bayl. Diss. sub voc.*

(6) *Vid. Le Clerc ubi supra.*

(5) *De his vid.*

a with *Aaron* and *Miriam* at their head. In imitation of which, both sexes, during this feast, went early to the synagogue in their white habit, newly washed; and after the usual prayers, reading, &c. the men and the women each in their separate choir, set themselves a singing and dancing, moving regularly backwards and forwards to the right and left, to and from each other, till at length their devotion was raised to such a pitch, that they forgot the difference of sexes, and both choirs intermingled, and continued dancing and singing the whole night. On the next morning they faced about towards the sun rising, their usual position at prayers, paid their adoration to the Supreme Being, wished each other a good day, and retired each to their respective cells. To all this we may add, that they had some other more secret rites or
b mysteries relating to their sect, which, like the *Pythagoreans*, they were bound never to divulge, and which it were therefore in vain to inquire after.

THOSE of *Judæa* did live, according to *Pliny**, in a desert in the neighbourhood of *Hebron*, about twenty miles south of *Jerusalem*.

THIS city, which we have spoken of in a former volume†, being generally supposed the place of *John the Baptist's* birth, it is not improbable that he was sent thither to be brought up among them, and lived with them till the time of his manifesting himself to the *Jewish* nation‡. But as for those who have imagined that *Christ* and his disciples had also been of that sect, because they pretend to see some conformity between some of his precepts, and way of living, and those of the *Essenians*, they are not worth confuting, since there runs rather a manifest opposition almost through the whole. However, those who will not be at the trouble to compare them, may see that wild notion fully confuted by the authors quoted in the margin^b, as well as another, no less improbable, though less absurd; that the *Egyptian Therapeutes* were a society of christian hermites instituted by *St. Mark*, when he founded the church of *Alexandria*‡. For *Philo*, who was at least cotemporary with the evangelist, if not older, speaks of them^d as a fraternity of a much longer standing, and as of *Jews* and zealous disciples of *Moses*, and stricter observers of the sabbath, than any other *Jewish* sect; having amongst them hymns and writings composed in former times by those who had been the principal leaders, and heads of their sect; dispersed not only through *Egypt*, but among the *Greeks* and *Barbarians*,
d &c. Nothing of all which could have been said of such a society of christian hermits, supposing *St. Mark* had really instituted any thing like it. But we find no traces of any such institution till the beginning of the second century, when those ascetics, who had formerly fled from persecution, finding the sweets of their solitude, began to erect themselves into bodies, the earliest of which, that we read of, was, according to the two learned authors above-quoted, in or about the year of *Christ* 113^e.

OTHERS have believed that the *Essenians* and *Therapeutes* did afterwards renounce judaism, and convert to christianity; and it is not improbable, that many of them did so; but that the bulk of the sect embraced christianity, and became, as it were, absorbed into the societies of the christian ascetics, is hard to affirm. If it be asked,
e What became of them, and of all their boasted writings and comments, if this was not the case? it may be answered, that those who persevered in their old sect, underwent the same fate with the rest of the *Jews*, and in a much greater number, as being become more odious to the *Romans* on account of their extreme constancy under those grievous persecutions which they raised against them. This might probably be also the cause why their books were more universally destroyed than those of the other *Jews*; though even of these we have nothing left but the *Chaldee* paraphrase, of which we shall speak in a more proper place. We shall have occasion in the sequel to shew that the *Essenians* flourished still under the emperor *Trajan*, though much
f degenerated from their primitive purity of life and doctrine, under their new demagogue *Elxai*. Under *Justinian* they were still known by the pompous title of angels or angelics, and inhabitants of heaven; but as their lives were found to fall infinitely short of those beings, whose names they assumed, the people saw through the cheat, and this was in all likelihood their last blast upon their going out, for we hear no more of them from that time.

* Vid. Antiq. ubi supra, & l. xv. c. 13. ad fin. † Vol. I. p. 317, 424. (G). ‡ ubi supra. ^b Vid. LURE i. vet. ult. * BASNAG. hist. des Juifs, tom. 4. l. ii. c. 32. & seq. PRID. Connect. part 2. sub fin. l. v. ^d EUSEB. Eccl. Hist. l. ii. c. 17. BALLAM. BARON. Vid. & MONTFAUC. dissert. de Christ. Therapeut. ap. BASNAG. ubi supra. ^e lib. sup. citat. ^f DRUG. TAJLAND. BASNAG. PRID. CALMET. & al. ubi supra.

We have now gone through all the *Jewish* sects that made any figure in our Saviour's ^a time, and might here put an end to this digression, if it may be called such; but so far as there is still one in being, and very considerable, as we have hinted in a former volume [†], who derive their origin from the famous *Ezra*, and the great synagogue, and are opposed to the rest in some of their fundamentals, it will not be amiss to speak something of them, before we conclude this section. They are called *Caraim*, or *Karaites* (F); that is, *Scripturists*, or persons wholly addicted to the reading, and thoroughly versed in the sacred writings.

It is not easy to determine when this sect first began. We have hinted above what claim they lay to antiquity and authority. They boast even a catalogue or register of all the learned who have written or taught either for or against their sect from the time of *Esdra* [‡]. Some of those that are dispersed in *Poland*, pretend to carry it still higher, and that they were descended from the ten tribes carried away by *Salmazer*. The *Rabbinists* seem however to allow them to have been a sect at least as old as the time of *Alexander the Great*, when they tell us, that *Jaddua* the then high-priest wrought a miracle before that prince, which the two chiefs of the *Caraites* could not imitate; but this may be put in the number of their fabulous miracles, of which they are never sparing, whenever any competition between the other sects and their own is in question; witness those which they urge against the *Samaritans*, of which we have spoken in a former section ^{*}. We shall give in the margin some of the different opinions concerning their origin (G), whilst we stick here to the most probable; which is, ^c that they were the successors of the *Scribes* so often mentioned by the evangelists (H), ^{fuch}

[†] Vol. I. p. 597, b
fin. not. (E).

[‡] BASNAG. ubi supra, Tom. II. part. 2. c. 16.

^{*} See before, p. 32. in

(F) קראים from the verb *kara*, to read (7). As they rejected all the other writings but those of the *Jewish* canon, and the pretended oral tradition so much cried up by the *Pharisees*; it is perhaps upon this account, that the *Rabbinists*, their bitterest enemies, have imputed most of the *Sadducean* errors to them (8), tho' this be the only point in which they agreed with them.

(G) The learned *Wolf* of *Hamburg* has given us the origin of the *Caraites*, written from the memoirs of one of that sect, named *Mordecai*; in which this last affirms, that *Alexander Jannæus* having put to death all the learned *Jews* of his time, *Simæon*, the son of *Seta*, and brother of the queen, was privately conveyed into *Egypt*, where he invented the system of the pretended *Jewish* oral tradition, and being returned to *Jerusalem*, began to teach it publicly, pretending that he was intrusted with all those discoveries which God had made to *Moses*, and were from him conveyed through a series of hands and ages down to his time. This system was embraced by some, and as strenuously opposed by others, who affirmed, that the whole will of God to their law-giver was contained in the sacred writings. From these last came the sect of the *Caraites*, as that of the *Rabbinists* or *Traditionists* did from the former. The same author adds, that *Judas* the son of *Sabbai* became eminent among the former, and *Hillel* famous among the latter (9).

Another author (10) thinks, that those two sects split themselves soon after the death of the prophets, upon a dispute about works of supererogation; one sort maintaining the necessity of them from tradition, and the other denying it on the authority of the sacred writings. These were the *Caraites*, who thereupon pretended to be descended from the prophets *Haggai*, *Malachy*, &c. But whatever was the occasion of their division, they conceived such an irreconcilable hatred against each other, that they think no name or language bad enough. Among

other epithets, the *Rabbinists* call their opponents *mamzerim*, or bastards, a term of the greatest reproach among the *Jews* [†]; and the *Caraites*, in return, give them the title of *bridled asses*, on account of their broad phylacteries, and other superstitious trinkets, which these place a great deal of religion in, and the others detest. The former interpret the words of *Moses* (11), *Thou shalt bind them* (the divine precepts) *for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be as frontlets between thine eyes*, &c. literally; and the others only as a precept injoining them to have a constant regard to, and remembrance of them. We have observed in a former volume, that their mutual hatred is such, that no consideration can move them to intermarry ^{*}. A modern *Rabbinist* adds, that if a *Caraites* had a mind to turn *Traditionist*, these would even refuse to admit him (12); and it is a common saying among the latter, that before a *Caraites* be admitted among them, he should have first turned *Jew*, and then christian, else they could not believe his conversion sincere.

(H) The scribes, in Hebrew סופרים *sopherim*, or writers, are mentioned for the first time in the song of *Deborah* (13), tho' some have put *Moses* at the head of that tribe. They are often spoken of in the books of *Kings*, *Chronicles* and *Ezra*, as persons in the highest dignities of the *Jewish* commonwealth. It is not unlikely that *David* did appoint some such an order, when he regulated the classes of the priests, levites, &c. (14), since there must have been proper secretaries, which is the right meaning of *sopherim*, in church, in state, in the army, revenues, &c. And as writing was not so universally practised in those days, those who excelled in it had a fair claim for such an office; but these being manifestly different from those mentioned in the gospel, we shall push our inquiry about them no further.

After the return from the captivity, when the canon of the scripture was revised by *Ezra*, and his inspired

(7) Vide Buxtorf. lex. sub voce קראים.
notis. Caraitum.

(8) Vide Abraban. append. in Haefti, edit. a Buxtorf.

(9) Wolf.

(10) Dreyland. Dissertat. de Carait. Delph. 1703.

Vide Calmes. sub voce Caraites.

(11) De his vide Vol. I. p. 665, (N).

(12) Deut. vi. 8.

* Vol. I. p. 597, b.

(13) Vide Luc.

de modern. cerem. Jud. part. 5. c. 1.

(14) Judg. v. 14.

(14) Vide int. al. 1 Chron. xxiv. 6. xxvii. 32.

- a such as were those whom *Herod the Great* consulted about the place where the Messiah was to be born *. These therefore, it is very likely, after the *Pharisaic* sect came to have clogged the *Jewish* religion with such a vast number of traditions, as rendered it wholly burdensome, if not intolerable, became so out of conceit with them, that they resolved to throw them all off, and to stick close to the text; for which they had the name of *Caraites* or *Scripturists*, either given them out of contempt, or took it by way of distinction from the *Traditionists*. The difficulty is to find out the time when, and the persons by whom, this breach was at first made; and doubtless the testimony of the *Caraites* themselves, who go either as far back as *Ezra*, or, at the latest, as the times of *Hyrcan*, or *Alexander Jannæus*, will appear too suspicious. But
- b that of the *Talmudists*, who allow them, some as ancient as *Saddoc*, or at least as *Herod the Great*, may be less liable to suspicion; and where is the difficulty of supposing that whilst the *Sadducees* distinguished themselves from the rest, as well by their *Epicurean* doctrines, as by their rejection of the *Pharisaic* traditions, another more moderate sect might close in with them in this last, without running into those other extremes of the *Sadducean* leaven, which, they saw, were manifestly destructive of all religion; and so compose a new sect, differing from them in all points but that, and from the *Pharisees* in that only one (I)? However, they seem to have been more moderate, than to have absolutely rejected all traditions and writings. They, on the contrary, used them as helps, whenever they found them judicious and well-founded, and only
- c denied them that blind and implicit obedience which the *Pharisees* insisted on; but whether those sects divided themselves so early as the reign of *Hyrcan*, or *Alexander Jannæus*, or whether in that famous rupture between *Shammai* and *Hillel*, about one hundred years before Christ, or about what time after (K); whether first in *Judæa* or *Egypt*,

* MATTH. ii. 4. Vide BASNAG. ubi supra.

inspired associates, mentioned in a former section †, it is very probable the multiplying and propagating, as well as the revising the copies of it, which were then very scarce, was committed to these *sepherim* or *scribes*, who, by a constant converse with those writings, attained to a still greater knowledge of them, and so came at length to set up for teachers and expounders of them, and to the name of *scribes* had that likewise added of *doctor* or *teacher* of the law. Accordingly we find one of them called by the former name in one evangelist (15), and by the latter in another (16); and both they and the *Pharisees* are said by our Saviour to sit in *Moses's seat* (17).

These therefore cannot be said to have made a separate sect, as some ancients have imagined (18), but to have been some of one, some of another; since it is obvious, that every one of them must have had their doctors and expounders, and all justly enough liable to those severe censures which our Saviour pronounced against them for putting each their several glosses on the text, inferring new and detrimental doctrines from it, and imposing them on their disciples, with as much arrogance as if they had been all infallible or inspired. However, since we find these *scribes* and lawyers or doctors of the law to be often mentioned with the *Pharisees* (19), it is likely they were more numerous in that sect than in any other; or rather perhaps, if we consider how necessary such men were in church and state, of how long a standing they must consequently have been, they may be looked upon as the root or trunk from which all the others sprang and divided themselves, according as their respective views, interest, education, pride, and such like motives led them.

(I) The *Rabbinic* writers do accordingly accuse the *Caraites* for having been more favourable to Jesus Christ than any other sect; and the evangelist seems to confirm it, when he introduces a *scribe* (20) applauding our Saviour's answer concerning

the first and chief command, and agreeing with him, that the love of God, above all things, and of our neighbour as ourselves, was of more worth than all burnt-offerings, &c.

It is true, he seems to be called a *Pharisee* in a parallel place (21); but *Basnage* has judiciously observed (22), that the pronoun *them* did not refer to the *Pharisees* mentioned in the foregoing verse, who being confuted just before, were then gone to take counsel together, but to the multitude in the verse before that, who gladly heard Christ's nervous answers to those ensnaring sectaries. We may add, that the answer there given by the *scribe*, was more like that of a sober *Caraites*, than of a superstitious, hypocritical *Pharisee*.

That there seems to have been a manifest difference between these last and the *scribes* and lawyers, the above-quoted author shews from another evangelist, who introduces the last of these hearing patiently the woes which Christ pronounced against the *Pharisees*; but when he came to join the *scribes* with them, he complained loudly of it (23). Our Saviour's answer to him confirms it still more, when he added, *We also unto you, lawyers*, and laid a new charge against them, different from that of the *Pharisees*.

(K) *Morinus* places the rise of the *Caraites* about the year after Christ 740 or 750, about which time, and not before, he supposes the *Talmud* to have been completed, and to have given occasion to their separation (24). He adds, upon the authority of a good number of *Rabbies*, that one *Ananias*, vexed to see his brother preferred before him to the dignity of chief of the captivity, began to declare himself against the compilers and defenders of that work, as giving a divine authority to a book, which was mostly stuffed with fables, and drew a party after him. We shall have a more proper opportunity in the sequel to fix the time in which it was

com-

† Vol. IV. p. 13. (Y). (15) Mark xii. 28. (16) Matth. xxii. 35. (17) Ibid. xiii. 2.
(18) Epiph. *hæres. Auth. of the recognis. &c.* (19) Vide Matth. ubi supra, & alib. pass. Act. xxiii. 9.
(20) Mark xii. 28. (21) Matth. xxii. 35. & seq. (22) Ubi supra, c. 17. sect. 10. (23) Luke xl. 44. & seq. (24) Exercit. bibl. l. ii. Exercit. vi. c. 2. vii. c. 1. Vide Basnage. ubi supra, sect. 19.

Egypt (L), is at best but conjecture; and we hope we have given it the best light we are able to get.

We shall now give a short summary of their particular tenets, as they are opposed to those of the other sects.

1. THEY look upon the canonical books of the old testament as the only rule of their faith, and reject the apocryphal as of no authority, together with the pretended oral tradition of the *Pharisees*, as the wicked inventions of an inroaching and designing set of men; for which reason they have the utmost abhorrence for the *Talmud*.

2. THEY expound scripture by scripture; and, where that cannot be done, they call in the assistance of reason, and the writings and comments of other doctors, tho' without paying too implicit a regard to the latter.

3. THEY commonly read the scriptures in their synagogues in the original, esteeming it next to impossible to come at their true meaning from any translation of them; for this reason they are careful to instruct their children betimes in that sacred tongue; and if they suffer any version of them, it is only for the use of those of the meaner sort, who are not acquainted with the *Hebrew*.

4. THEIR prayers are likewise in that tongue, as being the most holy and energetic, and the only one in which the incommunicable name of God can be properly pronounced; for they are not so scrupulous in this respect as the other *Jews*, who always read it *Adonai*, but pronounce it *Jehovab*, as we do. Only in their writings, prayer-books, &c. they chuse to write it only with a *vau* between two *jods*. In their prayers, wherein they express a much greater fervency and devotion than the rest, they always turn their faces towards *Jerusalem*.

5. THEY expect, like the rest of the *Jews*, the reign of the Messiah to be a temporal and glorious one, and attribute his long delay, partly to the slowness of *Saturn's* motion, which they make the ruling planet of the sabbath †, and of the *Jewish* nation, and partly to their sins, which have provoked God to suspend the sending of him at the promised time (M); for this reason they forbid the calculating the time of his coming under the severest anathemas.

6. THEY entertain the highest and justest notions of the Deity, and of his perfec-

† De hoc vide Vol. I. p. 730, (L).

completed, and shall only observe here, that the authority of these *Rabbies* is not only very suspicious in a case of this nature, but is contradicted by others of older date, whom we have mentioned at the head of this article. Besides, what we have said hitherto, makes it more probable that they were of much earlier date, and that the rupture which the publication of the *Talmud* occasioned, might be only a revival of their old dispute, and the giving a new life to the sect. Sure it is, that some of the fathers, who are of much greater authority, have mentioned them long before (25), if not by the name of *Caraites*, at least by that of *scribes*, who rejected all oral traditions, and stuck close to the letter of the sacred books. The reader may see another proof of it in the next note.

(L) *Epiphanius* tells us (26), that in the reign of *Ptolemy Philometor*, the *Jews* in *Egypt* were divided into two parties, the one of which expounded the *Mosaic* law allegorically, and the other literally; which latter was part of the *Caraites* character. We might further alledge, the book *Hachofri*, to which the *Rabbies* give a very great antiquity, and which introduces the king of *Cassus* as a great admirer of the *Caraitic* sect, because they were more zealous for the law, till his *Rabbinic* teachers acquainted him with the vast variety of opinions that were among them, for want of admitting the oral tradition, which fixed the sense of the sacred writings. We have elsewhere indeed had occasion to shew, that this book is far enough from being so ancient as they make it †; but it shews however,

how little reason *Morinus* had to make them so recent as the eighth century, upon the testimony of some partial *Rabbins*, against that of a number of others of more ancient date, some of whom own them to have appeared even in the time of the *Assimeans*, others of the *Sadducees*, and others of *Herod* (27), to say nothing of that of the fathers above-quoted.

If it be objected, that *Josephus* has said nothing of them when he spoke of the other sects which reigned in his time, the argument will equally hold against the *Herodians*, which yet seem to have been very considerable. That historian might have his reasons for passing them by in silence. Had he spoke well of them, he would have disoblged his own sect, seeing he was a *Pharisee*; had he spoke ill of them, the *Herodians* might have exposed him to the resentment of that family, and even of the *Romans*, in whose behalf we have seen they divided themselves from the *Pharisees* and *Gambonites*; and as to the *Caraites*, they might not be so guilty in his own eyes as they appeared to the opposite sects. *Josephus* had too much sense to run all the lengths, and swallow all the fabulous stories of the *Traditionists*, tho', like a thorough-paced statesman, he outwardly joined with the most prevailing side.

(M) The reader may remember, that we have lately had occasion to confute this ridiculous pretence, and the cause from which it sprung (28), which, it seems by this, was not so confined to the carnal *Pharisees* and *Sadducees*, but their more sober and mortified sects gave into it.

(25) Orig. in *Matth.* xiii. 52. *Epiphanius* *heres.* xv. *Hieron.* in *Isai.* viii. 14.
l. viii. c. 10. † Vide *supra*, Vol. I. p. 735, (B). (26) *Præp. evangel.*
Basiliensis, *Calmet*, *Prid.* &c. ubi *supra*. (27) Vide *Trigland. de Carait.* c. 3. *Druſ. ritbar.*
(28) Vol. IV. p. 160, in *ſin. not.* (Z).

a tions and attributes. They affirm his providence to be as extensive and unlimited as his knowledge; and at the same time allow, that mankind has a freedom to determine himself; but that God gave unto every man a portion of his universal grace to assist him in his right choice; and that our wills being influenced by our tempers and constitutions, but chiefly by the stars, makes that grace very necessary. They have a four fold distinction of this disposition of the soul, the one of sickness, the other of health, the third of life, the fourth of death. This distinction seems to have been alluded to by our Saviour in several places of the gospel; as where he speaks of the dead burying the dead; that not the whole, but the sick, have need of a physician, and some others of the like nature.

b 7. THEIR morality was not inferior to their divinity. It kept a kind of medium between the austere *Essenian* and the epicurean *Sadducee*. Of the two they rather inclined to the former in point of abstemiousness, whether of eating, drinking, or any other lawful pleasures.

8. THEY believe a future life of rewards and punishments, according to mens good or bad actions in this (N); that the souls come from heaven; that the future life was made for them, and that they will subsist there as the angels do.

c 9. WE have already hinted, that they condemned the phylacteries of the *Pharisees*. They had no less an abhorrence for all kind of pictures, that were used either by heathens, or afterwards by christians, for a religious use, or, as they term it, to be worshipped; and condemned the other sects for being remiss enough in that point, to make a traffick of them for gain.

10. THEY rejected the astronomical calculations as introduced after the captivity for settling the new moons and other festivals of the year; such as we have had occasion to mention more than once in the course of this chapter †. Whereas the *Traditionists* denied their being an innovation, and pretended, that they had been invented by *Moses*, and had been as much in vogue before, as since their return from *Babylon*.

d UPON all these, and some other less material differences, there was such an irreconcilable hatred intailed between those two sects, as came little short of persecution. They not only charge each other with heresy, with perverting the scriptures, and corrupting religion; but pronounce the bitterest anathemas they can meet with in the sacred books against each other, and that publicly and solemnly; so that where either of them, especially the *Pharisees*, are most numerous or powerful, the others must hear themselves cursed, without daring to resist or complain (O). The late Mr. *Ludolph*, who had been much conversant among them, told several of his acquaintance both in *England* and *Holland*, that he saved the life of a poor *Carait* at *Frankfort*, who, if he had not protected him, took him home, and sent him away privately, had been in danger of being either torn into pieces, or of being starved there^h. This mutual hatred and contempt is carefully propagated both by the parents e to the children, and much more by the masters to the disciples, over whom they usurp such an uncontrollable authority, that it is next to blasphemy and rebellion to contradict or disobey them.

Among the *Caraites*, above all other sects, the disciples have such profound respect for their doctors, that they neither sit down before them till they are bid, nor go from them without their leave; and then they go backwards, keeping still their faces turned towards them. They never speak to or of them, without the title of lord, master, or some such-like term of submission. The doctors, on the other hand, who

† Vide int. al. p. 71, & not. (K).

^h BASNAG. ubi supra, c. 7. sect. 25.

(N) Tho' they held this in opposition to the *Sadducees*, whom they therefore accused of maintaining the annihilation of the soul; yet we do not find that they believed the resurrection with the *Pharisees*.

(O) This, we are told (29), is practised in *Palestina*, where the *Rabbinists*, by far the more numerous and wealthy, assemble themselves on mount *Olivet* on the feast of tabernacles, and there pronounce all the curses of the law against the *Caraites*, who are often within the hearing of them; for tho'

we find their sect dispersed through many of the northern regions, such as *Poland*, *Lithuania*, *Muscovy*, &c. besides those that are to be met with in great numbers in *Turky*, where they enjoy much greater liberty; yet they prefer *Judaea* to all other countries, and would gladly live there rather than at *Constantinople*, *Cairo*, and other great cities, were they permitted to live peaceably, and free from the curses and other ill-offices of their inveterate enemies.

(29) *Basnag. ubi supra, sect. ult.*

are averse to the *Pbarisaic* pride, treat them with great gentleness and humanity, and, ^a for the generality, teach their scholars *gratis*; so that one may say, upon the whole, the *Caraites* are by far the most religious, rational, and, bating their carnal notion of the Messiah's reign, the best disposed to embrace the gospel of any other sect; and we may reasonably suppose, that among the many thousands of that stubborn nation, whom the apostles converted to christianity, the far greater number of them flocked to it from that quarter; whilst the proud *Pbarisees*, full of their own superfluous knowledge and righteousness, and intoxicated with an invincible fondness for their own traditions; and the carnal *Sadducees*, contented with the enjoyments of this life, and regardless, if not averse to the thoughts of a future, spared no pains or artifice, cruelty or injustice, to oppose a doctrine so grating and contrary to theirs. ^b This being therefore the state of the *Jews* at the coming of the Messiah, we need not wonder at the reception which both he and his doctrine met with from them; especially when, instead of that glorious, warlike conqueror they had been made to expect, they saw him in the humble guise of the poor, illiterate son of an obscure carpenter.

S E C T. VI.

The history of the Jews, from the birth to the death of CHRIST.

Herod's distracted state resumed.

^c THE reader may remember, that we left *Herod* in the most distracted state that can be well imagined; his conscience stung with the most lively grief for the murder of his beloved and virtuous *Mariamne*, and of her two worthy sons; his life and crown in imminent danger from the rebellious *Antipater*, and ungrateful *Pheroras*; his reign stained with rivers of innocent blood; his latter days imbibed by the treacherous intrigues of a hellish sister; his person and family hated by the whole *Jewish* nation; and last of all his crown and all his glories on the eve of being obscured by the birth of a miraculous child, who is proclaimed by heaven and earth to be the promised and long expected Messiah and Saviour of the world. To all these plagues we must add some fresh intelligencies which came tumbling in upon that wretched monarch; and which, by assuring him still more, not only of the treasonable designs ^d of the unnatural *Antipater*, but also of the bitter complaints which his other two sons, then at the *Roman* court, did vent against them both, rendered him more than ever completely miserable. Had these two princes continued in their duty to him, they would have been a support and comfort, tho' his favourite one had proved the traitor they had represented him; but whom could he trust to, when there was not one of his family left, that did not in some measure declare himself an enemy to him? This was the dreadful view in which he beheld himself and his unnatural offspring; not that those two young princes were really so divested of all filial affection, as they were represented to him by *Antipater* and his instruments; but it had been his and their constant care and study, by such vile misrepresentations, to render them more and ^e more suspected to the jealous king. Their letters were generally filled with the pretended injurious reflections which those two sons whispered against him; such as his having unjustly murdered those of *Mariamne*, and their dread of being recalled into *Judæa* to be made to undergo the same fate. *Antipater* indeed acted under closer covert, and whilst he seemed, as it were, unwillingly to confirm all these accusations, pretended to excuse them as the effects of rashness and youth, which time and consideration would soon rectify; and indeed so taken up was he either in cultivating these discords, or in procuring himself friends at *Rome* and *Jerusalem* by his profuse liberality, that he seems to have been wholly ignorant of the discoveries which the rack had extorted from his agents in *Judæa*, especially upon the death of *Pheroras*, of ^f which we gave an account in the last section.

Antipater's cabals against his two brothers.

It is indeed surprising, that none of his friends in *Judæa* should have sent him some private intelligence of what had passed at that dreadful scene, and warned him to secure himself betimes from his father's resentment; but so intent was he on the means of ridding himself of him, and seizing on his crown, that he even furnished him with fresh proofs against himself, by sending a fresh supply of poison to his mother, by means of a freed man of his, in case the old one should in any ways have miscarried. *Batillus*, that was the servant's name, was no sooner arrived at *Jerusalem*,

- a *lem*, than *Herod*, who by this time had unravelled the whole plot, caused him to be apprehended, and put to the rack; upon which he confessed the purport of his errand from *Rome*. *Herod*, the better to conceal his resentment against his treacherous son, sent him immediately a letter, in which he seemed to complain only of some ill treatment from his mother, and charged him at the same time to make what haste he could to *Jerusalem*, that his absence might no longer give his enemies a handle to obstruct his interest in the succession. He concluded with a promise, that immediately upon his arrival he would obliterate all past miscarriages, and give him all the marks of paternal affection that he should desire.
- b *Antipater*, still ignorant of what had passed in *Judæa*, and thinking his father by this time poisoned, and in his grave, was set out for *Judæa*, being as eager to reach *Jerusalem*, as his father to get him thither; but when he was come to *Tarentum*, he received a dispatch from some of his friends, which acquainted him with the particulars of *Pheroras's* death. The news gave him a terrible shock, not indeed so much out of love to the deceased, as because he found by it, that he had missed his aim of poisoning the king. He pursued however his journey as far as *Celenderis*, a city in *Sicily*, where being taken with a qualm at the thoughts of the affront put upon his mother, who, as we observed in the last section, had been banished the court, and stripped of all her riches, which he looked upon as an ill omen; he stopped some time there, to consult with his friends, whether he had best proceed, or go back.
- c At length some of them having flushed him with the sanguine hopes, that his appearance at court would dispel all his father's suspicions, he got on board again, and in a little while landed at *Sebaste*. Here he met with a more mortifying omen, than that of his mother's disgrace; and instead of those acclamations and good wishes with which numerous crouds had followed him to the ship, he heard nothing but the bitterest curses from the *Jews* against himself, as the bloody murderer of *Mariamne's* two brave sons.

Barilius's confession on the rack.

Antipater comes back to Jerusalem.

- d Whilst *Herod* was impatiently waiting his arrival, he had not been negligent of what he thought perhaps a more important care, namely, the destroying of his new-born rival at *Bethlehem*, whom he supposed to be still there. Finding himself therefore disappointed by the wise men, from whom he expected a more particular information concerning him, that he might be sure of not missing his victim, he issued forth an order to have all the male infants massacred, not only in that city, but in all the coasts round about, from two years old and under (F); and, by that horrid slaughter, verified the oracle long before delivered by one of the prophets, which the reader will find in the margin (G). But providence had already taken care to convey

The children at Bethlehem massacred.

^a Antiq. I. xvii. c. 6.

^b Ibid. c. 7. sub init.

^c MATTH. ii. 16, & seq.

(F) An author of the fifth century tells us (36), that *Herod* had also a son there at nurse, who was massacred among the rest; and that it was upon this occasion that *Augustus* made that reflection upon him, that it was better he *Herod's* *bag*, than his son. But it is more likely, that that emperor hearing about the same time of the death of *Antipater*, which happened about six weeks after this horrid slaughter, and recollecting that also of his other two sons, might make him break out into that bitter sarcasm against such an unnatural father; besides, it is hardly probable that *Herod*, old, crazed and distracted as he was, could have any children so young.

It is something surprising, that *Josephus*, who was in no case sparing of *Herod's* character, should yet have omitted such a material occurrence. The christians have taxed him, and justly too, with partiality, as having concealed it, to avoid giving such a countenance to the evangelist, and such an ample testimony to the Messiah, as might offend his whole nation, and more particularly the *Pharisaic* brotherhood, who had been his most inveterate enemies.

On the other hand, there have not been wanting those, who, preferring the authority of the *Jewish* historian to that of *St. Matthew*, have made use of the one, among many other topics, to cry down the other. The controversy is so recent in every body's memory, that we need not here repeat it;

especially considering, that it is out of our province to enter into a dispute, which, we think, has been so sufficiently decided in favour of the latter.

As to what may be objected, that *Josephus* has not scrupled in another place to give *Jesus Christ* a most noble character; we shall only say here, that that passage has been shrewdly suspected of forgery, as this in all likelihood would have been, were it to be found in that historian. However, we shall have a fitter opportunity of speaking of that pretended interpolation in the sequel of this section.

(G) The whole passage runs thus (37), that the evangelist has only quoted the first part, as enough to direct his readers to the rest, as was the custom before the bible was divided into chapters and verses.

Thus says the Lord, a voice was heard in *Ramah*, lamentation and bitter weeping; *Rachel* weeping for her children, and would not be comforted, because they were not. Thus saith the Lord, refrain thy voice from weeping, and shine eyes from tears; for thy labour shall be rewarded, or, as the original has it, there is a reward (laid up) for thy labour, and they shall come again from the land of the enemy. For there is hope, saith the Lord, that, in thy latter end, thy children shall come again to their own border. I have heard *Ephraim* complain, saying, Thou hast chastised me, and I was chastised, &c.

There

(36) *Macrobi. Saturn. l. ii. c. 4.*

(37) *Jerem. xxxi. 15, & seq.*

vey the child far enough out of the reach of his butchers; and his parents having a been timely forewarned of his bloody design, had withdrawn themselves into *Egypt*, whence he was not recalled till after the death of the tyrant; when, upon their return, fearing still some further attempt from his successor *Archelaus*, they were directed by the same heavenly monitor to turn off into *Galilee*, and to betake themselves to their old habitation at *Nazareth*. Here was likewise another prophecy fulfilled in the name of *Nazarite* or *Nazaren*, which was given him from his long abode in that obscure place (H) ^d.

SOON

^d Ibid. ver. 19. ad fin.

There was a necessity for taking the whole text thus far, in order to shew how this prophecy or promise of God was verified in the slaughter of these babes; and it is for want of attending to the whole, that some commentators have been forced to have recourse to a primitive or historical meaning, in the carrying away of the ten tribes, and a secondary in this more cruel bereaving of *Rachel*, or the *Jewish* state, of her beloved children; whilst others, not satisfied with the solution, have run into downright scepticism. Whereas the whole, thus connected, implies no more than this, that no affliction or suffering, either wrongfully, or for a good cause, shall miss of its sure reward at the latter end.

The words therefore of the evangelist (38) may, and, we think, justly too, be thus paraphrased and expanded: Then, or in that bitter weeping and lamentation of those doleful mothers, was fulfilled, or truly verified, that saying of the prophet *Jeremiah*; In *Ramah*, which, in the original, signifies a high place, *was heard bitter lamentation*, &c. the mournful mothers refusing to be comforted for their lost children, because they were now no more. But what says the Lord? Refrain your cryings and tears; for there is a recompence reserved for all your labours at your latter end; and the children you count for lost, shall surely return again. And when could such a comfortable promise be more truly verified, than when he, who brought life and immortality to light, came to assure us of it by so many irrefragable arguments, as well as by his own infallible word?

The *Jews* themselves, especially those who believed the resurrection, might easily have understood this to have been the meaning both of the prophet and evangelist, since they tell us (39), that the reason why God did not double the number of *Job's* children, as he did that of his cattle, &c. when he restored him to his prosperous state, was, because those children, tho' dead, were not lost, as his other possessions were, but lived still with God, and would be raised up at the latter end.

(H) This prophecy has likewise been very much canvassed, and hitherto in vain sought after, tho', by the evangelist's words, it should be in more places than one, since he doth not there quote any one in particular, but the prophets in general. The question therefore is, whether it is laid any-where, that the Messiah should be called *Nazarite*? The answer is, not in any version, (except perhaps the *Chaldee* and the *Syriac*) but in the original *Hebrew*, where we shall find him called נָזִיר *Nazir*; not indeed on account of his having received that appellation from any particular city, but by reason of his high character, office and descent. We shall content ourselves with giving two instances of it, which will however suffice as a clue to the rest.

The first is in *Exodus* (40), where the Lord is said to descend in the cloud, and to proclaim the name or attributes of the Lord, in the following words: *The Lord, the Lord God, merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in mercy and truth; keeping*

mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity, &c. Where it is observable, that the first letter in the word נָזִיר *Nazir*, keeping, is one of those which the *Jews* call *majuscule*, or large letters, such as occur only about thirty times in the whole old testament; and are, according to them, never used by the sacred writers, but to imply some great mystery to be contained in the word.

We shall not here dispute, whether the words in the passage above-quoted are those of God there appearing, as our, and most versions understand it, or of *Moses* calling upon him there, tho' the latter seems to us most probable, from those that go immediately before, *Vajicra behem Jahovah*, And he called on the name of the Lord. It is sufficient that the name of *Nazir* is given to the divine person there appearing, which could not be that of God the Father, whom no man hath seen at any time; but of the Son, in that human appearance he often took both before and under the *Mosaic* dispensation; and for further proof of which, we shall refer our readers to what has been said in a former volume*, and all we shall add is, that none could have a better claim to this title of *Nazir* *chessed*, keeping or preserving mercy, than he that came to obtain it for us at no less a price than his own inestimable life.

The other place we shall mention, is in *Isaiah* (41), where the same Messiah is called a *Nazir*, or, a branch out of the old stem of *Jesse*, &c. where the word נֵזֶם or נֵזֶם which we translate *stem*, signifies the old stump of a tree, after the main body has been cut off; and the *Nazir* the spontaneous shoot which springs from it; and such was indeed the house of *David* at the time of Christ's birth, reduced to the lowest degree of poverty and obscurity, tho' at but fourteen generations distance from *Zerubbabel*; but we must remember that the priests, the *Assyrians*, and afterwards *Herod*, had held the kingdom and government of *Judea*; whose interest therefore it was to suppress that family, lest some of them should in time wrench it out of their hands. Neither was this done without the particular conduct of providence, and in pursuance of those prophecies in which the low and humble state of the world's Redeemer is so lively described; and accordingly we find, that when his parents came to *Bethlehem*, they were so poor, that his mother could not purchase a room in that city, where she might be decently delivered of him, but was forced to make use of a stable for herself, and of a manger for her child; or, which is indeed more likely from a closer examination of the text, was delivered in the open fields, and laid the divine babe, עַל תַּרְסָן *et tarsi*, in a crib; for in that sense the septuagint commonly use that word.

If then the Messiah is in *Genesis* and *Isaiah* emphatically called *Nazir* or *Nazir*, and that name is given him by the *Jews*, in their doing so, tho' by way of contempt, they did but fulfil those prophecies of him, tho' unwittingly, unwillingly, and in derision; and it is still more to his glory, that it was com-

(38) *Matth.* ii. 17. & seq.

(40) c. xxxiv. 5. & seq.

p. 723. (Z).

(39) *Rabb. Plur. comm. in Job.* c. mlt. *Dieg. de Stunica*, & al. *ibid.*† *Vide int. at Vol. I.* p. 429, (T), 484, (S).* *De his vide Vol. I.*

(41) c. xi. 1.

- a Soon after this massacre at *Betlechem*, arrived *Antipater* at *Sebaste*, and from thence ^{Antipater's arrival.} went directly to *Jerusalem*, where *Herod* had so closely concealed his designs concerning him, that he made no hesitation to go and offer himself at the gates of the palace. They were immediately opened to him; but, upon his being entered, they were shut up again to all his retinue. Upon his being introduced to the king, he went to throw himself at his feet, and to embrace his knees; but met with a stern repulse, and was immediately arrested; and when he asked the reason of it, he was upbraided with the death of his brothers, and referred over to *Varus*, by whom he should be judged on the very next day. *Quintilius Varus* had succeeded *Sextus Saturninus* in the government of *Syria*, and being arrived at that province, was just then come to *Jerusalem*, to pay a visit to *Herod*, and was thereupon desired by that monarch, that he would preside as judge at the trial of his rebellious and unnatural son. *Antipater* was ^{His trial for treason.} accordingly brought the next morning before him, and a numerous assembly, whom *Herod* had convened for that purpose. Upon his first appearing, he threw himself upon his knees, and begged that they would have pity on him, and not condemn him unheard. *Herod*, who was also present, only bid him stand up, that he might the better level his resentments at him. He upbraided him with his secret designs of poisoning him, and unravelled the whole conspiracy lately discovered, appealing for the truth of it to his relations and friends, and other evidences, whom he had also posted there to prove all his accusations; the last of which, and that which he vented with greatest vehemence, was the death of his two brave sons, Of whom, said he, addressing himself to *Antipater*, thou hast been but the too unnatural follower, if they were guilty, and the base murderer, if they were innocent. His excessive grief, followed with a flood of tears, which he could not refrain at the naming of those two unhappy princes, obliged him to stop short, and to beckon to *Nicolas Damascen* to go on and open the rest of the accusation, and then proceed to the proofs of it.
- c *Antipater*, who knew but too well his own guilt, and the undoubted evidence which was there ready to prove it against him, prevented *Damascen's* going on, and began to plead his own cause; the sum of which was the unlikelihood of his ever entertaining any thoughts of such a horrid parricide, especially after the dreadful punishment of his two brothers for the like attempt. He loudly complained against the baseness of his accusers; but *Damascen* being at length permitted to speak, gave such satisfactory evidence to the court, that there could be no room left to doubt of his being really guilty. *Varus* however told him for the last time, that if he had any thing to reply to invalidate the proofs alledged against him, he might now freely do it, seeing it was *Herod's* and his own earnest desire, that he might prove himself innocent. *Antipater*, for want of better evidence, had recourse to oaths and bitter curses, which he plentifully wished on himself, if he was guilty; but this being the usual refuge of the blackest criminals, the president, to stop his mouth at once, and bring the trial to a fair issue, ordered some of the poison which had been mentioned in the evidence, to be brought, and given to a condemned person before the court; which being ^{His defence.} done accordingly, the man died almost as soon as he had taken it. *Varus* immediately left the court and *Judaea* to return to *Antioch*, without declaring his opinion to any but to *Herod*, who ordered his son to be shut up in a prison, and sent letters to *Augustus* to acquaint him with the whole trial, charging at the same time the messenger to give that emperor all the further particulars of it by word of mouth ^{He is cast.}.

* Antiq. ubi supra.

completed in him in that sublime sense in which he is called by that name in the law and the prophets. The Jews had two false notions concerning Christ, the one that he was born at *Nazareth*, and consequently that he was a *Galilean*; and the second, that out of *Galilee* there never arose any prophet (42). Since then he set up both for a prophet and for the Messiah, they thought, that the name of *Nazarene* was sufficient to confute both those claims, and therefore gave it both to him and to his followers; and these gladly embraced it, on account of its true and genuine signification, as he is called in *Moses's* writings the *nozer*, or keeper or depository of mercy, and by *Isaiah* the sprout out of the old withered stock of the house of *David*.

Some interpreters have imagined, that the evangelist alluded to the *Nazarites* among the Jews, of whom we have spoken more fully in our first volume *, or to *Joseph*, who is emphatically called by his father *Nazir Achauf* (43), *separate from his brethren*; or, as we have formerly explained that place †, *crowned above his brethren*, and whom they look upon as a type of the Messiah. But all this is supposed, for want of attending to the different spelling of these two words, viz. the first with a *y*, and signifies *to keep*, and the other with a *z*, and signifies *to crown, separate*, &c. Now the former can be the only right one here, it being given him on account of his living at *Nazareth*; which word is written with the *zade*, and not the *xain*.

(42) Vide *John* i. 46. vii. 41 & 52.
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* p. 631, & seq.
A a a

(43) *Gen.* xlix. 26. † Vol. I. p. 465, (R).
PRE-

^a PRESENTLY after there was another discovery made by an intercepted letter from *Antipbilus*, who was then in *Egypt*, and directed to *Antipater*; the purport of which was as follows: "I have sent you *Achme's* letter (I): you know what risque I run by " so doing, since I should lay myself at the mercy of two most potent families, and " my inveterate enemies. It concerns you therefore to look to it, that nothing mis- " carry." The business was to find this letter of *Achme*, and the messenger pretended to be ignorant of any other except that above-mentioned. At length, upon closer search, another was found sewed in the lining of his waistcoat, which, upon their reading of it, was to this effect: *Achme to Antipater: I have written to your father, according to your direction, and have inclosed in the packet the forged letter from Salome to the queen my mistress; and I doubt not but the king, upon his reading of it, b* will put her to death as a traitress. This pretended letter of *Salome* was contrived by *Antipater*, and dressed up by *Achme*, who wrote to the king as follows. *Achme to king Herod: Out of a desire I have to serve you, by acquainting you with any thing that concerns your safety, I have herewith sent you a letter of Salome to the empress my mistress, in which she desires her leave to marry Syllæus (K). Pray tear it as soon as read, since the discovery of it would cost me my head. Herod, upon reading and comparing the whole, caused his son to be brought before him, bound as he was, and shewed him the letters, and at the same time asked him, what he had to answer for himself? Antipater, at the sight of them, was thunderstruck, and could not utter a word; and upon its being insisted on, that he should name his accomplices, he only mentioned c* *Antipbilus*. *Salome*, who was touched to the quick at this attempt against her, after having expressed her innocence by many antick gestures and dire imprecations, strenuously insisted to have the traitor executed out of hand. *Herod*, on the other side, was thinking at first to have sent him to *Rome* to have been tried before *Cæsar*; but fearing, upon second thoughts, lest he should either be rescued by the way, or acquitted by his friends there, contented himself with sending a full account to the emperor, together with the intercepted letters; and remanded his son to his prison ^f.

Herod's last illness; and will.

WHILST his ambassadors were hastening to *Rome*, *Herod*, worn out with age, sickness, and numberless cares and inquietudes, fell into a violent disease, which, added to all his other misfortunes, made him so morose and cholerick, that he became d a burden to himself, and to every one about him. Finding his end approaching, he set about making his will, by which he appointed his youngest son his heir and successor, the misrepresentations and calumnies of *Antipater* having rendered his other two sons *Archelaus* and *Philip* obnoxious to him. He bequeathed in legacies, a thousand talents to *Augustus*; five hundred to his empress, and left a considerable fortune to the unworthy *Salome*. The rest of his estate, lands, revenues and money he ordered to be divided between his children and grandchildren.

A tumult in the city.

BUT if he was capable of receiving any real satisfaction from this disposal of his crown and wealth according to his inclination, it was soon after soured by a seditious tumult, which was raised about this time by *Judas* the son of *Sariphaeus*, and *Matthias* the son e of *Margolothus*, two Jewish doctors, equally eminent for their learning and piety. These men, at the pleasing news of his being given over, unhappily took it into their heads to stir up a good number of their disciples, at the head of the city youth, to go and pull down all the structures which that monarch had built contrary to their laws. These, with their two masters at their head, having heard a report about the middle of the day, that *Herod* was expired, went immediately to the temple-gate, over which he had set up a golden eagle of extraordinary bigness, and exquisite workmanship, and began their pious work with pulling it down, and breaking it into pieces with axes and hammers, as the greatest eye-sore of all. The king's commander in chief, expecting it to be the beginning of a sedition, ran immediately to f the place with a body of his troops, and was agreeable surprised to find it only a mob of youths, who immediately dispersed themselves at his arrival. Forty only of

^f Idem ibid. ad fin.

(I) This *Achme* was by nation a Jewess, in the service of *Julia Augustus's* wife; but had been bought over by *Antipater* with large sums, to contrive this plot against his father, and his aunt *Salome* (44).

(K) *Syllæus* was a Nabathean, and *Herod's* sworn enemy, and was soon after beheaded at *Rome* for betraying *Ælius Gallus* into the Arabian expedition, and for some other crimes (45).

(44) *Joseph. Antiq. l. xvii. c. 7. ad fin.*

(45) *De hoc vide Strab. l. xvi.*

them,

- a them, with their two chiefs, proving intrepid enough to stand their ground, were immediately seized, and brought to the dying king; and upon their being asked what motive had induced them to such an attempt on the temple? boldly answered him, that they had long since resolved upon it; and that it was their only grief, that they had deferred it so long. They added, that they neither feared his anger, nor any punishment he could inflict on them, since what they had done was in obedience to their law, and from a pure zeal for the glory of God.

- THIS affront having raised in some measure his drooping spirits, he ordered them to be sent in chains to *Jericho*, whither he also caused himself to be conveyed in a litter, by reason of his extreme weakness. Here he assembled the heads of the *Jews*,
 b and, in a set speech, reminded them of the great and glorious things he had done for them, and of the sumptuous edifices he had reared to the glory of God, during his whole reign, and for which he expected to have deserved better returns, and to have endeared both his person and memory to the whole nation; but that, to his great grief, he found it quite the reverse, since they had dared, even during his life, and in the face of the sun, to offer such an affront to him; and not to him only, but much more to God, to whom that golden ornament had been dedicated; so that they had even turned their malice into an open sacrilege. The assembly could easily have told him, that his pretended dedication of a figure forbidden by the second commandment, was no other than a piece of idolatrous complaisance to the *Romans*; but
 c being afraid to rouse his cruelty too far, they contented themselves with disclaiming the fact, and allowing it to deserve an exemplary punishment. *Herod*, somewhat softened by this answer, contented himself with deposing the high-priest (L), whom he suspected to have been a private encourager of the tumult, and giving that dignity to his brother *Joazar*; after which he caused *Mattathias* the ringleader, and the rest of the prisoners, to be burnt alive, and forgave all the rest *e*.

Herod's speech to the assembly.

The zealots burn alive.

- THIS indignity however gave him reason enough to think what mourning the *Jewish* nation was like to make for him; and as his disease became more and more loathsome and intolerable (M), and made him still more desperate and inhuman, he bethought himself of such a horrid expedient to prevent their rejoicing at his death,
 d as scarcely ever entered into the heart of any tyrant. He issued out his summons for the heads of all the *Jews* to repair to *Jericho* on a set day, under pain of death; and, upon their arrival, ordered them all to be shut up in the *Circus*: and having sent for his sister *Salome*, and her husband *Alexas*, gave them strict charge to have them all butchered as soon as his breath was gone. By this means, added he, I shall not only damp the people's joy, but secure a real mourning at my death. About this time came back his messengers from *Rome*, with *Augustus's* approbation of *Antipater's* sentence, and the news that *Achme* had been there put to death for her treachery. *Herod* could not but feel a sensible joy at it, in spite of all his tortures; and finding himself at that time very hungry, he called for an apple and a knife; but his pains increas-
 e ing at that instant, and he essaying to put an end to them with the knife, made a grandson of his, who tried to stop his hand, give a great shriek, which alarmed the court, and made every body without believe that he was dead. The report of it soon reached *Antipater's* prison, who expressed such lively joys and hopes at the news, as hastened his execution; for his gaoler having acquainted the king with it, threw him into such a rage, that he dispatched one of his guards on the very instant to put

Herod's last legacy to the Jews.

* *Antiq. ubi supra, c. 9.*

(L) This was that *Mattathias*, of whom we have had occasion to speak heretofore, who having contracted some pollution in a dream on the eve of the expiation day, was forced to substitute another to perform the ceremonies of that solemnity. *Josephus* adds, that the moon suffered an eclipse on the night following that pontiff's deposition (46).

(M) This disease, which *Josephus* (47) doth not scruple to call a judicial one, was so complicated, and attended with such nauseous and frightful symptoms, that we believe our readers will gladly spare us the repetition of them here. However, the king, still flattering himself with the hopes of a cure, sent for physicians from all parts, who having tried

their art in vain, advised him at length to the hot waters of *Callirhoe*, on the other side *Jordan*, which empty themselves in the lake *Asphaltites*. Upon his coming thither, he was ordered to be set in a vessel of oil up to the neck, which, instead of relieving him, threw him into a fainting fit, out of which he was with difficulty brought by the outcries of his attendants. It was then that he first began to think his disease incurable; upon which he ordered a donative of fifty drachms per head to all his soldiers, and proportionably to his officers, and ordered himself to be conveyed to *Jericho*, where he soon after issued out that bloody edict we are going to mention in the text.

(46) *Antiq. ubi supra, c. 8.*

(47) *Idem ibid.*

him

Antipater put
to death.

Herod's death.

The imprisoned
chiefs released
by Salome.
Year of the
Jews 3900.
After Christ's
birth 1.
Before the vul-
gar era 5.
Archelaus pro-
claimed

Herod's state-
ly funeral.

him to death ^a. He outlived his son but five days, during which he altered his will afresh, left his kingdom to *Archelaus*, made *Antipas* tetrarch of *Galilee* and *Perea*; and left to *Philip* the regions of *Trachonitis*, *Gaulon*, *Batanea* and *Panias*, which he erected likewise into a tetrarchy. To *Salome*, besides fifty thousand pieces in money, he gave the cities of *Jamnia*, *Azotus* and *Pbasaclis*, with some considerable legacies to his other relations. He died in the seventieth year of his age, and the thirty-seventh after his advancement to the Jewish crown, and the thirty-fourth after the expulsion and death of *Antigonus* ⁱ (N), and to the no small joy of all the Jews.

For *Salome* and *Alexas*, bad as they were, and in spite of all the oaths and protestations their tyrannic brother had extorted from them at his death, were so far from executing his last inhuman orders, that they even strove to smother the shameful secret ^b from the nation. To this end they went immediately after his being expired to the hippodrome, where the heads of the Jews were detained, caused the gates to be flung open, and declared to them, that it was the king's order they should all depart to their respective homes, he having no further occasion for their presence; which they accordingly did; soon after which, and not till then, they published the news of *Herod's* death (O). They then summoned the chief officers and soldiery to the amphitheatre at *Jericbo*, and read to them a letter from the deceased king, in which he thanked them for their past services and fidelity to him, and desired them to shew it now to his son *Archelaus*, whom he had appointed his successor. His last will was read to them at the same time by *Ptolemy* the then keeper of the royal seal, in which ^c there was this remarkable clause, *That it was to be of no force till ratified by Cæsar*. The audience however, taking it for granted that that emperor would not fail to confirm it, sent out an universal shout, *Long live king Archelaus*; and both officers and soldiers promised him the same allegiance and attachment which they had shewn to his father.

THE new king, to shew his gratitude to him, began with preparing him a funeral answerable to his greatness and dignity. His body was laid on a sumptuous golden litter, enriched with variety of precious stones, wearing the royal crown on his head, and holding the sceptre in his hand. His sons and grandsons, of whom we have spoken in a former section, his sister and her husband, accompanied with the rest of ^c his relations, marched by his side, and were followed by all his officers both civil and military, according to their rank. Among the latter his guards led the van; then came the *Thracians*, next the *Germans*, and, last of all, the *Gauls* or *Galatians*; all of them armed, and in order of battle. The procession was closed with five hundred of king's domestics with aromatic perfumes, and proceeded to his castle of *Herodion*, mentioned in the last section, which was about eight stades, or one thousand paces distant

^a Ibid. ad fin.

^b Ibid. c. 10. sub init.

(N) Archbishop *Usher* dates his death on the 25th of November, the seventh month, called *Chaslev* (48). Another learned chronologer observes, that it gave the Jewish nation a joyful occasion for a festival, as he died hated of all wise men (49).

Our learned prelate has therein followed the Jewish book last-quoted, which places his death on the seventh day of that month, according to the Hebrew computation; but a late critic has since pretended, that the old *Megillah* had been long since lost, and this new one foisted into the world instead of it, and is therefore of no authority (50). We shall content ourselves with referring our readers to another learned man (1), who has fully confuted this assumption, it being quite out of our province to enter further into that dispute.

The Jewish historian sums up *Herod's* character in these remarkable words (2); He was a man inexorably cruel, and a slave to his passions. His will was his law; and yet no man, in the general, more fortunate than he. He mounted the throne from the condition of a private man, fell into many difficulties, but surmounted them all, and lived at last to a

great age. As to his domestic broils with his children and family, how unhappy soever he may have been in my opinion, yet was he fortunate in his own; for he got still the better of his enemies.

(O) Whether this unexpected release of the Jewish heads was really owing to the less brutish temper of *Salome* and her husband, or whether it might not, as they gave it out, have been ordered by the relenting tyrant at his last agonies, and suppressed by the Jewish historian out of hatred to that monarch; sure it is, that the very design, much more the prosecuting it so far, must argue him to have been a monster of cruelty, and capable of the most horrid butcheries, to satiate either his ambition or resentment.

This will sufficiently take off the objection against the probability of his murdering so many infants in and about *Bethlehem*, drawn from the horridness of the act; and we have had occasion already to shew, that *Josephus's* silence of it can much less invalidate the authority of the evangelist, who affirms it as a fact well known to the Jewish nation.

(48) *Sub A. M. 4001. chronol. p. 1. c. 9. sect. 5. ubi supra, c. 10.*

(49) *Vide Megillath Tahanich sub men. Cistiv.*

(1) *Joh. Meyer. annot. in Megill. Tahan. p. 62, & seq.*

(50) *Bern. Lamy. appar.*

(2) *Antiq.*

a from *Jericho* (P), and where they deposited his remains, according to his will¹. They returned from thence to *Jerusalem*, where *Archelaus* having finished the seven days mourning for his father, according to the *Jewish* custom, gave the people a magnificent feast. He went next to the temple clothed in white, and in the midst of their loud acclamations; and being there seated on his golden throne, gave the people thanks for the zeal they expressed for him; but added, that he would not assume the title of king, till it had been confirmed to him by *Augustus*, tho' that, as well as the royal diadem, had been offered to him at *Jericho* by the suffrages of the whole army. He concluded with assuring them, that as soon as he was confirmed by the emperor, his chief care and study should be to deserve that love they so unanimously testified for him, and to make his reign more easy and happy, than that of his father had proved to the *Jewish* nation. This speech was followed with fresh volleys of huzzas; after which they began to try the sincerity of it, by a number of petitions suitable to their different exigencies. Some begged for an alleviation of their tribute, others for the total abolition of the customs, others again for the release of prisoners; all which were readily granted at this lucky juncture, *Archelaus* not thinking it advisable to exasperate them by a denial. The whole ceremony was concluded with suitable sacrifices, and a sumptuous entertainment, which he gave there to his friends.

*Archelaus's
speech to the
Jews.*

THE *Jews* however soon resumed their rebellious course in spite of all these grants. That afternoon was scarcely over, before a number of malecontents, who had been for some time holding secret cabals for raising new mutinies, broke loose in a body, and, for want of a more plausible pretence, came beating their breasts, bewailing the deaths of *Mattathias*, and others of his accomplices, who had been burnt for pulling down the golden eagle; and demanded justice against those friends of the deceased king, who had had a hand in their deaths; particularly they desired, that the high-priesthood might be taken from *Joazar*, to whom it had been given upon that occasion. This unexpected indignity failed not to exasperate the new king; but as he was upon the point of departing for *Rome*, and was unwilling either to have his journey stopped by this tumult, or to go away before it was quelled; he sent his master of the horse to appease them by fair words, and to remind them, that the king would do nothing till he was confirmed by the emperor; but, before he could utter a word to them, they fell a pelting him with volleys of stones, so that he was forced to withdraw. He sent some fresh officers on the same errand, and they met with the same reception; insomuch that they wanted but number to have raised themselves into open rebellion. By this time the feast of the passover was come, which brought a great concourse of people from all parts to *Jerusalem*; during which solemnity the malecontents never stirred from the temple, but chose to beg for subsistence of the comers, rather than leave the place, or intermit their godly work, till they were drove from it by main force¹.

*A new tumult
raised.*

Archelaus, who justly feared, lest these mutineers should spread the infection among the multitudes that repaired to the feast, sent an officer at the head of some troops, with express orders either to disperse them, or to seize on such as stood their ground. They were scarcely come in sight of the revolvers, before they found themselves briskly attacked by them, and by a greater number of strangers, whom their outcries had inspired with the same rebellious spirit: a bloody encounter followed, in which most of the soldiers were killed upon the spot, and the officer terribly wounded, and narrowly escaped with his life. This fresh indignity obliged at length *Archelaus* to send his whole army against them, with orders to his cavalry to kill all that came out of the temple, and to hinder the strangers from assisting them. After another obstinate fight, in which three thousand of the rebels were killed, the rest were soon put to flight, and betook themselves to the mountains; upon which the king published an

*The mutineers
dispersed.*

¹ Idem ibid. & bell. Jud. l. i. c. ult.

² Antiq. ubi supra. Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 1.

(P) Or rather, as *Josephus* has it in another place (3), two hundred stades or furlongs; for less than that that could hardly be, considering that it was but sixty from *Jerusalem*. Our learned *Usher* therefore supposes some error crept in the former, and that the historian there meant, that the cavalcade marched but eight stades a day (4).

(3) Bell. Jud. l. i. c. ult. in. fin.
(6) *Palæstr. illustr. sub Herodion.*

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Mention being also made of an *Herodian* upon one of the mountains of *Arabia* (5), Mr. *Reland* justly concludes, that there must have been two castles of that name built by that monarch, the former in the neighbourhood of *Jerusalem* and *Tekoa*, viz. this where he was buried; and the other at a greater distance, and on the other side *Jordan* (6).

(4) *Sub A. M. 4002.*

(5) Bell. Jud. ibid. c. 16, & alib.

order for all strangers to depart to their own homes, by which an end was put to the paschal solemnity for that year, the rebellion suspended for some time, and Archelaus was left at liberty to prepare for his journey to Rome^m. He set out soon after accordingly, leaving the government of the kingdom to his brother Philip, and took with him his mother Mattæe, by nation a Samaritan; Nicolas Damascen, an old friend and counsellor of his late father, and a great number of other friends. He was likewise accompanied by his aunt Salome, with her children, and some other near relations, who pretended to assist him with their interest at the Augustan court, when their real design was to obstruct his confirmation, and to accuse him to the emperor of the massacre of his subjects lately committed in the temple.

Archelaus goes
to Rome.
Year of the
flood 3000.
Of Christ 1.
Before the vul-
gar era 3.

WHEN Archelaus was come to Cæsarea, he was met there by Sabinus, Augustus's intendant of Syria, who was hastening into Judæa, to take care of the rich legacies which Herod had bequeathed to that emperor. He had however been dissuaded by Varus, in his way thither, from undertaking any thing further, till the emperor's will was known, and Archelaus confirmed in his kingdom; so that he had been prevailed upon by that Syrian governor to stay in that city till he received further orders from Rome. He stayed however no longer there than till Varus was returned to Antioch his capital; after which he went immediately to Jerusalem, lodged himself at the royal palace, and summoned the king's treasurers to give him an account, and to put him in possession of those treasures; but as these had orders from Archelaus not to part with them till his return, they refused to deliver them to Sabinus, alledging they would preserve them for Augustus, till they received further directions from him. By this time Archelaus and his retinue were arrived at Rome; and among those whom the subtle Salome had brought with her to oppose his election, was Antipas, another of Herod's sons, whom that monarch had appointed his successor by his first will, and whom she designed to set up against his brother, under pretence, that that was of greater validity than his second. Antipas had been persuaded to take this step, not only by Salome, but much more by one Ireneus, an eloquent orator, and one that was perfectly versed in all the affairs of state, had been admitted into the inmost secrets of Herod's court; and being come with him to Rome, was most likely to represent that young prince's claim to the best advantage. With that orator was also another great statesman, named Ptolemy, the brother of Nicolas Damascen, and one of the late king's counsellors. Antipas had likewise brought his mother Cleopatra, born at Jerusalem, with some other relations and friends; and these were scarcely come to Rome with him, before they found means to draw the greatest part of Archelaus's relations and partisans over to their sideⁿ (Q).

Antipas opposes
him.

THERE was still another thing which very much weakened the interest of Archelaus, namely, his officers at Jerusalem refusing to deliver up Herod's legacies to Sabinus; of which both he and Varus had taken care to inform the Roman court. Archelaus was therefore forced, in his own vindication, to present a memorial to the emperor, in which he exhibited his title to the crown, the particulars of Herod's last will, together with an inventory of the treasure which that monarch had left behind him, to which he likewise added his royal signet with which that will was sealed. This memorial was soon followed by another from Antipas, in which were displayed such allegations as were most likely to invalidate Herod's last will, and his brother's title. Augustus having perused the writings on both sides, summoned a council of his friends, to examine their respective claims, and made Caius the son of Agrippa, by his adopted daughter Julia, president of it. Antipater, the son of Salome, an eloquent speaker, and sworn enemy to Archelaus, opened with a speech full of the bitterest invectives against him; such as his having assumed the royal title and authority, without staying for the emperor's consent; his having caused three thousand Jews to be massacred in the temple by his own troops at the late passover festival; his having turned out several eminent officers, and put others in their room; his having presumed

Antipater's
speech against
Archelaus.

^m Antiq. ibid. c. 11. Bell. Jud. ubi supra.

ⁿ Idem ibid.

(Q) It seems by Josephus's account, as if Archelaus's party had taken some disgust at him, either from his severe manner of quelling the last tumult in Judæa, or on some other pretence, whilst Antipas and his friends took care to inspire them with hopes of a milder government under him. But there

was still a third party, who liking neither of the brothers, nor indeed any of Herod's family, did what they could to make them both miscarry in their pretensions, in hopes of living solely and more quietly under the dominion of the Romans.

- a to sit on the royal throne, heard and adjudged causes, and granted considerable immunities, released all the prisoners whom his father had caused to be shut up in the *Circus*; all this by his own assumed authority, and in the quality of a *Jewish* monarch. He likewise accused him of unnatural contempt to the memory of his deceased father, from whom he had received such signal tokens of paternal love, and of his having spent the night which followed that monarch's death, in such feasting and jollity, as was like to have raised a sedition among the people, who could not behold such a flagrant instance of ingratitude, without the utmost detestation. He concluded with telling the court, that *Herod*, who best knew the opposite tempers of the two brothers, had not so much as dreamt of appointing him his successor, whilst he enjoyed his health and senses; but had expressly named *Antipas* to that dignity; but supposing that he had conceived a better opinion of *Archelaus* during his last sickness, he has shewn you now what a king he is like to prove; what use he is like to make of his power, since even whilst in the condition of a private man, he could send his troops into the very temple, to cut the throats of his subjects.

- Damascen* spoke next, and answered the greatest part of *Antipater's* accusations, by shewing, first, that, with respect to the pretended massacre in the temple, nothing less than such a severity could quell the sedition then kindled; that those men were only a band of rebellious fellows, and the first aggressors, not only in raising the tumult, but in murdering those officers whom the king had sent to appease them by the mildest means; and that he had acted nothing in this, or in any other instance, but by the advice of those who were now turned his accusers: that as to the alteration which *Herod* made in his will about the succession, he being in his perfect senses at that time, had doubtless very good reasons for what he did, and might probably have observed something in *Antipas's* behaviour or character, which obliged him to prefer his brother to him; and as a further proof that he had altered it upon cooler thoughts, he urged his submitting the validity of it to the emperor, without whose approbation it was to be of no force. As soon as he had made an end of speaking, *Archelaus* went and threw himself at *Augustus's* feet in such humble guise, as moved his compassion towards him. *Cæsar* raised him up, pronounced him worthy of the *Jewish* crown, and promised to do nothing contrary to his father's will; after which he dismissed the assembly without any further decision, being desirous to take some time to consider whether he should bestow the kingdom solely upon him, or divide it among *Herod's* children, seeing they all applied themselves alike to him for redress.

- WHILE these things were transacting at *Rome*, the restless *Jews* had raised a new insurrection in *Jerusalem*, which was however suppressed by *Varus's* speedy arrival from *Antioch*, and the punishment of the ringleaders; but, upon his return to *Antioch*, having left *Sabinus* with a *Roman* legion to keep that metropolis in awe, this general seeing himself superior to the *Jews*, made a bold push upon the fortresses of the city, and the treasures of the *Herodian* family, with a design to convert them to his own use. He chose however a wrong time for such an attempt; and the *Jews*, who came flocking thither to the approaching feast of pentecost, not perhaps so much out of devotion, as to oppose his designs, did quickly divide themselves into three bodies, one of which besieged him and his troops in the royal palace, whilst the other two went and possessed themselves, the one of the *Hippodrome*, and the other of the temple on the east and north sides of it; so that he was inclosed on every side, and in danger of being overpowered by the *Jews*. These were the more exasperated against him, because he had forced his way into the treasury of the temple, and brought away four hundred talents out of it, besides other rich plunder which his soldiers had carried off, in spite of all their opposition. This desperate attempt had happened as follows:
- f the *Roman* general seeing himself hemmed in on all sides, and on the brink of being assaulted by the resolute *Jews*, sent an express to desire *Varus* to come immediately to his assistance; whilst himself getting up on the top of one of the towers of the castle, named *Phasaël*, from thence beckoned to his troops to make a sally on the enemy. They did so, and had an obstinate skirmish with them, in which they killed a number of *Jews*. The rest, not at all discouraged at this loss, got up on the outer galleries of the temple, from which they galled the *Romans* with stones and arrows, whilst those of the enemy from below had quite lost their strength before they could reach them. Tired at length, and ashamed to see the advantage the *Jews* had over them,

Sabinus besieged.

• Antiq. ubi supra c. 11. Bell. Jud. ubi supra.

Some Jews
burnt and kil-
led.

they brought vast quantities of wood and other combustible matter to the foot of the wall, and setting it on fire, plied it so briskly with fresh fuel, that the flame reached at length to the cornices of the gallery; which being of timber, and covered with paint and wax, on which the gilding was laid, were easily set on a blaze. A great number of the *Jews* on the battlements perished in the flames, whilst the rest casting themselves down headlong, either died by the fall, or by the enemies sword; so that not one of all those brave men was left alive, the *Romans* giving no quarter to any of them. As soon therefore as the flames were so far abated, that these could wade through them, they broke into the sacred treasury, from which they carried off the plunder above-mentioned.

THESE two actions therefore could not but highly exasperate the *Jewish* nation, and make them double their vigour against him. Accordingly, whilst one part was taken up in undermining the palace, another was endeavouring to cause a defection from the *Roman* general, by promising an amnesty, and free leave to march off unmolested, to as many as should leave the place. They added the like promise to *Sabinus*, upon the same conditions, and assured the *Roman* troops, that they had no other design in taking up arms, but to free themselves from the tyrannic yoke of the *Herodian* family. *Sabinus* would have gladly embraced the offer; but the injuries he had done the *Jews* would not permit him to rely on their promise, so that he chose rather to wait for the reinforcement he expected from *Varus*. During this time new troubles were raised in other parts of *Judæa*; among others two thousand valiant veterans of the late king, who had been discharged from the service, assembled themselves in a body, and fell upon *Archelaus's* forces commanded by his nephew *Archibabus*; but this young general not daring to face them upon equal terms, knowing them to be old experienced soldiers, went and secured himself as well as he could in some fortresses, and other places of difficult access.

A sedition raised by Judas.

WE have heretofore had occasion to mention one *Ezechias*, a captain of a gang of banditti, whom *Herod* had with much difficulty caught and put to death, with about forty of his troops. This man left a son named *Judas*, who seeing now the country labouring under a kind of civil war, took this opportunity to revenge his father's death; and having got together a band of most desperate fellows at *Sephoris*, a city in *Galilee* (R), after several incursions into the king's dominions, forced at length into the royal armory, where he equipped his men *cap-a-pée*, and from thence into the treasury of all the places where he came, and being thus furnished with men, arms and money, injected terror into the whole province, and plundered all he could come at; and so successful was he for some time, that he began to aim at the supreme power, whence he is thought, not without good grounds, to have been the same which is mentioned by *St. Luke* 9 under the name of *Theudas* (S).

A second by Simeon.

HE was not the only one that aimed at the crown during these troublesome times. There started up another, named *Simeon*, a person of comely stature, strongly built, and well esteemed by the *Jews*, and sufficiently conceited to think himself worthy of it. He had been employed by *Herod* in affairs of great importance with credit. As soon therefore as he appeared at the head of a party, the people saluted him king of the *Jews*; and he, to shew his zeal against the two rival sons of his late master, led his men directly to *Jericho*, where they set the royal palace, a rich and stately building, in flames. He proceeded to do the like to several others, giving his men the whole

* Antiq. ubi supra. Bell. Judaic. l. ii. c. 2.

† Acts v. 36.

(R) This city, tho' not to be met with in *Joshua* or any of the sacred writers, at least by any thing like that name, is frequently mentioned by *Josephus*; and we have had occasion to speak of it in a former section, as one of the five places in which *Gabinus* settled his independent tribunals. It was in the tribe of *Zebulun*, not far from the mountain and plains of *Thabor*, and was one of the first cities in *Galilee* on the road from *Ptolemais*. It became afterwards the metropolis of that province in *Nero's* time, when that emperor gave it to young *Agrippa*.

It has been since known by the name of *Diocæsarea*. It is placed at about twelve miles (more or

less, for authors are not agreed about it) from *Tiberias*, and near the famed mount *Asmon*, or *Asamon*, which was looked upon as the center or navel of *Galilee* (7).

(S) This seems more than probable, not only from what each historian says of him, the one, that he aimed at the crown; and the other, that he gave himself out to be some eminent person, or great deliverer; such as the *Jews* were in more than ordinary expectation of at this time; but likewise from the affinity of their name תודא *Theudah* in the *Syriac*, answering to the *Hebrew* יהודה *Jehudah*, and to the *Greek* Ιούδας (8).

(7) De hac vide *Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 10. xvii. c. 12. Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 2. & alib. pass.*

ann. Uffer. sub A. M. 4003.

(8) Vide

- a plunder of them. What further mischiefs such a leader, at the head of such resolute fellows, might have done, if their career had not been timely stopped, is easy to guess; but, happily for that country, *Gratus*, *Archelaus's* general, or, according to *Tacitus**, *Varus*, the Syrian governor, fell suddenly upon them, and, whilst they fought with more courage than skill, gave them a total overthrow. *Simeon* was caught in his flight in some narrow defile, and being brought to the general, had his head immediately struck off. Whilst these were plundering and burning the royal palaces in one part of the country, another gang was doing the same in another; particularly that of *Amatha* on the *Jordan*, built probably by *Herod* for the benefit of the hot waters, which that city was famed for†, and took its name from (T).
- b BUT the most desperate and dangerous of all those seditious gangs, for they raged in every place like an epidemic disease, was that of one *Athronges*, heretofore an obscure shepherd, of no merit or worth but what he challenged from his gigantic stature, and brutish stoutness. This fellow set up likewise for the royal authority. He had four brothers of the same monstrous size, whom he made his lieutenants over the multitudes that came flocking to him for the honour of fighting under his banner. He took upon him the royal diadem, and tho' he often consulted his council, yet acted according to his arbitrary will. He hated the *Romans* and *Herodians* alike; but the former felt oftener the effects of his cruelty. He gave no quarter to either side, when they fell into his hands; but he seemed rather to bend his force against the *Romans*, because their late plunders and cruelties were fresher in every body's memory. He laid an ambush against one of their convoys of corn near *Emmaus*, and fell upon them so suddenly, that he left their commanding officer, and forty of his men, dead on the spot, and would in all likelihood have cut them all off, had not *Gratus* come in good time to their assistance. At length, after many such exploits, the mock monarch fell into the hands of *Archelaus*, after his return into *Judæa*. One of his brothers was taken by *Gratus*, and another by *Ptolemy*. The last of them surrendered himself upon good conditions; and so the whole gang was dispersed. But all this while the whole country was still in a flame from fresh insurrections, as well as from that of the *Jews* against *Sabinus*, whilst the *Herodian* competitors were waiting at *Rome* for the emperor's decision.
- By this time *Varus* being apprised of the danger *Sabinus* and his legion were in, took the road to *Judæa*, at the head of his other two, which was all that he had then in *Syria*, and with four troops of horse, and some foot, which he had got from the neighbouring tetrarchs. He ordered their rendezvous at *Ptolemais*, where he received some fresh auxiliaries, besides fifteen hundred more, which the king of *Arabia* sent him to *Berytus*, more out of hatred to the *Herodian* family, than love to the *Romans*. With part of his army *Varus* marched towards *Samaria*, whilst the rest, under the command of his son, made an inroad into that part of *Galilee* which was nearest to *Ptolemais*. This last having put to flight all that opposed him, went and took *Sepphoris*, sold all the inhabitants by auction, set fire to that noble city, and reduced it into a heap of rubbish. His father, on the other hand, passed by *Samaria*, because he heard, that it had had no hand in the *Jewish* insurrections, and marched straight to *Jerusalem*. In his way he suffered his *Arabian* troops to plunder and burn several villages and towns; such as *Arus*, because it belonged to *Ptolemy*, a friend of *Herod*; *Sampho* and *Emmaus*; this last in revenge of the slaughter which *Athronges* had made of the *Romans* near that place; but the inhabitants of it foreseeing the storm, had timely forsook it. Whilst this was doing without the city, the besiegers, who were just going to storm the palace, having heard of *Varus* coming with such a force, raised the siege, and marched off in a fright; upon which the besieged came forth, with the grandchildren of *Herod*, to compliment him on his arrival, and to thank him for his timely help. *Sabinus* was the only one who did not follow their example; but stole away privately towards the sea. *Varus* gave a very severe reprimand to the inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, for the late hostilities against the *Roman* legion; but was soon appeased, when he was apprised, that they neither had a hand in it, nor were able to hinder it, being themselves pent up by those foreign *Jews* who were come to the feast, and had begun the tumult. However, as he thought it expedient to make a

A thirdly
Athronges.His gang de-
feated.Varus marches
against the be-
siegers.

Raises the siege.

* Hist. l. v.

* JOSEPH. ubi supra.

* EUSEB. Onomast. sub voce.

(T) From the Hebrew חממה or חמת *Chamah*, or *Chamath*, is the regimen, signifying hot. Mr. *Reiland* thinks it to be the same with *Ramoth Gilad*.

A new insur-
rection quelled.

severe example of the ringleaders of it, he sent some of his troops through the whole a kingdom, with orders to make a strict search after them, and bring them prisoners to him. Upon their return they brought a vast number of those wretches, two thousand of whom he caused to be crucified, and released the rest. This severity did not hinder another body of ten thousand from taking up arms against him, which prevented his disbanding his auxiliaries, as he had designed, and obliged him to send them to quell this new revolt. They easily compassed it, because the enemy, instead of standing the brunt, surrendered themselves at discretion. *Varnus* forgave the common people, and contented himself with sending the chiefs of them bound to *Augustus* ^a.

ALL this while *Archelaus* was soliciting the emperor to ratify his father's will, and b to name him king of *Judaea*. About this time *Martace* his mother died; soon after which there arrived a deputation from *Judaea*, consisting of fifty of the heads of that nation, who were sent to oppose his election, and to beg of the emperor, that their country might be made part of the province of *Syria*, and subject to the governors of it, without kingly government. They were seconded by above eight thousand *Jews* then settled at *Rome*; who all professed an aversion to a kingly government, and a desire of living under that of the *Romans*, provided they might be allowed the free exercise of their religion and laws. *Augustus* referred the matter to a council of his own friends, whom he convened at the temple of *Apollo*, which he had lately built, and where both sides were to be heard in their turn. Here the *Jewish* ambassadors c began with inveighing against *Herod*, who, they affirmed, had governed their nation not like a monarch, but like a tyrant, violating all their laws both sacred and civil; impoverishing a nation, whom, at his first accession to the crown, he had found rich and opulent; sacrificing an infinite number of his subjects either to his ambition, jealousy or resentment, not sparing even the matrons and virgins of distinction, either in his fury or his lust; notwithstanding all which they would gladly have accepted of his son *Archelaus* for their prince, had he not given them so many convincing proofs of his tyrannic disposition, an instance of which they urged in the massacre of the three thousand mutineers in the temple, before he had received the imperial confirmation. They concluded with a petition to *Augustus*, that he would put their nation under the d *Syrian* governors, and then he would soon be convinced whether the *Jews* were really such rebellious people as they had been represented to him; and not on the contrary, men of the most steady loyalty to the superior powers. All this was immediately answered by *Damascen*, who took upon him to vindicate the deceased, as well as the new king, from the charge of tyranny and cruelty. And *Augustus* having heard both sides thus far, dismissed the assembly, without declaring his resolution, till further consideration.

Cæsar's divi-
sion of the
Jewish king-
dom.

HE was not long however before he decided the controversy in such a manner, as convinced the world of his friendship both to *Herod* and to his offspring. He bestowed e the half of the kingdom on *Archelaus*, under the title of *Ethnarch*, or governor of a nation, and backed it with a promise that he would give him that of king, as soon as he heard that he had rendered himself worthy of it. This part or ethnarchy contained *Judaea Propria*, *Idumæa* and *Samaria*; but he exempted this last of one fourth part of their taxes, in consideration of their peaceable behaviour during the late troubles in *Judaea* and *Galilee*. However this partition, as well as change of title from a king to an ethnarch, plainly shews, that he was nothing less than satisfied at his proceedings; and indeed whatever *Damascen* might urge to colour his too speedy assumption of the regal power, it is plain he had not paid that regard to the emperor which he ought to have done; all which was sufficiently aggravated by the opposite party. And as f he looked upon that young prince as too likely to follow his father's violent measures, nothing could be more prudently thought on to keep him within due bounds, than such a conditional promise. He likewise dismembered from *Judaea* the cities of *Gaza*, *Gadara* and *Hippon*, because they followed the customs of the *Greeks*; and joined them to the province of *Syria*. *Josephus* reckons the whole yearly revenue of this new ethnarchy to have amounted to six hundred talents. The remainder of *Herod*'s kingdom was divided between his other two sons *Philip* and *Antipas*; the former of whom had the regions of *Batanea*, *Trachonitis* and *Auranitis*, to which *Cæsar* added that part of *Galilee* which had formerly belonged to *Zenodorus*, mentioned a little

^a Antiq. & bell. Jud. ubi supra.

- a higher, and which alone amounted to about one hundred talents *per year*. The latter had the greatest part of *Galilee*, and the countries beyond *Jordan*, amounting to two hundred talents a year. *Salome* had for her share, besides half a million of silver, the cities of *Jamnia*, *Azotus* and *Pbasaelis*, to which *Augustus* added that of *Ascalon*. The rest of *Herod's* legacies, particularly the fifteen hundred talents which he had bequeathed to him, he generously distributed between his other relations, his grandsons, and two virgin-daughters, whom he married to *Pheroras's* sons, reserving for himself only a few of his moveables, not so much for their value, as out of regard to the memory of his deceased friend *.

- THIS new division of the *Jewish* kingdom was scarce settled, before there started
 b up a new pretender, who quickly drew a numerous party after him. He was a Jew, A pseudo Alexander sets up for the crown. brought up at *Sidon*, and so like the late *Alexander* the son of *Herod* by *Mariamne*, formerly put to death; that, when he came to give himself out to be the same, and to have been preserved alive, he easily deceived, not only the bulk of the *Jews*, but even those who had been acquainted with that unfortunate prince. He was assisted in this imposture by a cunning fellow, who had formerly gone through all the intrigues of *Herod's* court, and who finding the young man capable of carrying it on with great likelihood of success, advised him to set about it immediately. These two accordingly began with giving out, that the two young princes, *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*, whom the *Jews* supposed to have been put to death pursuant to their father's order,
 c had been preserved by a faithful friend, and two other persons substituted in their stead. These two went first to *Crete*, thence to *Melos*, where they raised considerable sums of money from the *Jews* that were settled in those islands. Having succeeded so well at their first setting out, they resolved to sail for *Rome*; and being arrived at *Puteoli*, were met by all the heads of the *Jews*, especially by those who were in the interest either of the *Herodian*, or of the *Asmonean* families, of both which they looked upon him as the immediate heir, and consequently as the only rightful king of the *Jews*. Upon this supposition, they spared neither pains, cost nor acclamations, to render his entry into *Rome* as splendid as possible. The litter or chair of state in which he was carried, the vast crowds that accompanied him, and the reception he
 d met with at every place he came to, were all answerable to the high notion they had conceived of him.

- As soon as they were come to *Rome*, whither the rest of the *Jews* flocked in
 crowds, to pay their homage to this new-risen offspring of the *Asmonean* race, *Augustus*, who knew *Herod* too well to believe that he could be imposed upon in a
 matter of such importance, sent one of his free-men, named *Celadus*, formerly a companion of the two brothers, to bring this new *Alexander* to him. *Celadus* was as
 easily imposed upon as the rest; but *Cæsar*, who examined him with a more curious
 and unerring eye, soon discovered a manifest deficiency in the port and majesty of this
 upstart, from what he had observed in that young prince, besides a certain callosity
 e in the hands of the former, which convinced him of the cheat. He therefore asked him and his instrument, What was become of his brother? and why he did not likewise come and make out his claim to the *Jewish* crown? and was readily answered by both, that *Aristobulus* had staid at *Cyprus* to wait the issue of this journey, that if one of the sons of *Mariamne* miscarried, the other might be preserved to keep up the *Asmonean* race and title. Their mutual agreement, which still helped to confirm the rest, served only to make the emperor look upon the whole as a forged story; and, to be further convinced of it, having taken the young man aside, he, partly by threats, and partly by a promise of sparing his life, extorted a full confession of the whole imposture, the consequence of which was, that the young man was sent to the
 f gallies, and the other, who had been the contriver of it, was condemned to be hanged. As for the *Jews* who had assisted them with money, *Cæsar* thought their loss and disappointment a sufficient punishment *.

BUT neither the dislike which the *Jews* had shewn upon this occasion to the *Herodian* family, nor the prudent caution which *Cæsar* had given *Archelaus*, proved sufficient to keep him within due bounds. He was no sooner returned into *Judæa*, than
 he began to betray some marks of his arbitrary and resenting temper. He began
 with the deposition of *Joazar* from the high-priesthood, on pretence that he had sided
 Year of the flood 3001.
 Of Christ 2.
 Before the vul. 207 ARA 2.

* Antiq. ubi supra, c. 13. Vide & STRAB. & TACIT. ubi supra.
 Bell. Jud. l. iii. c. 5.

* Antiq. ubi supra, c. ult.

) with

Archelaus' tyranny.

with some of the late mutineers; and bestowed that dignity on *Eleazar* the brother of ^a the deposed pontiff. He next repudiated his wife *Mariamne*, and married *Glaphyra*, the widow of his brother *Alexander*, contrary to the *Mosaic* law, because she had had several children by him, and had been married, since her first husband's death, to *Juba* king of *Mauritania*. He deposed soon after the new-installed pontiff upon some disgust, and raised *Jesus* the son of *Sias* to that dignity. He bestowed an immense deal of cost in rebuilding and beautifying the royal palace at *Jericho*, and bringing down one half of the stream, which watered the village of *Nerea*, into the grove of palm-trees which he had planted in the neighbouring fields ^v. About this time *Caius*, coming from *Egypt* into *Judæa*, expressed his contempt of the *Jewish* religion, by refusing to offer up sacrifices at *Jerusalem*, for which he is said to have been com- ^b mended by *Cæsar* ^a.

THE first years of *Archelaus* proved peaceable enough; but the people at length, both *Jews* and *Samaritans*, being tired with his tyrannical reign, joined in a petition to *Augustus* against him; which had no sooner reached him, than he sent an agent of his into *Judæa*, without any other letter, to fetch the *Jewish* ethnarch to him. *Archelaus*, tho' warned, as well as the incestuous *Glaphyra*, by some portending dreams (V), had given so little heed to them, that *Cæsar's* messenger found him in the height of his mirth, when he came to acquaint him with his orders, and obliged him to hasten with him to *Rome*. Upon their arrival there, *Augustus*, with his usual equanimity, heard both the charge and the defence; after which he condemned *Archelaus* to be banished to the city of *Vienna*, in *Gaul* or *Dauphiné*, and all his goods to be confiscated. *Judæa*, by this sentence, being reduced into a province of the empire, was ^c ordered to be taxed, and *Cyrenius*, the then governor of *Syria*, and a man of consular dignity, was sent thither to see it executed (as we have lately hinted upon another occasion); after which having sold *Archelaus's* palaces, and seized upon all his treasure, he returned to *Antioch*, leaving the *Jews* in no small ferment upon the account of this new tax ^b.

Banished.
Year of the
flood 3005.
Of Christ 6.

The cause of
their future
wars, and total
destruction.

Coponius, the *Roman* general of horse, and governor of *Judæa* under *Cyrenius*, had accompanied him in that expedition; and his presence, as well as the good offices of *Joazar* the then high-priest (W), had, for a while, kept the nation under some restraint, till *Judas* the *Gaulonite*, of whom we have spoken in the last section, and one *Saducus*, a turbulent *Pharisee*, set it again into a flame. We hinted before, that ^d this boutefeu took upon him to condemn this taxing as *Unlawful*, idolatrous, and inconsistent with their duty to God, the only sovereign who could claim any homage or allegiance from the children of *Abraham*. This topic seldom failed to make an impression on a people, who were taught to look upon themselves as the only favourites of heaven, and upon the rest of the world as designed to be their slaves; but it wrought much more effectually at this time, when their hopes of the *Messiah* or temporal deliverer inspired them with a tenfold disdain against the yoke which their

^v Antiq. ibid. Bell. Jud. ubi supra, c. 6.

^a Oros. l. vii. c. 3.

^b Sueton. in Octav. c. 93.

^b Joseph. Antiq. ubi supra, Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 6.

(V) These dreams, which, whether true or false, shew how much the *Jewish* nation was addicted to them, our author gives us the following account of:

Archelaus saw ten ears of corn full ripe, and ten oxen devouring them; which vision made such an impression on him, that he consulted the wisest and most expert magicians and *Chaldeans* about it (9); but they differing in their opinion, one *Simon* an *Essenian* interpreted the ten ears of the ten years of *Archelaus's* reign, which, he said, was to have a speedy end, signified by their being devoured by the oxen. The event verified his interpretation, as appears by the sequel.

That of his wife needed not, it seems, a conjurer to expound it. She dreamt, that her first husband, the unfortunate *Alexander*, came to her; and whilst she was preparing to receive him with open arms, upbraided her with her faithless incontinency, in marrying *Juba*, and then his brother *Archelaus*,

after she had had so many children by him; but, added he, I shall soon rid thee of this reproach. The consequence was, that she just lived long enough to tell her dream, and died within two days after it (10).

(W) *Josephus* has forgot to tell us how he was reinstalled into this dignity, of which he had been deprived by *Archelaus* some years before, to make room for the son of *Sias*, hunted a little higher; but it is probable, that, after that prince's banishment, *Joazar* found means to recover that dignity under the *Syrian* governor; and this might be the motive of that zeal which he shewed in appeasing the discontented *Jews* (10).

But this last action, instead of confirming him in his pontificate, proved the cause of his second deposition, it having rendered him so obnoxious to the *Jewish* nation, that *Cyrenius* was forced, for quietness sake, to turn him out of it, and to put *Ananus* in his place (11).

(9) Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 6.

(10) Ibid. & antiq. ubi supra.

(11) Antiq. l. xviii. c. 3.

conquerors

- a conquerors were then laying upon them. Judas therefore could not have wished for a more favourable juncture to make himself the head of a numerous and powerful party; And therefore, added he, it is high time that you should make a strenuous push for your country's freedom, and without expecting new miracles to be wrought for you, do but depend on the favour of providence, and you need not doubt of coming off conquerors. There wanted but this last incentive to set them a madding after the promised liberty. Accordingly, we find that his speech worked them into a kind of furious phrensy, which quickly vented itself into the most horrid butcheries and cruelties; his party plundering, burning, destroying, and murdering every-where, indiscriminately, *Jews* as well as *Gentiles*; and in a word, all that opposed his specious pretence of religion and liberty. The war being thus kindled within and without, brought on a grievous famine, and next a pestilence; all which did end at length in the total ruin of that rebellious and unhappy nation c. All this was owing to the ambition of this new upstart sect or faction, of whom we have already given an account in the close of the last section; to which we shall only add, that after the death of their chief, they distinguished themselves by the godly name of zealots, and under that specious title committed the most unheard-of cruelties, and carried their violence even into the very temple.

- ALL this while the *Samaritans* had not forgot their old grudge against the *Jews*, though they had been so long quiet. *Cyrenius* was scarce gone out of *Judaea* before they began to hatch new mischiefs against them; they waited till the next approaching feast of the passover, when on the eve of it, a number of them having by private means slipped into the temple, strewed the galleries and other places of resort with dead mens bones, so that the priests on the next morning, finding that sacred place polluted, were forced to put a stop to the solemnity. How they afterwards purified it, and what other remedy they took to renew the festival, *Josephus* doth not tell us; he only adds, that it made them more cautious for the future, to guard the avenues from all such insults. However, the ceremony was soon resumed, and it was on this festival that Christ, being then twelve years of age, came with his parents to that solemnity, according to the *Jewish* custom, which obliged all the males that have attained to that age, to repair to the temple on the three grand festivals †. Here the holy child chose to stay unknown to his parents, who were departed with the rest of the company. They did not miss him till night, when having in vain sought him among their relations and acquaintance, among whom they supposed him to have been, they returned immediately to *Jerusalem*. Here after a three days sorrowful search, they found him at length in the temple, sitting among the *Jewish* doctors, and surprising them with the wisdom of his questions and answers, so far beyond his mean education, and tender years. His pious mother, though ravished at so pleasing a scene, could not forbear expressing some tender resentment at the solicitude which his absence had given her. The short answer he returned was not presently understood by them, but yet was a lecture full of excellent wisdom: Wist ye not, said he, that I must be about my father's business? and so he really was; for as he had been sent to be a teacher of the world, and as he now commenced what the *Jews* called a son, or disciple of the law, it became him, who was to be our pattern, to make his first access to his future office of instructor, by coming to learn of those whom God had appointed to preserve and teach the knowledge of his laws. His mother suffered none of these sayings to slip out of her memory, and she and her husband gladly returned with him to their mean habitation, where he continued in a dutiful subjection to them. In this humble privacy, his wisdom increasing with his stature, he attracted the eyes and hearts of all that beheld him, and continued exercising the trade of a carpenter (X) till

The temple
polluted by the
Samaritans.

Jesus Christ
stays after the
feast.

* Antiq. l. xviii. c. 1. & seq. Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 8, & seq. † See before, Vol. I. p. 603. (O). Conf. & Exod. xxiii. 15. & xxxiv. 23. Deut. xvi. 16. & Luke ii. 41, & seq.

(X) This is the common received opinion, founded on an ancient tradition, that *Joseph* dying soon after this feast, he being by that time very old, the child *Jesus* was obliged to work at that trade, to maintain himself and his mother; and is further confirmed by the *Jews* calling him sometimes the carpenter, and sometimes the carpenter's son (12).

We beg leave to take notice here also, that this increase of knowledge which the evangelist attributes to him, is very inconsistent with *Strius's* notion of the λόγος or word supplying the place of the soul in him; neither has any of his followers, either ancient or modern, been as yet able to take off the difficulty. The *Socinian* system would indeed more effectually

(12) Conf. Marc. vi. 3. & Math. xiii. 55. John iv. 44.

till the thirtieth year of his age, when he began to make a more glorious appearance ^a into the world.

Various
changes of go-
vernors and
high-priests.
Year of the
flood 3014.
Of Christ 15.

Cauponi was soon after this feast succeeded by *Ambivius*, in whose governorship *Salome* died; and bequeathed her three cities, mentioned a little higher, together with the fine grove of palm-trees planted by *Archelaus*, and all her vast treasure, not to either of her nephews, who still held their small toparchies, but to the empress *Julia*, or, as *Josephus* affects to call her, *Livia*. *Ambivius* after a short time was succeeded by *Annius Rufus*, and *Augustus* died at *Nola* in *Campania*, as shall be seen in the *Roman* history, and was succeeded by *Tiberius*, after this latter had been somewhat above two years admitted into the copartnership of the empire. From this latter mult the fifteenth year of *Tiberius*, mentioned by the evangelist ^d, be taken. *Tiberius*, upon ^b his coming to the empire, recalled *Rufus*, and sent *Valerius Gratus* into *Judaea*, who was the fourth *Roman* governor or procurator of it, and continued in that government eleven years ^e. About five years after his being entered into it, he deposed the high-priest *Ananus* or *Annas* in the fifteenth year of his pontificate, and raised *Ishmael* the son of *Fabus* to that dignity. Being soon after displeased with his choice, he took it from *Ishmael* on the next year, and gave it to *Eleazar* the son of *Ananus*, whom he had lately deposed. *Eleazar* in a year's time was forced to resign, and was succeeded by *Simon* the son of *Camith*, who within the compass of another year was turned out, and *Joseph*, surnamed *Caiphas*, and son-in-law to *Annas* above-mentioned, was put in his room ^f; so uncertain and venal was that dignity become by this time (Y). ^c

Year of the
flood 3025.
Of Christ 26.
Herod and
Philip in their
toparchies.

Gratus himself was soon after recalled, and succeeded by *Pontius Pilate*, a person who exceeded all his predecessors in injustice, extortion, and cruelty, and so thoroughly wedded to his own interest, that he was capable of the vilest actions to promote that favourite end. *Josephus* has been somewhat sparing of his character; but *Philo* ^g has left us a lively draught of it, a short sketch of which the reader may see in the margin (Z); by which he may judge how qualified he was for the part he was shortly to act, in passing the most unjust sentence on the most innocent of men.

Built Sephoris
and other cities.

We hinted a little higher, that the other sons of *Herod* had still kept possession of their toparchies, notwithstanding *Archelaus*'s deposition and banishment; it will be ^d therefore very proper here to give some further account of them before we enter into a new and different scene. They had each of them settled themselves the best they could in their small territories. *Antipas*, better known by the name of *Herod*, who had the country of *Galilee*, began with rebuilding the city of *Sephoris*, which had but a little before been reduced into ashes by the son of *Varus*, and surrounded it with a strong wall and towers, so that it became the bulwark, and one of the best cities of that canton; and as he had been successful enough to ingratiate himself with the new emperor, he built another, a fine city, on the northern banks of the lake of *Genesareth*, and called it *Tiberias*, in honour of him (A); and from thence that lake came to be called the sea of *Tiberias*. This city he was forced to people mostly with *Galileans* ^e and strangers, because it being built on a ground, which was full of sepulchres, the going over which pollutes the *Jews* seven whole days, he could hardly get any of

^d LUKE iii. 1. Vid. USSER. sub A. M. 4017. PRID. sub An. C. 12.
^f Comp. JOSEPH. ubi supra, & LUKE iii. 2. JOHN xviii. 13. ACTS iv. 6.

^e Antiq. ubi supra, c. 3.
^g Legat. ad Caium.

effectually do it, were it not in too many cases diametrically opposite to the doctrine of the gospel. There remains therefore no other way to remove it, than by owning that Christ had a human soul as well as a human body, and that the former, notwithstanding its union with his divine nature, was as capable of improvement in wisdom, as the latter was of increase in strength and stature; which is undoubtedly the ancient doctrine of the christian church.

(Y) These are the two high-priests that are mentioned in the gospel to have prosecuted and condemned *Jesus Christ* to death; and *Caiphas*, or, as he is there called, *Caiaphas* (13), was the person who adjudged it necessary that he should be cut off to save the nation from ruin.

(Z) His whole administration, according to this author, was one continued scene of venal justice, rapine, tyranny, and every wicked action; of racking and putting innocent men to death, untried, and uncondemned, and of every kind of savage cruelty.

(A) *Josephus* adds, that it was not far from the hot baths of *Emmans*; for which reason we think it necessary to remind our reader of what we observed in a former note, that the *Jews* gave the name of *Hamah* and *Hammah* to all places that had any such waters; that of *Emmans* is the same, only softened and grecified. We must therefore not confound this last with another in the neighbourhood of *Jerusalem* (14), which bears the same name, and most likely upon the same account.

(13) John xi. 49. & seq.

(14) Vid. ins. ad. Luc. xxiv. 13 Vid. & Reland. Palaest. illustr. l. i. c. 46.

a that nation to settle there, though he endowed it with considerable privileges, and gave its inhabitants the greatest encouragement, viz. lands to some, houses to others, to take off their qualms of conscience about treading on dead bodies. Another city formerly called *Betaramphtha* he rebuilt; and called by the empress's name, *Julias*. His brother *Philip* followed his example, and built the village of *Bethsaida*, on the opposite end of the same lake, into a magnificent city, and called it likewise *Julias*, and gave the name of *Cæsarea* to *Paleas*, the place where the *Jordan* has its spring-head, after he had greatly enlarged and beautified it^b. During this time came out that edict of *Tiberius*, which obliged all *Jews* and *Egyptians* to depart from the city of *Rome*^c, or, according to another, out of the territories of *Italy*^d. The cause of this edict being some vile practices, which a few mean persons of each of those nations had been acting in in the imperial city, is foreign to our present subject; we refer our readers for a further account to *Josephus*^e, and the two authors last quoted. All that we need add to it is, what *Philo* has observed more than once^f, that this severity against the *Jews*, whatever pretence it might be coloured with, was hatched underhand by *Sejanus*. That wicked minister, who knew how opposite his plots and designs were to the known loyalty of the *Jews*, could not but conceive some dreadful jealousies from them, which obliged him at length to rid himself of them (B).

Jews banished Rome. Year of the flood 2018. Of Christ 20.

c HITHERTO *Judæa*, though in a violent ferment on account of the late tax, and some other tumults which the *Romans* had appeased by main force, had not however broke out into such a violent and universal flame, as it did after the coming of *Pilate*. It was this governor, whose fierce, obstinate, and cruel temper, hastened on those seditions and revolts, which did not end but with the total extirpation of the *Jewish* state. His predecessors had hitherto wisely forbore to bring the *Roman* standards into the city, because their bearing the images of men, and living creatures, made them to be had in abomination by the *Jews*. But *Pilate*, who thought it beneath him to shew them the same complaisance, ordered his troops, which were to winter in that metropolis, to enter it in the night, with those standards covered, and caused them on the next morning to be displayed. This new and shocking sight put the whole city into an uproar; they went to him in a body to *Cæsarea*, where he then was, and begged of him that they might be removed to some other place; but were answered, that he could not comply with their request, without glancing an affront on the emperor. As they stood stiff in their petition, and he in his denial six whole days, five of which the former had continued prostrate on the ground before his palace, night and day^g, he at length came out to them, as with design to give them audience; and being mounted on his tribunal, which he had reared in the circus, gave the signal to some of his troops, whom he had conveniently posted, to fall on them, and to murder all that should not immediately depart, and who instantly came out and surrounded them. The *Jews* however, far from being terrified at so horrid a perfidy, did meekly hold out their necks to those butchers, telling them and the governor, that the loss of their lives was nothing so terrible to them as the violation of their laws; and *Pilate*, who expected nothing less than such a passive constancy in that turbulent nation, was so moved at it, that he at length granted their request, and ordered the standards to be removed out of their metropolis^h.

Pilate causes new troubles in Judæa.

Sets up standards at Jerusalem.

f BUT as he seems to have been wholly bent upon mortifying and spighting of the *Jewish* nation, he soon resumed his usual course. A project came next into his head to set up a number of shields in the royal palace of *Jerusalem* in honour of *Tiberius* (C); but which the *Jews* failed not to resent as an indignity offered to them, rather than a compliment to that emperor. He had, it is true, taken care that there should be no carved images upon them that might give them offence; but the very inscription of them was, they thought, contrary to their law; otherwise there was nothing more common both before and after the *Jewish* captivity, than for the *Jewish* mo-

Shields consecrated to Tiberius hung up in the royal palace.

^b Antiq. ubi supra, c. 3. ^c Tacit. an. i. ii. c. 85. ^d Sueton. in Tiber. c. 36. ^e Antiq. ubi supra, c. 4. ^f Legat. ad Caium. ^g Bell. Jud. i. ii. c. 8. ^h Id. ibid. & antiq. ubi supra, c. 4.

(B) What seems to confirm what our author says on that subject is, that after the death of that faithless minister, the emperor expressed himself more favourably with respect to the *Jews*, in the orders

he sent to the several governors of his provinces, as shall be seen in the sequel.

(C) This transaction we have from *Philo* (15); *Josephus* makes no mention of it.

narchs to cover even the front of the temple with such ornaments, as the reader must have often observed through the course of their history. The magistrates therefore of that metropolis, with the sons of *Herod* (D) at their head, went to represent to him in the most civil terms, that such a consecration was contrary to their laws, and to beg of him that he would pay a greater regard to them. *Pilate* repulsed them with his usual scorn and obstinacy, till they ventured at length to advise him, not to push things so far as to exasperate the nation into an open revolt. They added, that if he had received any such command from *Cæsar*, he need but shew it to them, and they would immediately dispatch a deputation to *Rome* to petition the emperor against it. These last words threw the governor into a strange dilemma: on the one hand, he dreaded nothing so much as such a deputation, which would in all likelihood lay open all the iniquities of his administration: on the other, if he complied with their request, in removing the shields, he not only gave an advantage to a people he hated and despised, but exposed himself to the resentment of the emperor, who might probably look upon such a compliance as an affront to himself, and a compliment to the *Jews*. The magistrates perceiving the trouble he was in, immediately withdrew, and sent soon after a very pressing, but submissive letter, to *Rome*, which had the desired effect. *Tiberius* immediately dispatched another to *Pilate*, wherein he highly blamed him for what he had done, and ordered him to remove the shields into some other place; which he accordingly did, and sent them to be hung up at *Cæsarea* ^P.

Another
tumult caused
by *Pilate*.

The causes of
the *Jews* in-
fidelity and de-
struction.

His next project to vex the *Jews* was, to find out some specious pretence for drawing money out of the sacred treasury. This was indeed the most effectual way to touch them to the quick, next to the rising of the temple; for he knew but too well their invincible attachment to those two places. The plausible pretext he chose for it was, the bringing of an aqueduct about two hundred furlongs off, into *Jerusalem*; the expence of which he expected should be supplied out of the sacred depository, and demanded accordingly of them, that a tax should be levied upon it. However, as he knew that this would not fail to provoke the people into a mutiny, so he took care to provide against it, by causing a number of his soldiers to mix themselves with the croud, with clubs hid under their coats, to be ready upon a signal to fall upon the mutineers. He was hardly seated on his tribunal, before it was surrounded accordingly by a vast concourse of *Jews*, who came exclaiming against his project, and where some of the meaner sort, as is usual in such mobs, accompanied their clamour with bitter invectives against him. *Pilate* had not heard them long, before he gave his men the signal, who immediately fell on the *Jews* pell-mell with their clubs, wounded, lamed, and even killed many of them indiscriminately, and dispersed the rest ^Q. *Josephus* doth not tell us, whether *Pilate* went on with his design, neither is it easy to guess either from him or from *Philo* at what year of his government the three last-mentioned transactions happened. All that can be gathered from the whole is, that he took all the pains he could to make it uneasy to them from the beginning to the end of it, and that the *Jews* were not behind-hand with him, either in opposing his designs, oppressions and cruelties, or in giving him fresh troubles by their tumults and seditions, in which every sect joined to give a helping hand, though at ever so great variance in other points. This was the dismal state of *Judæa*, when the Saviour of the world made his first public appearance into his ministry: miserably torn by their intestine broils: oppressed with the heavy yoke of the *Roman* emperors, and of their more rapacious substitutes: divided into factions and sects, which treated each other with greater rancour and inhumanity, than their very oppressors: deceived, and often led to their ruin by upstart demagogues, false prophets, and pretended Messiahs; and soothed and flattered to a degree of judicial insatiation, into the mistaken notion of a speedy temporal deliverer, and of a glorious and lasting scene of conquests, triumphs, and other earthly happiness, under his auspicious reign. All which proved so many invincible obstacles to their embracing that salvation, which Christ the true Messiah came to offer them, and made them run into the very jaws of

^P Legat. ad Caium.

^Q Antiq. ubi supra.

(D) Meaning probably of the late *Herod the Great*; who those sons were, our author doth not tell us; but we may reasonably suppose two of them to have been *Herod Antipas*, tetrarch of *Galilee*, and

Philip his brother, mentioned a little higher, both willing enough at that time to oblige the *Jews*. The other two must have been probably some of his grand-children.

that

- a that destruction, which their rejection of him and his doctrine, joined to all their other impieties, did shortly bring upon them. All which will be best seen by a shorter view of the three last years of his life : of the irrefragable credentials he brought with him, and the obstinate and unreasonable opposition they made against him : of his love and tenderness towards them, and of their malice and ingratitude to him : of his irreproachable innocence, and of their injustice in condemning him to death : and lastly, of the innumerable evidences given to them after his resurrection, of his being the true promised Messiah, and of their invincible hardness and obstinacy in rejecting him to the last. We shall therefore close the present section with a short account of those three last signal years of his life, and his doleful exit on the cross ;
- b confining ourselves chiefly to such particulars as have an immediate connection with the two main points in our view ; the divinity of his mission, and the justice of the *Jews* punishment in the destruction of their city, temple, and commonwealth, and total dispersion of their nation, for their obstinate rejection of him and his doctrine (E).

It was now the thirtieth and last jubilee since its first celebration in the land of *Canaan* †, when Christ, in the thirtieth year of his age, came to preach a more glorious and acceptable one, not to the *Jewish* nation only, but to the whole world. The *Christ enters into his ministry.*

† See before, Vol. I. p. 615, b, c. *Usser. ann. sub A. M. 4030.*

(E) It will be perhaps objected, that in entering thus far into those two religious points, we go out of our limits as historians, and that instead of writing a continuation of the history of the *Jews*, we are going to prove the truth of christianity against them. But let it, we pray, be considered, that though this were the real case, the harm would not be great ; and that, provided both points are kept going still hand in hand, and we do not so fix our eye upon one, as to lose sight of the other, we still answer the two main ends of history, to make men wiser and better.

We should moreover be guilty of a flagrant injustice to the insatuated *Jews*, if we should neglect so fair an opportunity of reminding them of the source of all their misfortunes, and pointing out to them their only remedy. We have heretofore taken notice of a promise made to them by God, that though their sins had caused them to be dispersed through the four quarters of the world, yet, as soon as they were brought to an humble acknowledgment and confession of them, he would gather them home again into their own land.

Accordingly, before their total dispersion, the longest captivity they underwent was but of seventy years, though it was brought upon them by the horrid crimes, such as idolatry, murders without number, sacrileges of the blackest nature committed by *Manasse*, and his wicked successors ; and yet they had this comfort in the midst of their punishment, that the same prophets who had foretold their captivity had likewise set a period to it ; and were still encouraging them to bear their chastisement patiently, since God would certainly put a happy end to it at the time prefixed.

What crime can they then charge themselves with of so atrocious a nature, as to bring this more dreadful captivity of seventeen hundred years upon them, without one prophecy, or even comfortable glimpse, when they shall see an end to it ? If they know of any such sin, why do they not confess and acknowledge it, and thereby put a period to their misery ? for God's promise stands as sure now, as it did three thousand years ago.

Since then they are ignorant of this grievous crime ; Why should we make a difficulty to point it out to them, when we have so fair an occasion offered ? Why should we not tell them, that it was their putting the Messiah to an unjust and inglorious death ?

and which they are so far from acknowledging, that they justify and glory in it, and by so doing murder him still in their hearts, as often as they think or speak of him, and so become partakers of their ancestors guilt as well as punishment.

Again, The scripture doth in several places, but more expressly *St. Paul* (16), assure us, that there will be a time when they shall be all recalled ; and their having continued so long unblended with other nations, notwithstanding their dispersion through every part of the habitable globe, is a strong proof of it. For whatever superficial heads may imagine, an impartial thinker will easily observe, that nothing but a particular providence could have kept them in that unmixed state as they have continued in these seventeen centuries, when he sees even in our own land a multitude of nations, in a much less time, as much blended and absorbed into one common name, as their bodies are into one common earth. Especially when we consider by what weak supports or rather poor mean evasions, their faith and hopes have been kept up, ever since they have seen all scripture calculations concerning the time of the Messiah, so long elapsed ; to say nothing of the many discouragements they have at one time or other met with from every nation under heaven.

We are assured by the same apostle (17), that this recall of the *Jews* will not be till after the fulness, or total conversion of the *Gentiles*. Were the former once rightly apprised of this, it is likely their zeal in obstructing the one would insensibly abate, when they saw that it was the fatal means of retarding the other.

We may add, that since the best historians have not thought it out of their province to plunge into the deep abyss of obscurity, to find out the causes of the decadence and fall of kingdoms and empires, but have even endeavoured to discover them in certain aspects of the heavenly bodies, transits of comets, and such-like amusing dreams ; may we not much more be allowed to venture to trace this remarkable one of the *Jews* under the conduct of such infallible guides, as the scripture and history affords us ? All which will be best seen, when we come to compare Christ's prophecies against that unhappy people, and the wonderful accomplishment of them, as we have it related by one of the best historians of their own nation.

(16) *Rom. xi. pass.*

(17) *Ibid. vers. 25, 26.*

Year of the
flood 3019
Of Christ 32.

Baptized and
manifested by
John.

Jewish was usually ushered in by the sound of the trumpets, the new christian one by a the voice of one crying in the wilderness, *Prepare ye the way of the Lord*, and so on ^a. This was the miraculous son of *Zecbarias*, a priest, prophet, and fore-runner of the Messiah, who having left the wilderness, where he had spent his younger days, came now to preach repentance, and the kingdom of the Messiah, in the fifteenth year of *Tiberius*, and in the high-priesthood of *Joseph*, surnamed *Caiaphas*, mentioned a little higher. The austerity of his life (F), and the newness of his doctrine, drew daily great numbers of *Jews* to be baptized by him in the *Jordan*, supposing him to be the Messiah; but he quickly disclaimed that glorious title, assuring them that he was only sent as his precursor, and to point him out to them, as the person who was to baptize them with the Holy Ghost. *Jesus* came accordingly to the place soon after to be baptized ^b among the rest, and *John* in an humble guise excused himself from that high office; but being at length prevailed upon to go into the river with him, upon their coming out of the water, the Holy Ghost visibly descended and lighted upon him, whilst a voice was heard from heaven, saying, *This is my beloved son, in whom I am well pleased* ^c. Whereupon the baptist took that opportunity to manifest him to all that were there present, and to bear this ample testimony of him, that he was the very Christ, and the lamb of God, who was to take away the sin of the world ^d.

As *John* continued baptizing and preaching in the neighbourhood of *Bethabara* (G), a great concourse of people flocked to him from all parts, especially in their return homewards from *Jerusalem*, where they had been celebrating the feast of tabernacles, which fell out about the beginning of *November* ^e. Among them was a great number of the *Pharisaic* sect, whom he severely rebuked upon several accounts, particularly on their pretended privilege of being *Abraham's* posterity; assuring them at the same time, that as long as their lives were so opposite to that of that glorious progenitor, they must expect to be cast like the chaff, into the fire, whilst God could raise a posterity to the father of the faithful out of the very stones they were trampling upon. On this year was born to *Herod Agrippa*, the son of *Aristobulus*, a son named also *Agrippa*, who was the last king of the *Jews*, and before whom *St. Paul* was allowed to plead

^a Conf. ISAIAH xl. 1, 2, 3. lx. 1, & seq. LUC. iii. 2, & seq. iv. 19. ^b MATTH. iii. 13, & seq. LUC. iii. 21, & seq. ^c Ibid. ibid. Vid. & JOHN i. 29, & seq. ^d Vid. Vol. I. p. 607, a, & (B).

(F) His dress and manner of living seems to have been the same with the ancient prophets, of whom we have spoken in a former volume ^a. His food was wild honey and locusts, which a modern traveller tells us are very common in those parts, and good for food; from whence he concludes, that they were the creatures which the *Israelites* fed so plentifully upon in the wilderness, and which all the versions have misrendered quails. We have had occasion heretofore ^b to confute the latter part of this assertion. As for the locust, which the baptist fed upon, the generality of interpreters understand it of a real insect so called, whence some eastern nations have been called *Acridophagi* or locust-eaters (18). Others understand it of a kind of bean or pulse so called; the reader may consult interpreters about it, if he pleases; but the other notion is much more probable, that insect being common, cheap, and particularly permitted in the *Levitical* law to be eaten by the *Israelites* (19).

Archbishop *Usher* supposes, with great probability, that this preacher of repentance began his ministry on the grand fast, or expiation day, of which frequent mention has been made in this history, it being enjoined to every *Israelite* to fast, and afflict their souls on that day, under the penalty of being cut off from his people. This day fell, as we elsewhere observed ^c, on the tenth day of the seventh month, called *Tishri*, answering to about the nineteenth of our *October*; and on that solemnity the jubilee was to be proclaimed through all the land

(10). Upon both which accounts no time could be more proper to begin the work of proclaiming the more spiritual and universal jubilee, which was now at hand.

(G) So called from the Hebrew בית-עברה, *beth-habarah*, the house of passing over, or ferry-house, supposed by some to have had that name from the passage of the *Israelites* over *Jordan* ^d; but whether so or not, its name shews it to have been probably some great ferry, and so very convenient, not only for baptizing, but on account of the concourse of people at such places.

But the word *beth-habarah* may be also, and perhaps, more properly translated a custom-house, as the officers of it, whom we render publicans, were called בעלי העברה, *bahale bahabarah*, masters or overseers of the customs; a great many of whom came accordingly to the baptist, to inquire what kind of repentance was proper for men of their profession; and were answered, they should exact no more than their due (21); to the soldiers, which are usually set to guard such avenues, he forbid using violence, false accusations, extortion, &c. to the rest, who on the same supposition, dealt in the mercantile way, he enjoined likewise a practice opposite to their common one; that is, liberality, hospitality, charity, &c. instead of covetousness, fraud, &c. Thus was he fulfilling what was foretold of old (22), *Every valley shall be filled, every mountain levelled, &c.*

^a Vol. I. p. 731, c, d. Com. with MATTH. iii. 4. ^b Ibid. 509, (Q). (18) Vid. *Enslath. in Od.* 9. *Plin. nat. hist.* l. xix. c. 29. *Mos. Levit.* & al. (19) *Levit.* xl. 21, & seq. ^c See Vol. I. p. 615, a, b. 612, (K). (20) *Ibid.* xxxv. 9. Vid. *Usher. sub A. M.* 4030. ^d See Vol. I. p. 553, (Y). (21) *Luke* iii. 13. (22) *Ibid.* vers. 5. Conf. cum *Isai.* xl. 4, & seq.

- a his cause ; and on the next year was his sister *Berenice* born, who was also present at the trial ¹, she being sixteen, and her brother seventeen years of age, when their father died ².

John the Baptist having given such an ample testimony to the Saviour of the world, the two first that became his followers, were two of his own disciples, viz. *Andrew* the son of *Jonah*, and *Simon* his brother, to whom he gave the surname of *Cephas*, or *Stone*. On the next day, as he was returning to *Nazareth*, he called *Philip* to follow him ; and this went and gave notice of him to an honest *Israelite*, named *Nathanael*, who is generally believed to be the same, who is by the other evangelists called *Bartolomew*, assuring him that they had found the promised Messiah, namely *Jesus* of *Nazareth*. *Nathanael's* mean opinion of that city, and of the whole *Galilean* region, could scarcely permit him, at the first news, to believe that any thing so good as a prophet, much less the Messiah, could come from such a mean quarter. He was however soon undeceived, when *Jesus* told him some of the private discourse which *Philip* and he had had together under a fig-tree, far enough out of his hearing. These two therefore, and some others, followed him into *Galilee*, where they were all invited to a poor couple's wedding. Here the wine beginning to fail, *Jesus's* mother, who was one of the guests, acquainted him with it (H), who arose soon after, and, of his wonted compassion, miraculously supplied them with a fresh and sufficient quantity. This wonderful change of such a quantity of water into excellent wine, filled the company with admiration, and further confirmed his new disciples, that he really was what they thought him, the true Messiah. From *Cana* he went to *Caper-naum*, a small city on the west shore of the lake *Genezareth*, where we shall often find him in the sequel ; and where he made but a short stay at this time, by reason of the approaching feast of the passover, to which he repaired with his disciples, it being the first festival of that kind he celebrated since his entrance into his ministry ³.

His first miracle at Cana.

UPON his coming to the temple, he found it crowded with people that sold cattle, poultry, and other such things as were used in the *Jewish* offerings, and had been set up there for the convenience of those that came from far to the feasts, and bought them on the spot, rather than bring them from their homes. This had likewise introduced a number of money-changers for the use of those who brought foreign coin instead of victims, and whose tables and trade were equally a profanation of that sacred place. It is likely, that the priests, who might and ought to have made them keep their stalls and counters at a greater distance, made a perquisite of their indulgence, and consequently aggravated the abuse. Against them therefore Christ chose to exert the first essays of his authority and zeal, by turning them all out of that sacred building, after a severe reproof for their mercantile profanation of it. But whilst his disciples admired his zeal for the house of God, so worthy of the son of *David*, the dissatisfied *Jews* were questioning and demanding the signs of his authority ; and received this remarkable answer from him, that they should destroy this temple, meaning that of his body, and he would raise it up in three days. It was upon this occasion that they, mistaking his meaning, reminded him of the forty and six years it had been a building ; of which we took notice a little higher. His disciples however understood him much better after he was risen from the dead ⁴. In the mean time he did not omit giving them many other pregnant proofs of his divine mission, in the many miracles which he did before them, and which still increased the number of his

Drives the traders from the temple.

¹ Acts xxv. 13, & seq. ² Vid. Antiq. l. xviii. c. 7. xix. c. ult. Usser sub. A. M. 4030, & seq. See also a little higher, p. 152. in fin. not. ³ JOHN ii. 13, & seq. ⁴ Ibid. ver. 18, & seq.

(H) The answer which ours and most other versions makes him, who was to be the pattern of all perfection, give to his mother on this occasion, has given just offence to all serious readers ; notwithstanding the specious glosses which commentators have put upon it, such as if he expressed himself to her in those contemptuous terms, to prevent, if possible, that extraordinary worship, which he foresaw his followers would in time pay to her, and the like.

Whereas a learned critic of our own (13) has lately proved beyond all contradiction, that the

words, if rightly rendered, are full of the deepest filial respect ; for the word *γυνή*, woman, is so far from being a term of contempt, as it sounds in our language, that he has proved it from the best authors to have been given even to queens. We may say the same thing of the word *יְהוָה*, *israh*, in the *Hebrew*, which is used in the same respectful sense by the *Jews*.

As for the phrase which is there rendered, *What have I to do with thee ?* it is well known to be a *Hebrew* idiom, which implies no more than, *What is so you or me* (14) ?

(13) Blackw. sacred claff. vindic.

(14) See a parallel in 2 Sam. xix. 22. 1 Kings xvii. 18, & alib.

disciples; but he who knew their hearts, easily judged that many of them would soon turn their backs upon him, especially when the sanhedrin and the Pharisaic sect came to denounce their sentence of excommunication against them (I). However, though that sect was the most inveterate against him, we shall find some of them of a more

(I) It is doubtless a matter of great wonder how the Jews could see such a vast number and variety of miracles wrought by Christ on the sick, halt, maimed, deaf, dumb, blind, paralytic, lunatic, demoniac, and other objects of pity, and yet believe him a false prophet, a deceiver, or any thing rather than a person sent from God: how they could see him give sight to those that were born blind, life to one that had lain four days corrupting in the grave, feed so many thousands with a few loaves and fishes, still the winds and seas by his single word; in a word, to display, as it were, his irresistible power over the universal creation; and yet either condemn him as a cheat, or be ever asking for some further and more convincing signs of his being the Messiah (25).

We have already accounted in part for this strange proceeding in the detail we gave of their several sects, whose tenets being for the most part diametrically opposite to the doctrine and spirit of the gospel, proved so strong an obstacle against it, as few were able to surmount. To this we may add, that Christ chusing the sabbath day for working the major part of those miracles, gave them still a greater offence; their foolish superstitious prejudices making them look upon even such works of mercy to be a violation of that holy day, notwithstanding all he could urge to the contrary; a flagrant instance of which we have in the cure of the man born blind, in the chapter last quoted out of St. John.

But what most helped to confirm them in this absurd judgment of him, was a passage in *Deuteronomy* (26), which, rightly understood, is only a prudent caution against their being drawn aside by false prophets, and pretended wonder-workers; but which they did, and still do understand to this day, so literally, and contrary to the plain design of the law-giver, as to infer a possibility of a man's working many and great miracles, either by the help of the devil, by magic or other means, and without any other view but that of withdrawing people from the service of God.

Now, when men are once prepossessed with such an absurd notion, what miracles can any person work that may not be reduced under that class, if they have any dislike either to his person or doctrine, or can find any plausible objection against his manner of working them? All which concurred here against those of our Saviour, and were upon those accounts rejected by the generality of the Jews, even to this day, as we hinted above. Accordingly, they are so far from denying him to have done great and signal miracles, that they have invented the most stupid stories to prove that he did them either by magic, which they say he learned in Egypt, or by going privately into the temple, and stealing thence the ineffable name of God, by virtue of which he could perform all those great wonders; and many more such shameful and childish evasions, the bare mentioning of which is a sufficient confutation of them. Those that desire to know more of this Jewish trash, may consult, among others, the book intitled *Sepher Thaleoth Jesu*, or the history or book of the generations of Jesus, and some others which the reader may find in the margin (27).

But to give our English readers a short specimen of their opinion concerning him out of those books, some affirm him to have been the son of one Panther,

begotten on a milliner of his debauching, and that the soul of *Esam*, whose memory they have in great abhorrence, passed into him, which is, according to their doctrine of the soul's transmigration, mentioned at the close of the last section. That he stole into the temple, and took from thence the name of God; and having made an incision into his thigh, stuck it into it, and let the flesh and skin grow over it. That he became by it a very great conjurer, and wonder-worker. That Judas was another of the same stamp, and his competitor. That they had a great number of contests, which we shall forbear inserting on account of their ridiculousness as well as impiety; and that Judas was still conqueror in all, and gave him at last a total defeat.

One would be apt to think these to be idle tales, invented only to amuse their children, and breed them up in a contempt of christianity; and some of them have even affirmed it, to wipe off the just imputation they would otherwise incur; and yet they are chiefly founded on some as ridiculous stories fetched out of their *Talmud*, where mention is made of Christ's miracles, and of the means by which he attained to the power of performing them; and pass as current amongst them, as the book out of which they are taken.

But what can they say for one of their greatest rabbies (28), who affirms one Jesus the son of Barachia, or Perachia, to have been tutor to Jesus Christ, and to have taken him into Egypt, and to have turned him off for his debaucheries; though in order to these two having been contemporaries, the latter must have been born under Alexander Jannæus, and have died in the thirty-sixth year of his age, in the reign of Aristobulus. This anachronism another learned rabbi (29) has endeavoured to rectify by substituting a second Jesus, who lived in the time of Hillel and Shammai, and was tutor to Jesus Christ. But this, like their history of the second temple, which makes Pompey to have taken him prisoner, doth but lessen, but not clear the anachronism (30); and only exposes their ignorance, not to call it worse, in attempting to invalidate his miracles by such poor shifts.

But, lastly, if we consider the vast superstition which then reigned among the Jews, how addicted they were to astrology; what strange power they attributed to the heavenly bodies, or rather to the angels which presided in each of them; what prodigies they thought might be done by the right evocation of them; what supernatural efficacy they ascribed to the right pronouncing of the name of God; how extensive they supposed the power of magic to be; and that it was not only lawful, but necessary, to learn it in one's own defence; and lastly, that those were not the notions of a small number, but of the whole nation, except perhaps some few more judicious and unprejudiced; such as was Nicodemus, and some others, whom we shall mention in the sequel, and who made a more impartial judgment of Christ's miracles; we need not wonder that the rest, who neither liked his person, character, nor doctrine, should attribute those stupendous works to any other cause, than to the power and finger of God.

(25) *Vid. ins. al. John vi. 1. ad 30. ix. pass. Joelth Haccabalah Ganiz. Chronol. Nitzachon. Abr. Ben Dior. ubi supra.* (29) *Gedaliah, ubi supra.*

(26) *Ch. xiii. 1. & seq.* (27) *Rab. Gedaliah Shal-shelth Haccabalah Ganiz. Chronol. Nitzachon. Abr. Ben Dior. Tzemach David, & al. mult.* (28) *Abr. R. Dior. ubi supra.* (30) *Vid. Bafnag. hist. Jud. lib. iii. c. 5. f. 5.*

- a upright temper, who making a more equitable judgment of his miracles and doctrine, came to be instructed by him, and became his disciples, though privately, and for fear of their unbelieving brethren ^a.

AMONG these was one *Nicodemus*, a venerable ruler, who rightly concluding that such stupendous works could not be wrought without the divine assistance, and in confirmation of some new signal doctrine, such as the thinking part of the *Jews* expected the Messiah to bring with him; came privately one night to have a conference with him about it. *Jesus*, who took a singular delight to encourage such sincere inquirers ^b, and knew him to be a doctor of the law, immediately entertained him with the main and grand point of regeneration, without which he assured him it was impossible for a man to enter into the kingdom of heaven. He expressed himself moreover in such terms as he might have justly expected to be well understood by him, by comparing it to a new birth, such as the *Jews* affirmed to be that of their new proselytes, concerning which the reader may see what we have said in a former volume [†]. But *Nicodemus*, better versed perhaps in the reigning disputes of his and the other sects, than with such fundamentals of moral divinity, as had been quite swallowed up by the present polemic contagion, seemed wholly at a loss how to understand it. Our Saviour therefore, having given him a further explication of that heavenly doctrine, requested of him to embrace it upon his own authority for the present, assuring him that it was one main purport of his coming down from heaven, to teach it to mankind. He added, that the miracles which he had seen him work should not be the only proof he would give men of his divine mission, since they should see him shortly lay down his life in confirmation of it; and in so doing, fulfil all the prophecies and types of the *Old Testament*, and the decrees of the divine love and providence, by dying a piacle for the redemption of mankind ^c. And therefore he justly concluded, that if men receive not his divine testimony, but will shut their eyes to that marvellous saving light which he has brought into the world, it is because their evil deeds, which are manifested and reprov'd by it, make them prefer their own darkness; and this it is which aggravates their guilt, and will hereafter their sad punishment (K) ^d. *Nicodemus*, who felt

^a Ibid. vers. 23. ad fin.
11, & seq.

^b Vid. int. al. MARK X. 21.
^d Ibid. vers. 19, & seq.

[†] Vol. I. p. 666, b.

^c JOHN III. vers.

(K) We have contented ourselves to give the bare substance of this divine colloquy, which contains indeed the quintessence of christianity, viz. the redemption of the world by the death of Christ, and the reformation of mankind by the help of this new light which he brought down to them. This light, upon due attention, not only to this discourse to the *Jewish* ruler, but on the tenor of the whole gospel, will appear to consist in these three particulars:

1st, That he came to teach us a more perfect rule of life than human reason could by its own unassisted strength ever discover. For whatever some sanguine men may imagine concerning the sufficiency of that faculty, an impartial review of the world, and of the most polite parts of it, before the sacred writings of *Moses* and the prophets were published in other more known languages, will easily confute that fond conceit.

2^{dly}, He came to communicate a superior degree of strength to our corrupt nature, without which the lessons of that divine master would have been lost upon the far greater part of mankind; whilst, like persons infected with cuticular diseases, they would still have preferred the pleasure of scratching to the benefit of a cure; and therefore to inforce the observation of this new rule of life, without which man could be happy neither here nor hereafter, and to make him accept of and seek for that divine assistance, which alone could enable him to live up to it.

He was 3^{dly}, to inforce it by the worthiest and most powerful motives, the rewards and punishments of another life; both which he has set before

us in the strongest light, that those who could not be allured to the virtues of his gospel by the beautiful prospect of the one, might at least be frighted into it by the dreadful apprehension of the other. That is, in other words; that since our too great attachment to the things of this world was the unhappy source of all our disasters, this double prospect of a future one might effectually wean us from them, by the assurance he has given us of the fatal consequences of an inordinate pursuit after them, and of the ample rewards which a generous neglect of them will intitle us to at the end of our race. All which is still more strongly inforced upon us from a due consideration, that he who best knew the value of that immortal life, which he came to reveal, thought not his life too dear a price to purchase it for us.

On this manifestation of the love of God to us, is founded our love to him as our sovereign bliss and benefactor, and of our neighbour, as partakers with us of the same divine favour. Nor is the fear of his punishments low and base, as it may seem at first, less conducive to it. For how can a man be rightly frighted out of the paths of sin and punishment into those of virtue and reward, without feeling a secret love and gratitude towards his gracious deliverer, insensibly kindled in his heart, and rising by degrees into most pungent remorse for his past follies, and into the most fervent desires of pleasing him for the future?

Now the foundation of all this must be laid on such a stedfast faith as Christ speaks of to *Nicodemus* (31), grounded on those irrefragable credentials

(31) JOHN III. 18, 19.

felt the force of all these truths, became his disciple from that very night, but without daring to make open profession of it, for fear of the Jews. However, when their sanhedrin was once plotting to put him to death, he had the courage to oppose it^c; and when they had really crucified him, he and Joseph of Arimathea, another Jewish ruler, were the only two of that high rank who joined to give him an honourable burial^f.

Jesus left Jerusalem soon after to go into the other parts of Judæa, where he set his disciples on baptizing those who received his doctrine. This brought on a dispute between them, and those of the baptist, who was not yet cast into prison, but was still baptizing a little higher on the Jordan, in the neighbourhood of Salim and Ænon, more towards Galilee (L). The difference between them being about Jesus's making a greater number of proselytes than John, was referred to the latter, who quickly decided it in favour of the former, adding thereto this noble testimony of him, that he was from heaven, and was above all, and testified the truths he had seen and heard; so that those who received his testimony, did set to their seal, that God is true, whereas those who reject it make him a liar, and are therefore obnoxious to his divine displeasure, whilst they continue in their unbelief^g (M). Soon after this,

Year of the
flood 3030.
Of Christ 31.

^c Ibid. ch. vii. ver. 50.

^f Ibid. xix. 39.

^g JOHN iii. 12. ad fin.

tials which he brought with him, such as the many and plain prophecies concerning him, his innumerable miracles, his resurrection, effusion of his holy spirit, and several other concomitant evidences which will further appear in the sequel. This heavenly testimony, he adds therefore, will be rejected by many, because their deeds are evil; for if his doctrine is confessedly so divine, and so excellently calculated for promoting our happiness here, and hereafter, that men of unbiassed reason might embrace it without those heavenly credentials, there must sure be some evil root in the hearts of those that can oppose it, after they have seen it confirmed by so many miracles, prophecies, &c. and illustrated by his godlike example.

'Tis therefore to convince us of this, that he assures us in another place (32), that if any man will, or is sincerely disposed to do his (God's) will, he shall soon know whether or not his doctrine be of God; if he has a real desire to be virtuous and holy here, in order to be happy hereafter, he shall receive a more feeling testimony of the divinity of my doctrine, than all those outward ones of miracles, &c. for these, through the depravity of man's nature, may in too many of them produce but a kind of historical faith, which descending no lower than the head, seldom brings forth any other fruit than speculative systems. They were designed to convince the understanding, and silence the gainayers; but the change of the heart, and the conquest of mens inordinate passions, not being to be attained but by the assistance of the divine grace, which is now freely and more plentifully going to be offered to every believer, those only will receive and feel the efficacy of it, who seek and pray for it from a sincere desire to comply with the terms of the gospel, and from a due sense of their wanting that superior assistance to enable them to it. When these therefore come to feel the wonderful changes which this divine grace shall work in them; that it inspires them with new affections, new thoughts and desires; that it rectifies their corrupt nature, subdues their irregular appetites, enables them to live quite other lives, and to forego all things, even life itself, rather than lose the favour of God, and the assurance of heaven; it will prove an inexhaustible source of evidence of the truth and divinity of my doctrine, and of joy and comfort to them; because that blessed Spirit which worketh all these wonders in them, will bear witness with their spirit, that they are

now the sons of God (33); whilst the careless and self-sufficient will ever fall short of it, for want of this sincere desire after holiness, or of a sense of their standing in need of any other assistance to attain it.

Thus much we thought necessary to premise in order to the better understanding of the design and economy of the gospel; for since the bare belief of it, or a faith in Christ, its divine author, without practice of his precepts, will never intitle a man to the rewards of it; and this practice, whatever may be pretended to the contrary, cannot be attained without the divine assistance; and this last is only to be obtained by prayer grounded upon a right belief in the truth and faithfulness of our heavenly redeemer and law-giver; but all three must co-operate towards that main end; the miracles and other outward testimonies of the christian dispensation were highly necessary to attract a degenerate world to a religion so opposite to theirs, and so contrary to their depraved appetites; but it is this wonderful change, which the divine grace it communicates, works in us, that gives the finishing stroke and strongest light to its other evidence; and the man once thus happily transformed into a new, a heavenly creature, becomes more sure of the truth and certainty of the gospel, than if he had seen its divine author giving sight to the man born blind, or raising LAZARUS from the dead; because he justly thinks them alike the effects of an almighty and miraculous power.

(L) Ænon was about eight miles south of Scythopolis (34); Salim in the neighbourhood of it was the same with the Salem of the Old Testament, where Melchisedech was king, and where some of the ruins of his palace were still to be seen in St. Jerom's time (35). The reader may see what we have said of it heretofore†.

(M) Since the bare light of reason assures us that the nature of God is incomprehensible, it follows, that he cannot make any revelation of himself to us, but what must include mysterious truths vastly above our reach; and that it must consequently be a strange perverseness in man to reject them upon that account, when they come attested to us with the seal of heaven, for that is in fact to give the lie to eternal truth. Whereas the belief of them being only an open acknowledgment that God is true, cannot but be the most reasonable as well as acceptable sacrifice we can make to him of that faculty.

(32) Ibid. vii. 17.
p. 446. d. e.

(33) Rom. viii. 16.

(34) Vid. Ench. sub voc.

(35) Loc. Hebr.

† Vol. I.

a *John*, whose extreme sanctity had raised him to the esteem, not only of all the *Jews*, but even of *Herod Antipas*, the then tetrarch of *Galilee*, this last often took pleasure in hearing and advising with him ^b for a time; till having ventured to take *Herodias*, his brother *Philip's* wife, into his bed, he received so many severe reproofs from that holy person for his incest, that he at last caused him to be thrown into a prison, where he soon after ordered him to be beheaded, through the hellish intrigues of that incestuous lady, and to all outward appearance much against his own will ^c. The occasion of this unlawful marriage was as follows:

John the Baptist beheaded by Herod.

Herod, whose first wife was the daughter of *Aretas*, king of *Arabia*, was since fallen in love with that of his brother *Philip*, whom he had teen at his castle, where he had stopped some days in his journey to *Rome*. *Herodias* was the daughter of *Aristobulus*, and grand-daughter of *Herod the Great*, as has been hinted in a former note. *Herod* made no difficulty to discover his passion, and to propose marrying her, to which she consented upon condition that he divorced his first wife. This last having received some information of her husband's design, wisely concealed her resentment; and having obtained his permission to retire for some time to the castle of *Macheron*, which was then in her father's hands, she, instead of going thither, made all the haste she could to the *Arabian* court, where being at length arrived, she acquainted the king with the whole intrigue. This caused a rupture between *Herod* and *Aretas*, which ended in a war, which lasted till the death of *Tiberius*, four years after their falling out. *Herod*, thus rid of his wife without a divorce, made no scruple to marry his sister-in-law, though she had had children by his brother *Philip*, which was contrary to the *Mosaic* law. *John the Baptist* was not the only person who condemned that marriage as incestuous; the whole nation ventured to cry out against it; but as his character gave him a freer access to the court, he had the courage to reprove both the king and his paramour in the severest terms. *Herodias*, being at length stung to the quick with his frequent reproaches of incest, and infidelity to *Philip*, resolved to ruin him, and easily persuaded the easy king to cast him into prison. His presence for it, according to *Josephus* ^d, was his drawing such multitudes after him to be baptized; but the true reason was that given by the evangelists above-quoted, namely his and *Herodias's* resentment.

The occasion of it.

^e THE place where he confined him, is not mentioned by the latter, but the former tells us it was the castle of *Macheron*; though he should have told us how it came so soon again into his possession, after he had just hinted before that it belonged to the *Arabian* king. But it is not unlikely that he regained it from him after their rupture. All this while *Jesus* continued preaching in *Galilee*, and working so many singular miracles, that the fame of it came to the *Baptist* in his confinement. *John* therefore, supposing his own death to be near at hand, as he had formerly foretold it, sent two of his followers to inquire of him, whether he was the expected *Messiah*, not so much for his own satisfaction, as for that of his disciples. They came opportunely to him, whilst he was healing of a number of sick, halt, maimed, and blind, so that he only bid them return and acquaint their master with what they had seen, leaving it to him to explain the matter to them. All this while *Herodias* had not been able to prevail on the king to attempt the life of his prisoner. His fear of the people, who looked upon him as an extraordinary prophet, had hitherto outweighed his base complaisance to her. But she soon after compassed that by her hellish policy, which her persuasions had not been able to do. *Herod's* birth-day being celebrated with suitable solemnity before a number of his head officers, and other persons of distinction; she took the opportunity, when they were in the height of their mirth, and the king most probably heated with wine, to send her daughter *Salome* to dance before him; and she performed her part so well, that he promised with an oath to gratify her in whatever she should ask of him, even to the half of his kingdom. This was what *Herodias* was waiting for, and for which she had given her instructions to her daughter; so that the young princess, taking the king at his word, desired the head of the *Baptist* to be given her instantly in a charger. *Herod*, surprised at her demand, expressed no small concern at it, whether out of respect to that holy person, or the fear of a tumult. But at length the consideration of his oath, and of his guests, having turned the scale, he ordered an executioner to go and perform her bloody request; which being done accordingly, his disciples, upon hearing of it, came to take away the rest of his body,

John confined in the castle of Macheron.

Herodias's hellish policy.

Salome dances before Herod.

Her bloody request.

^b MARK vii. 20.

^c Ibid. Vid. & MATT. xix. 1, & seq.

^d Antiq. l. xviii. c. 7.

Josephus's
character of
the baptist.

and gave it an honourable burial. Thus fell that great good man, and more than a prophet, according to his own prediction ^a; of whom *Josephus*, in the place above-quoted, gives us the following character: That his whole crime was his exhorting the *Jews* to the love and practice of virtue; and, first of all, to piety, justice, and regeneration, or newness of life; not by the bare abstinence of this or that particular sin, but by an habitual purity of mind and body. Now, continues he, so great was the credit and authority of this holy man, as appears by the multitude of his disciples, and the veneration they had for his doctrine, (for he could do what he would with them) that *Herod* not knowing how far the reputation of a man of his spirit might influence the people toward a revolt; resolved at length to take him off before it was too late, &c. He adds, that *Herod* was very unsuccessful in his war with the *Arabian* king, all which the *Jews* looked upon as a just judgment of God upon him for that impious murder. An ancient father tells us [†] further, that when *Herodias* received the *Baptist's* head from her daughter, she pierced his tongue with a bodkin, and shewed it some other indignities, such as one may easily suppose from a person of her loose character.

Jesus goes from
Judæa into
Galilee.

We return to *Jesus Christ*, who upon the news of *John's* imprisonment on account of the great number of disciples that followed him, began, it is likely, to fear, lest *Pilate* should take some umbrage at him upon the same account. For there came, as we observed a little higher, rather a greater resort of people to be baptised by his disciples; for himself, the evangelist assures, baptized none. This made him therefore leave *Judæa* after a stay of about eight months ^k, and depart for *Galilee*; where passing through *Samaria*, he converted the woman, and afterwards the inhabitants of *Shechem*, or, as the *Jews* by way of reproach called it, *Sychar* ^l, which signifies drunk, according to the phrase of the prophet, who calls the rebellious *Jews* the *Shicore Ephraim*, the drunkards of *Ephraim* ^m (N). After a few days stay at that place, he went on into *Galilee*, where he was well received by the *Galileans*, who had seen his late miracles at *Jerusalem* at the late passover, and preached in their synagogues. Whilst he was at *Cana*, the place where he had turned water into wine, a nobleman came

The nobleman's
son cured.

about a day's journey to him, beseeching him that he would come down and heal a son of his, who was at the point of death, and expressed himself in such pressing terms, as sufficiently testified the sincerity of his faith. *Jesus* therefore, unto whom it was equally easy to heal at a distance, or at a greater nearness, dismissed him with these words: *Go thy way; thy son liveth*. He obeyed, and upon his inquiring of his servants at his return, found that he had begun to recover from the very minute in which the promise was come out of *Jesus's* mouth; so he and his whole family believed on him ⁿ. He went from thence into his old city of *Nazareth*, and being entered one sabbath-day into their synagogue, where the lesson out of *Isaiah* ^o was given him to read, in which there is a lively description of the Messiah's preaching the gospel, and of his confirming it with many godlike miracles of mercy; he expounded it of himself, with such powerful and majestic grace, as raised the admiration of the whole audience. But some of them being offended at his exquisite wisdom, whom they knew to have had so mean an education among them, he reminded them of several other cities in *Judæa*, and of many persons in *Israel*, who had rendered themselves unworthy of the divine favours by the like unseasonable partiality. This reproof was so highly resented by the *Nazarites*, that they rushed upon him with one consent, and hurried him to the brow of the hill on which their city was built, with a design to have cast him headlong down; but he slipping through the croud, escaped their malice, and went to dwell at *Capernaum*, a city situate on the coasts of *Zebulon* and *Nephtalim*; and preached among them, according to another oracle out of the same prophet ^p, importing that those regions of *Galilee* should in time be called from their native darkness, unto the marvellous light of the gospel. Being on another day preaching in one of their synagogues, there stood a demoniac before him (O), in whom the unclean

Preacheth at
Nazareth.

A demoniac
cured.

spirit

^a JOHN iii. 30.

[†] Cont. Rufin.

^k Vid. USSER. ann. sub A. M. 4034.

^l JOHN iv. pass. See

also, Vol. I. p. 447, a. IV. p. 30, b, c. 31. b. & alib.

^m ISAIAH xxviii. 1.

ⁿ Ibid. ver. 46. ad

fin. ^o ISAIAH xli. 1. Vid. LUKE iv. 16. & seq.

^p ISAIAH ix. 1. & seq. MATTH. iv. 14. & seq.

(N) *Shechem* or *Shychar* stood about forty miles from *Jerusalem*, fifty-two from *Jericho*, and ten from *Shiloh* (36), near unto *Jacob's* well.

(O) We have already taken notice of the opinion of the *Jews* concerning these demons, who possessed mankind, some, with *Josephus*, believing them to

(36) Vid. Euseb. & Hieron. loc. Hebr. & Reland. Paläst. in *Shichem*.

- a spirit cried with a loud voice; and acknowledging him to be the holy one of God, expostulated with him, not to destroy him. Him *Jesus* having put to silence by his powerful word, cast him out, and healed the man, to the admiration of the people, who spread his fame throughout all that region; insomuch that before he had taken a little refreshment at *Peter's* house, and healed his mother of a fever, under which she had languished some considerable time, they had brought from that whole neighbourhood all that were afflicted with diseases, and set them before him; and *Jesus*, according to his wonted compassion, laid his hands on every one of them, and sent them all home healed.

- BEING come to the lake of *Genesareth*, or sea of *Tiberias*, the crowds followed him so thick, that he was forced to get into a boat belonging to *Simon Peter*, whom from a fisherman he had called to be one of his apostles, and bid him launch out a little way, and taught the people from thence. As soon as he had done speaking, he bid *Peter* cast his net for a draught; and was answered, that though they had toiled all night in vain, yet at his word they would try afresh. They did so, and caught such a large draught, as was like to have sunk the boat. *Peter*, surprised at it, fell at his feet, and besought him to depart from such a sinner as he was; but *Jesus* taking him up, bid him be of good courage, for he would from thenceforth make him a fisher of men. During his abode in *Galilee*, he continued still confirming his doctrine with such numbers of miracles, that his fame had reached all the neighbouring provinces of *Syria*, *Phenice*, &c. insomuch that many people came from thence to be healed of their infirmities by him. During his abode at *Capernaum* (P), a paralytic, who had

Calls Simon Peter.

^a LUKE IV. 31. ad fin.

^b LUKE V. 4. & seq. MARK XVI. 20. & seq. & alib.

be the souls of the wicked, and others, that they were a kind of imperfect creatures, whom God was forced to leave unfinished on the sixth day, because the evening of the sabbath came upon him before he had given them the finishing stroke (37). Upon either of these accounts, they believe them to find some pleasure and refreshment in possessing and annoying the bodies of the living. Of this kind they reckon also the satyrs, incubusses, fauns, familiar spirits †, &c. The *Christians* on the other hand believe them with greater countenance from holy writ, to be fallen angels, who have borne a constant enmity to mankind ever since the creation of *Adam*.

But it is here objected against either hypothesis, that if those malicious spirits had such an extensive power as these possessions seem to attribute to them, there would be no end of their mischiefs, till they had made an end of mankind. Whereas whatever we may read of them in former days, of ignorance and superstition, we see nothing like it now even pretended among the more civilized nations, and only hear some imperfect accounts among the more remote and less cultivated ones, which yet may be either mere cheats, or at best mere delusions; and this has made a great number of our moderate sceptics believe them all to have been of this last kind (38), as being less derogatory to the honour of God, than the supposition of his giving so great a power to evil spirits.

But these learned critics seem not to observe, that all these plausible pretences rather confute than countenance their notion; for who can believe that *Christ*, who was so jealous of his Father's honour, would not only have overlooked, but both by his words and actions even countenanced and confirmed a national error so opposite to it, if he had not known that God, for some ends best known to his infinite wisdom, had suffered those evil spirits to afflict and punish mankind? If he had known that all these pretended obsessions were the mere effects of melancholy, hypochondria, lunacy, and such-like disorders, incident to our nature, would he not have

equally displayed his miraculous power in curing of them under this notion? and would not his pretended interrogations of those pretended devils, and their petitioning to him; his (39) distinguishing between their several kinds, and the different means of expelling them (40), have been acting a farce unworthy his divine character? how much more his promising to his disciples the same power of casting them out (41)?

That these devils are every-where represented in scripture as enemies to mankind, is beyond all dispute; and that they are not as yet confined to the place of their punishment, appears not only from their frequent expostulations with *Christ*, *Art thou come to torment us before the time?* but much more from that dreadful and definitive sentence to be pronounced against the wicked, *Go, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil, &c.* which if only prepared for them, implies that they are not yet sent into it. If therefore we stick close to the plain and obvious meaning of the inspired writers, we must suppose those possessions to have been something very different from such pretended disorders of the body or mind; and where lies the unreasonableness of the supposition of a vast variety of spiritual beings, some of a good and benevolent, others of a bad and maleficent nature, but all under the government of the supreme Being?

(P) This city was situate on an eminence by the lake of *Genesareth*, though the exact place be not known. Our Saviour exchanged it instead of that of *Nazareth*, where the stubbornness and incredulity of the *Nazarites* had been an obstruction to his doctrine and miracles. He made it his chief abode during the three last years of his preaching, and wrought a great number of miracles there; but as they made him no answerable returns for those favours, he forewarns them, that though their city was then exalted up to the clouds, it should shortly be brought down to the lowest abyss (42); which came accordingly to pass in the Jewish war, so that no footsteps remain of it.

(37) Vid. *Bresith rabba*, cap. 1. & lib. *Zeror*, *Hamnor*, *frus fasciculum myrrha*.

† See Vol. I. p. 82.

(N) (38) Vid. *Le Clerc com.* in loc. *Becker Monde enchant.* Bayle, & al.

(39) *Matth.* viii. 28.

Mark v. 9. & seq. & alib. (40) *Matth.* xvii. 20. & seq.

(41) Vid. *int. al. Matth.* x. 1. *Mark* xvi.

47. *Luke* x. 17. (42) *Matth.* xi. 23.

Cures a paralytic.

Matthew called.

heard of his fame, got himself transported thither in his couch born on mens shoulders, to be presented to him; but the house, in which he was, being so thronged within and without, that they could get no access to him, they got him up to the top of the house, and having untiled part of it, let him down by ropes, and so set him before him. *Jesus* beheld their faith with pleasure, and addressing himself to the paralytic, bid him be of good cheer, for his sins were forgiven; which, according to the Jewish notion, that such infirmities were the effects either of our own or of our parents sins, was no more than telling him that he was healed of his palsy. But the scrupulous *Jews*, not understanding it in that sense, accused him in their hearts of blasphemy, in assuming a power peculiar to God; but *Jesus* by the immediate cure of the sick man, soon convinced them of their error, and of his being equally empowered to forgive sins, and to cure any infirmities. It was his custom, by reason of the great resort of people that came to hear him, to go out of the city from time to time, and to teach them by the sea-side; and upon his often passing to and fro, he observed a publican sitting at the receipt of custom, named *Levi*, or *Matthew*, and bid him follow him (Q). *Matthew* did not hesitate one moment, but left his office, and followed him; and to express the sense he had for this gracious call, he made him a sumptuous feast at his own house, to which many of the same profession were also invited. This gave a fresh occasion of offence to the scrupulous *Jews*, who made some severe complaints of it to his disciples; but *Jesus* soon silenced their clamour, by assuring them that he was come to call, not the righteous, but sinners to repentance.

AFTER several other miraculous works done during his stay in this place, *Jesus* departed for *Jerusalem* to be present at the approaching festival of the passover, where there used to be a great concourse of *Jews*, who came before-hand to purify themselves against that feast. In this city there was a famous pool or reservoir, adorned with five porches or piazzas, and called in the Hebrew *Beth-esdab* (R), whose water being at some

* De hoc vid. JOHN IX. 2. † MATTH. IX. 1, & seq. LUKE V. 18, & alib. ‡ MATT. IX. 10, & seq.

(Q) The other evangelists give him only the name of *Levi*, which was his Jewish name; for he was a Jew, and the son of *Alpheus*, and native of *Galilee*. He is therefore thought to have called himself by that of *Matthew*, which is supposed to have been significant of his profession, to express his grateful sense of his vocation. His chief residence and office was at *Capernaum*, and there it was that he was called from the profession of a publican, to the dignity of an apostle and evangelist.

He has been highly reflected upon by *Porphyry* and *Julian*, surnamed the apostate (43), for thus lightly following a man, whom he had so little knowledge of; but as it is scarce probable that he should live in the same city so long, and not have heard of his doctrine and miracles; so it is rather a wonder he did not become his disciple sooner, considering his great readiness in following him as soon as he was called; but it is likely, he thought his profession was as odious to him, as it was to the *Pharisees*, and the rest of the *Jews*, and would prove an obstacle to his reception. But as soon as this gracious invitation had convinced him of the contrary, he sufficiently shewed how ready and glad he was to embrace it, by his forsaking all to follow him.

His being here called the son of *Alpheus*, has led some ancients (44) into a notion that he was the brother of *James*, who is also called the son of *Alpheus* (45); and they have, it seems, been followed in it by the generality of modern *Greeks*; but there seems to be no foundation for it. The gospel gives us no further particulars concerning him, saving that he continued a faithful disciple of his master; and therefore all we shall venture to add is, that he is universally allowed to have been the first that penned any succinct history of the gospel. He is

said to have wrote it at the desire of the apostles, and Jewish converts of *Palestine*, before his departure from it, to go and preach in the provinces allotted to him (46), about eight or ten years after Christ's resurrection. The last-quoted father tells us, it was written in the *Chaldaic-Syriac* tongue, which was then the common one, and in Hebrew characters. We refer our readers for the further particulars of it to the controversy lately started about it. As for St. *Matthew*, he is most commonly believed by ancients and moderns, to have preached the gospel in *Peria* and *Parthia*, and to have suffered martyrdom in *Caramania*, a province then subject to the *Parthians*.

(R) Probably, as some conjecture from the words בֵּית-חֶסֶד, *beth-chesdab*, the house of mercy, alluding to the merciful cures which were wrought there on the sick, lame, &c. The vulgate however read it *beth-zaida*, which some render the *Probatic* pool, on a supposition that the sheep designed for sacrifice were first washed in it, which sheep so washed, were called *Probata*. Others, who read it בֵּית-אֶשְׁדָּא, *beth-esdab*, render it the house of defluxion, from another supposition, that the waters, in which the entrails of the victims offered in the temple, were washed, emptied themselves by a subterranean sewer into this pool or reservoir, whence some have taken it into their heads, that the blood, dung, and other filth of those creatures running along with them, gave that medicinal virtue to the pool. Persons of such witty conceits are seldom solicitous about the character of the sacred historians, or else the evangelists attributing those cures to a miraculous motion of the water, would make them more cautious how they set up a bare conjecture against their testimony.

The

(43) Vid. Hieron. in *Marth.* ix. (44) Chrysostom. Homil. 33. in *Matth.* Theodoret. & al. (45) *Matth.* x. 3, & alib. (46) Euseb. *Ecl. hist.* l. iii. c. 24. Chrysost. in *Matth.* i. *lren.* l. iii. c. 2. Hieron. de vir. illust. & al.

- a some particular seasons miraculously stirred, had the virtue of curing the first person that jumped into it, of whatever disease he was troubled. Here *Jesus* beheld among the crouds of sick folk that waited for the motion, a man who had laboured under an incurable palsy thirty-eight years, but for want of some charitable hand to throw him into the water, had hitherto been deprived of the benefit of that place. *Jesus*, moved with compassion at his misery, healed him by his powerful word, and bid him take up his bed and go to his home. This cure being done on the sabbath-day, *Cures a paralytic on the sabbath.* gave fresh offence to the *Pharisees*, who looking upon him as a sabbath-breaker, began to think of putting him to death for it. To disculpate himself, and convince them that works of mercy were so far from being a violation, that they were the proper business of the sabbath, he expressed himself to them in words to this effect: *As my Father worketh hitherto, so do I work*; intimating thereby, that though God had rested on the seventh day from creating, in memory of which the sabbath had been instituted, yet did he not cease on that day from the work of preservation, which work himself was now imitating, in preserving a number of wretched perishing objects, whose misery claimed his pity and assistance. But the *Jews*, ever watchful for matter of new accusation against him, instead of admiring his godlike imitation of that ever-benificent Being, accused him of blasphemy for having presumed to call him his father, making himself thereby equal to God. *Jesus* tried in vain to remonstrate to them, by many convincing arguments, that he had arrogated nothing to himself, but what his miraculous works did evince his undoubted claim to; and by
- b affirming them that they should shortly see greater and more stupendous ones than those wrought by him, such as had never been done since the creation of the world. He tried in vain to convince them from the testimony of the prophets, and other sacred writings, from that of *John the Baptist*, but especially of his heavenly Father, who had declared him his beloved Son, and had given him moreover such a miraculous power over the whole creation^w. He was at length obliged to silence their false accusation, by reminding them that even the scripture gives the title of gods to mortal men^x. If then, added he, they be called gods, against whom the sentence of mortality had been pronounced by God (S) himself, why should you reckon me guilty of blasphemy, whom the Father has thus sanctified and sent into the world, because I
- c call myself the Son of God?

His defence of it censured by the Jews.

Jesus observing however, how strenuous the blinded *Jews* were against his doing works of mercy on the sabbath, resolved, if possible, to convince them of their error, by chusing that day to display some of the most signal ones, and exploding their censures by such cogent arguments as they could not gainsay. Accordingly, after his departure out of *Jerusalem*, he went into one of their synagogues, where there stood a man, *St. Jerom* says he was a mason, who had a withered hand. He began with asking the *Jewish* doctors, whether it was lawful on the sabbath, to do good or evil, to save or to destroy, intimating that the omission of the one, when a proper occasion

d offered, was near equivalent to the commission of the other. As they had nothing to answer to this reasoning, they stood silent to let him do as he thought fit; but when he had restored the man's hand, by bidding him to stretch it forth, the ruler of the synagogue, instead of being convinced either by the miracle or argument, in a kind of indignation, fell a censuring those objects of pity for offering themselves to be healed on the sabbath, and not rather on any other day of the week. This strange behaviour extorted a severe rebuke from the meek *Jesus*; he asked him, whether

Works other miracles on that day.

^w JOHN v. 19, & seq.

^x Conf. PL lxxxii. 6, &c. JOHN x. 34, & seq.

The five porches mentioned by *St. John*, seem to argue this pool to have been built in the form of a pentagon. *Eusebius* and *St. Jerom* (47), tell us, that they shewed still in their time a kind of double pool or reservoir, the one of which filled itself every year with rain water, and the other, which retained still a kind of redness, as if from the blood of those victims above-mentioned, which the temple sewer carried into it. The reader may see what has been said of its remains in a former volume †.

(S) This is certainly the meaning of *Christ's* words here, and not as ours, and other versions render it,

Those unto whom the word of God came. For the place referred to in the psalms is, I have said ye are gods, but ye shall die like men. So that, according to the most literal sense of our Saviour's words, they should run thus: If they are called gods, against (not unto) whom the word of God came forth, meaning this sentence of death. Those that are acquainted with the *Hebrew* idiom, to which the evangelists were used, know that the context must decide the meaning of those particles, which are capable of several even opposite significations, which the sense alone can determine (48).

(47) *Loc. Hebr.* † Vol. I. p. 593, b. & (Q).

(48) *Vid. Not. Knatchbul. Le Scene, & al. in loc.*

they

they did not think it lawful to help an ox, an ass, or a sheep out of a ditch, or a even to lead them to the water or pasture on that day? An undeniable argument, that they thought it lawful to do good to brutes on the sabbath, and how much more was it to do so unto men? He urged also upon the like occasion the circumcision of children on the sabbath, the priests killing and dressing their victims, and other such-like works, which were usually done on the sabbath, and yet were far from being reckoned a profanation of it.

His disciples
censured for
plucking the
corn.

BUT there had one thing happened to him in the going to that place, in order, as is supposed, to preach at that synagogue, which had already highly exasperated them. One of the evangelists observes^a, that it was the second sabbath after the first^b; when as they were going through some corn fields, his hungry disciples ventured to pluck the ears, and rub them between their hands to eat them. The Pharisaic croud, who beheld this kind of labour with a malicious eye, began to exclaim against their master for suffering it, it being in their opinion a manifest violation of the sabbath. Jesus was forced to excuse it by reminding them of the prophet's words, *I (will have or, more properly I) delight in mercy rather than in sacrifice*; intimating thereby, that necessity takes away the rigour of the law, and justifying it by the example of David, who, in the like emergency, ventured upon the sacred shew-bread, which was prohibited to all but the priests; and not only eat of it himself, but distributed it among his retinue. Their stubbornness was proof against all that he could urge in their or his own defence, and his silencing of them by such convincing arguments, made them only the more inveterate, till they came at length to a resolution of putting him to death. Jesus having timely notice of their wicked design, withdrew himself towards the sea-coasts, whither he was soon after followed by multitudes from all the maritime parts, and to whom he still extended his wonted compassion, both by his teaching them, and healing their sick.

Chooses the
twelve apostles.

ONE night having withdrawn himself both from them and from his disciples, he went up to a mountain apart, and spent the whole night in prayer; and on the morrow, calling them together again, he chose twelve from among the rest, to be the more immediate witnesses, preachers, and recorders of his life and doctrine; and to whom he gave the title of apostles, which word signifies a messenger or ambassador. The reader may see their names in the margin^b (T). All that we shall say at present of them is, that he did not give them this preference to all the rest, either on account of their great sense or learning, for they were some of the most rude and illiterate; nor for their credit, rank, or high birth; for they were mostly, if not all, poor

^a LUKE vi. 10, & seq. MATTH. xii. 9. & seq. & al. in fin. not. (M). ^b Hos. vi. 6.

^c LUKE vi. 1. ^d De hoc Vid. Vol. I. p. 600. & seq. MARK iii. 16, & seq.

(T) These were, 1st, Simon, whom he surnamed Peter, and whom we have mentioned a little higher; and, 2. Andrew his brother; 3. James, surnamed The Greater, an inhabitant of Bethsaida, and John his brother, who were the sons of Zebedee and Salome, often mentioned in the gospel. These as well as Andrew had lately been the baptist's disciples, but had left him to follow Jesus, and on the account of their resolute constancy, or more likely perhaps from that question they asked him; Wilt thou that we command fire from heaven, to consume, &c. (49) were surnamed by him Bonnerges, or the sons of thunder or tempest; that word being only a corruption of the Hebrew בְּנֵי-רָחָם *beni-rahm*, or rather פְּלִיפִּי *phlippi*, *rahaph*; 5. Philip mentioned before; and, 6. Bartholomew, supposed the same with Nathanael; 7. Levi, or Matthew, the publican and evangelist; and, 8. Thomas, surnamed Didymus, which signifies a twin; 9. James distinguished by the name of The Less, and the son of Alphaeus, or Cleophas, and of Mary, the first cousin, if not the sister of the virgin Mary, for which reason he is often called the brother of our Lord; 10. Simon, surnamed The Cananite, from Cana the place of his birth, and Zelotes, probably because he had belonged to that sect; 11. Judas, otherwise called Jude, and brother to James the Less, surnamed

also Lebbeus, and Thaddæus; and Judas the traitor, and surnamed Iscariot.

Concerning the surname of this last, there have been various conjectures; some thinking that he was so called from Kerios, a city in the tribe of Judah (50), from which he is supposed to have come; *ish* in the Hebrew signifying a man. St. Jerom and Eusebius speak of a town in the tribe of Ephraim, called Iscariot (1); others, who make him of the tribe of Issachar, think Iscariot only a corruption or abbreviation of Issachariotes; others fetch their etymologies of it still further. The reader may see them in the vocabularies at the end of the vulgate and other bibles.

Were we to offer our conjecture on such a dark and dry subject, we should rather fetch it from the Hebrew שֵׁשֶׁן-בָּאֵשׁ, *ish-chirres*, literally the man of the bag, or the bag-bearer. We have formerly observed †, that the proper signification of the word *chirres*, is a bag, in such a one Naaman is said to have tied his present to Gehazi (2); and St. John acquaints us, that Judas was a thief, and carried the bag: Why might not this nick-name then have been given him on that account by the disciples, when they knew how fond he was of his office, and how unfaithful he was in the discharge of it?

(49) Luke ix. 54. (50) Vid. Josh. xv. 25. Ezech. Eccl. Hist. cens. 1. c. 4. Calmet. sub voc. † al. (1) In Isaiah xxviii. 1. † Vol. I. p. 520. (B). (2) 2 Kings v. 23.

fishermen,

- a fishermen, and either natives or inhabitants of *Galilee*, the most obscure and despised canton of the *Jewish* kingdom; much less for their courage, who proved all rank cowards in the time of danger. They had no relish or propensity to his pure and exalted doctrine; for they dreamt of nothing, but of an earthly kingdom, and temporal happiness. In a word, they were in all respects the most unqualified for the great task to which they were appointed, the conversion of the world. But this was a work, which, as a great prophet had long ago foretold ^c, and the apostle has since observed ^d, was to confound the counsels of the wise, swallow up the understanding of the prudent, and defeat the power of the mightiest. We have already seen it in a great measure fulfilled in the person and character of their divine master, and in the circumstances that accompanied his low and humble birth and education, as well as in that vast series of wonders, which he wrought since his entrance into his public ministry. And we shall see the same infinite wisdom display itself still more surprizingly throughout the whole sequel of this chapter.

Their character.

- In the mean time the wondering crouds flocked to him from all parts of *Judea*, and the neighbouring provinces, attracted by that divine and efficacious virtue which flowed from him, inasmuch that the bare touch of his garments wrought the most surprizing cures, on the sick, lunatic, demoniacs, and other afflicted persons. He led them therefore one day to a convenient spot of ground (U), where he preached to them that celebrated sermon, commonly known by the name of his sermon upon the mount. We shall not take upon us to repeat it here. The reader may read it in its native, but powerful simplicity, in the places quoted in the margin ^e. All that we shall observe of it is, that he began it with a most comfortable display of the blessed state of those, whom both *Jews* and *Gentiles* accounted most miserable; that through the whole course of it, he not only exploded the wretched glosses by which the *Jewish* doctors had almost obliterated every moral precept of the *Mosaic* law, but substituted such new and excellent ones of his own, as exalted them to a pitch, which the world till then had neither heard nor dreamed of. To instance in one or two of his precepts amongst the many sublime ones there delivered, how highly had that negative precept been admired by all the wisest heathens, of not doing to others, what we should not desire to be done to us! and yet how vastly short is it of that new and noble one of his, whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, that do ye unto them ^f. We observed a little higher, that the *Pharisees* thought themselves free from guilt, provided they abstained from the very act of sin, though they indulged themselves in every thought, desire, and complacency, that came short of it; but here the ax is laid to the very root, and every sin, even in the least degree of it, condemned, even in the heart. Well might then his ravished audience cry out, that he taught with a power and authority, vastly above what they had observed in the scribes, and *Jewish* doctors ^g.

His excellent sermon on the mount.

- He concluded this excellent discourse with assuring them, that not every one that should call him Lord should enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that performed the divine will, and complied with the precepts he had been delivering to them. For the latter, added he, like the wise man that builds his house on a rock, builds his hopes on a sure foundation; whereas the former, like the fool that builds on the sand, is liable to have them overthrown by every blast, by every wind of doctrine, and by every temptation.

- On his descent from the mount, to return to *Capernaum*, he was addressed by some of the heads of the city in the behalf of a worthy centurion, from whom their nation had received some signal favours, and whose servant was then very ill of a palsy. *Jesus* offered to go to his house and heal him; but when the *Roman* officer heard of it, he sent him an humble message, in which he acknowledged himself equally unworthy

^c ISAIAH XXIX. 14.
^f MATTH. VII. 12.

^d 1 COR. I. 19.
^g Ibid. ver. ult.

^e MATTH. V, VI, & VII. pass, LUKE VI. 20, & seq.

(U) St. *Matthew* (3) tells us, that he went up into a mountain, and St. *Luke* (4) hints, that he stood in a plain, or champain place. The difference may probably be smaller than we are aware of. Those mountainous parts have their plains as well as valleys; so that he might only stand on a higher ground than

his audience, for the conveniency of being better heard, whilst they stood or sat on the plain ground below him. For St. *Luke* doth not expressly say, that he preached in the plain; but that he came down to it, to heal those that waited for him.

Heals the cen-
turion's ser-
vant.

Raises a dead
man at Naim.

to receive him under his roof, as he had been to come and offer his request in person, ^a but that he wholly depended on his efficacious word for the cure of his servant; For, added he, if my authority, small as it is, can yet enforce obedience from those under my command, how much more will your all-powerful one be obeyed, where-ever you are pleased to exert it! His singular faith and humility did not go long unrewarded; and Jesus, highly pleased with him, healed his servant at that instant, and greatly commended his faith, as far surpassing all that he had beheld even in *Israel*; upon which account he took occasion to assure his audience, that many strangers should be admitted from the four corners of the world into his heavenly kingdom, whilst the children of it should be miserably cast out for their disobedience and unbelief ^b. On the day following he went to *Naim* (W), and, upon his entering the city, he met a large croud of people accompanying the corpse of a young man, the only son of a poor widow, and, in compassion to her, touched the bier, and raised her son to life, whilst the astonished multitude spread forth his fame through all that country, and proclaimed him the prophet sent by God to redeem his people ^c. It was probably at this time that the baptist sent his two disciples to him, of whom we have lately spoken, and upon which Jesus took occasion to censure the unjust judgment which the unbelieving *Jews* passed upon that more than prophet, and himself: *John*, said he, was a very abstemious and mortified person, and you cried him down as a demoniac; me, who came in a more sociable and affable way to call sinners to repentance, you represent as a drunkard and glutton; but wisdom will, in spite of your slanders, be still justified by her children ^d. It was upon this account that he so severely upbraided those neighbouring cities, which had been witnesses of his stupendous works, assuring them that their fall would be much more dreadful than that of *Sodom* and *Gomorrab*, whom such miracles would have wrought into the deepest repentance ¹. He concluded his discourse with a solemn thanksgiving to his heavenly Father, who, in his infinite wisdom, had chosen the humble and infant-like to impart the mysteries of his gospel to, whilst the proud and conceited worldlings rendered themselves unworthy of them; and with a gracious invitation to all that laboured under their sinful burdens, to come and experience how easy the yoke, and how light was the burden, which he laid on his followers (X).

THIS discourse moved a *Pharisee*, named *Simon*, to invite him to take a meal at his house, where he had not been long, before he was accosted by a woman formerly of a loose character, but now a sincere penitent. This woman came behind him in the humblest guise, accompanied with a flood of tears, with which she washed his feet; and having wiped them with her hair, began to anoint his head with a costly perfume

^a MATT. viii. 5, & seq. LUKE vii. 12, & seq.

¹ Ibid. ver. 11, & seq.

^b Ibid. 29, & seq.

^c Ibid. x. 13, & seq. MATT. xi. 20, & seq.

(W) This city was situate in the plain near mount *Tabar*, and within about two miles of that mountain, and was divided from it by the brook *Kedron* (5). The same author places it at a small distance from *Endor* and *Scythopolis* (6). There was another city of that name in *Idumea*, where *Josephus* tells us (7), *Simon* the son of *Gorias* made his retreat after he had strongly fortified it.

(X) This is a truth indeed that is best understood from one's own experience; yet as there is not one positive or negative precept of the gospel, that is not excellently adapted to our own exigencies, and founded upon the solidest wisdom, it highly concerns us to listen to this, rather than to our corrupt appetites, which will always make us look upon God as a severe task-master, rather than a kind and skilful physician, whose sole aim is to cure us of our diseases, and to restore our souls to that perfect state of health, which alone can make us happy here or hereafter.

Were we indeed commanded to purchase this desirable state at as dear a rate as the miser doth his gold, the ambitious his rise, the soldier his fame, or the labourer his poor livelihood; though, even here, it would be our highest wisdom to comply

with the conditions, since the consequence is of infinitely greater weight; how much more must it be so, when every duty is not only easier and more worthy of a rational soul, but absolutely necessary to fit us for that happiness for which we were created!

Let those therefore, whom a wrong bias has warped into a prejudice against christian duties, but view them with an impartial eye; and the more they consider them, the more they will be convinced of this truth, that they are so far from being the arbitrary impositions of a supreme Being, that there is not one positive one, but is as necessary to the soul, as food is to the body; nor a negative one, that is not as expedient as abstinence from gross food is to a man in a high fever, or from drink to one in a tympany; but with this sure and comfortable advantage, that the divine grace and assistance here promised, will remove all difficulties and discouragements, and make every part easy and pleasant; so that our own happy experience, which it is our fault if we fall short of, added to God's infallible word, will make religion yield us the truest happiness we can be capable of in this life, as well as the glorious assurance of a better in the next.

(5) *Enseb. sub voce Naim.*

(6) *Ibid. sub voce Endor.*

(7) *Bell. Jud. l. v. c. 7.*

- a she had brought with her. A sight so shocking to the proud *Pharisee* filled his head with a strange notion, that, if his guest were a prophet, he would of course have spurned such a notorious sinner from him; but Jesus, whose peculiar character it was not to break a bruised reed, or quench the least good spark^m, but rather blow it into a flame, viewed her with a more compassionate and unerring eye, and dismissed her with an answer as full of comfort, as her heart was of the sincerest repentance and love. Neither did he let his host go unanswered or unsatisfied; but, by a fit and pathetic parable, made him pronounce her a more worthy object of his mercy and regard, than all his own pretended sanctity and hospitality could intitle him to (Y)ⁿ.

His pity to a poor sinner.

- UPON his return to *Capernaum*, he was followed with such throngs of people, on account of his continual miracles, particularly the cure of a poor demoniac, deaf and blind, which he had just then wrought, that his mother and relations fearing, lest he should be stifled (Z) by the croud, came to disengage him from it. As they could not get into the house for the throng, they sent to desire him to come to them; but when it was told him, that they stood without, desiring to speak to him, he told the audience, that none were more nearly related to him, than those who came to him to hear the will of God, and practise it. In the mean time, whilst his miracle on the demoniac had extorted an open confession from the better part of the by-standers, the *Pharisees*, moved with their usual indignation, cried out, *that he cast out devils by Beelzebub the prince of devils*†. Jesus easily confuted that slander, by shewing the folly of supposing *Satan* so far divided against his own interest; and that nothing but a superior power to his, could force him to it; but, to assure them farther of the fatal danger of such malicious and impious suggestions, he added, that tho' every sin or blasphemy against the Son of man would, upon due repentance, be forgiven, yet that those against the Holy Ghost should find no forgiveness either in this or the next world (A); and therefore he concluded with this warning, that men would give a

Cures a demoniac.

The sin against the Holy Ghost.

^m ISAIAH xlii. 3. MATT. xii. 20, & 21. ⁿ LUKE vii. 36, & seq. MARK xiv. 3. JOHN xii. 1, & seq. † De hoc vide supra, Vol. I. p. 51, a. ^o MATTH. xii. 31, & seq. MARK iii. 28, & c.

(Y) None of the evangelists has told us where this last scene happened. Our *Lightfoot* and some others think it was in *Bethany*, a city of *Judaea*; and that the *Simon* here mentioned, is the same with *Simon* the leper mentioned by the two other evangelists above-quoted, to which our bibles refer as a parable; but it doth not appear that this woman was the *Mary* mentioned by St. *John*; and we find our Saviour immediately after in *Galilee* working of miracles, followed by a great multitude, particularly by some pious women, who attended on him, and anointed him with their perfumes, whilst he was taken up with his ministry.

These were *Mary Magdalen*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in the sequel; *Johanna*, the wife of *Chusa*, Herod's steward; *Susanna*, and some others, who became part of his holy college.

(Z) So the word ought to be properly rendered, and not, as ours and most versions do, that he was beside himself (8).

(A) It is neither our design nor province to repeat here, either the various opinions of divines concerning the nature of this sin, or the dreadful effects which a wrong notion of it has caused among weak and melancholy christians, especially among some sectaries in the predestinarian system. It might indeed be of greater comfort to insert some of those elaborate expositions, which confine that sin to those *Jews* only, who made so perverse a judgment of Christ's miracles, against the light of reason and conscience; but as we cannot come into that notion, so neither would we lead our readers into it.

A late critic (9) has endeavoured to take away all the difficulty, by affirming, that what we render blasphemy, or sin against the Son of man, means no more than the offences which one man commits against another. But if none but such are to be forgiven, and those against the Holy Ghost, or, as he understands it, against God, are either wholly exclud-

ed, or, at best, will, with great difficulty, be pardoned, it is to be feared we are left in a more woe-ful case than that out of which he endeavoured to extricate us; but who doth not see, that whenever Christ speaks of the Son of man, he always means himself and not man in general?

Might we presume so far as to give our opinion of this sin, it would be this, that every slander or blasphemy committed against Christ whilst upon earth, and his divine mission as yet wanting some of its most authentic evidence, should be capable of pardon; but after these last seals of his mission were superadded, viz. his resurrection from the dead, ascension, and effusion of the Holy Ghost, attended, as it was, with such miraculous gifts, such as prophecy, gift of tongues, miracles, and the like; there remained no excuse for unbelief, and consequently no forgiveness either to the present or future generation of the *Jews*, who should obstinately persist in it, nor indeed to any other persons or nations, who should reject the glorious light and evidence of his gospel when offered unto them.

This may be thought to lean a little hard against our modern unbelievers; but let them consider, whether the pretended grounds on which they reject the gospel, bear any proportion in point of evidence with those upon which we believe and embrace it; and if they do not, as all their united force never could, nor, we may safely add, never will be able to prove they do, let them lay the blame at the right door. Now, the gospel plainly tells us, that nothing but faith in Christ, accompanied with a sincere repentance, can obtain us the pardon of our sins; how should they then hope for it, who have neither the one nor the other to intitle them to it. Hence, we think, it plainly follows, that this is that only unpardonable sin pointed out by our Saviour. See the next note but one.

(8) Vide *La Scen. off on a new vers. Echard, & al.*

(9) *La Scen. ubi supra, pars. 2. c. 4. sect. 20.*

severe

severe account for every pernicious or hurtful (B) word at the day of judgment. Here ^a the *Pharisees*, being stung to the heart, began, according to their usual custom, to ask him for a more convincing sign of his divine mission; but he left them with this remarkable answer, that since those he had already shewed them were not able to convince them, there should be no other or greater given them than that of *Jonah*; for as that prophet was three days and nights in the fish's belly, so should the Son of man be as many in the bowels of the earth, or grave, and rise again on the third (C) ^p.

Teaches in parables.

FROM thence he went to the sea-shore, still followed with great multitudes, and being got into a boat, he began to teach them again, not indeed in the manner he had lately upon the mount, but by a more familiar way, and more suitable to their gross understanding; namely, by parables, such as were very well known and understood ^b by all the eastern nations, and not (as ours and other versions sadly intimate) that they might be lost upon his ignorant audience; but as we have spoke fully on this important point in a former volume, we shall desire our readers to turn to the place *. When he had finished his discourse, he ordered his disciples to get him a ship to cross the sea of *Galilee*, into the territories of *Philip* the tetrarch, *Herod's* brother. Before he entered into the ship, there came some men who expressed a desire to become his disciples, and follow him. One of them in particular just begged, that he might go and bury his dead father; and another to go bid farewell to his relations and friends. To the first of these he answered, Let the dead, such namely as are so to the hopes of a future life, perform that office ^q, and come thou and preach that eternal life ^c which I am come to bring to light; but to the second he gave this severe rebuke, that such a retrospection as he expressed after those worldly considerations, was wholly inconsistent with the character of one of his disciples, whose mind and heart should be so fixed on the concerns of another life, as to be wholly indifferent to all besides; and so bid him follow without delay ^r.

Still, the winds and sea.

BEING entered into the ship, whether to refresh himself from the fatigues of the day, or to try his disciples faith, and manifest his own power, he withdrew himself into the stern, and there fell asleep. There arose soon after such a furious storm of wind as was like to have overset them, and made them run to him, and awake him, crying, Master, save us, else we perish. Jesus, seeing them in such consternation, blamed ^d their pusillanimity and want of faith; then, with his powerful word, rebuked the wind and sea, which immediately obeyed. When his disciples and the rest of the company had beheld their danger and deliverance, they came and threw themselves, trembling, at his feet, wondering, as well they might, what kind of man he was, who could command those unruly elements to be so quickly calmed; soon after which they landed on the other side, in the country of the *Gergasenes* (D) ^s.

HERE

^p MATTH. xii. 38. LUKE xi. 29. * Vol. I. p. 748. (L). ^q MATTH. viii. 18, & seq. See also p. 177, a. ^r LUKE ix. 61. ^s MATTH. viii. 23, & seq. MARK iv. 36, & seq. LUKE viii. 22, & seq.

(B) That this is certainly the plain import of the phrase *πῶτα ἀπόρρον*, which ours and other versions render *idle or unprofitable word*, appears from what goes before, *that they proceed from an evil heart*, which is therefore no more capable of producing better, than a corrupt tree can bear other than bad fruit (10).

(C) This saying confirms what we lately, and elsewhere before observed, that the resurrection of Christ was to give the finishing stroke to the evidence of his mission. Before that, if his other miracles had convinced them that he was the Messiah, they would not have put him to that shameful death, which yet it was decreed and foretold he should undergo; and it is upon this account that St. Peter excuses that atrocious deed, as being done through ignorance. But after this his resurrection was proved by so many irrefragable tokens, those who rejected him became inexcusable, and made way for the *Gentiles*, who embraced christianity. All which the reader may be fully satisfied of, by comparing, among a great number of others, the places quoted in the margin (11).

There are two difficulties started against what Christ here says of himself and *Jonah*, the one, that whatever the latter might be, Christ was far enough

from being three days and three nights in the grave; and this has made some affirm, that he must have been crucified on the *Thursday*, and not on the *Friday*. But the objection will easily vanish, when we observe, that, according to the *Hebrew* idiom, the particle *וְעַד* *and*, is often used for *or*, and that it may, and ought properly, be rendered three days or nights.

The other is from the impossibility of a whale's swallowing up of a man whole, seeing the diameter of its swallow, when stretched at farthest, is little above three inches. To which it is rightly answered, that the word here used signifies no more a whale than any other large fish that has fins; and that there is one commonly known in the *Mediterranean* by the name of *charachias* and *lamia*, of the bigness of a whale, but with such a large throat and belly, as is able to swallow the largest man whole. There was one of this kind caught within these twenty or more years, on the coasts of *Portugal*, in whose throat, when stretched out, a man could stand upright. We may add, that the word used in *Jonah* is דַּגְּגָדֹל *daggadol*, a great fish.

(D) So the *Greek* manuscripts of St. Matthew have it. Those of the other evangelists call them *Gadarenes*. Some read *Gergasenes*, which makes it very difficult

(10) Vide *Le Scen ubi supra*, c. 6. scilicet. 2. (11) Conf. *Act.* ii. 31, & seq. iii. 17, & seq. & *alib.* & xiii. 46. xviii. 6.

- a HERE he was met by two demoniacs, so very fierce, one especially more than the other, that no chains could confine them; but they chose their habitation among the tombs, and made it unsafe to pass by that way, till the sight of Jesus brought them trembling at his feet, where the devils began to acknowledge him to be the Son of God, and besought him not to torment them before their time. Our Saviour beheld the poor possessed with his wonted pity, and asked the most furious of them, What was his name? and was answered, *Legion*, because a multitude of those evil spirits had taken possession of him. These therefore besought him, that, if he cast them out, he would permit them to migrate into the neighbouring herd of swine; which being permitted, the whole herd was immediately seen to tumble headlong down into the sea, to the number of two thousand, whilst the two poor objects were restored to their health and senses (E). The news of this singular miracle were presently spread through that whole region, and brought vast multitudes to the place; where they beheld with wonder the two men clothed, and in their right minds; but whether through fear, lest any ill consequence should attend the loss of the swine, or, which is as likely, lest they should receive some further or more grievous punishment from him, they meekly besought him to depart their coasts; which he readily complied with.

Cures two demoniacs.

- UPON his return to *Capernaum*, he was addressed by the sorrowful ruler of the synagogue, whose daughter, about twelve years of age, was then expiring, and followed him to the house, attended, as usual, with numerous crowds, among which was a poor woman, who had laboured a long time under an unnatural hemorrhagy, and consumed her substance in seeking for the vain help of the physicians. She had such a strong faith in the world's Saviour, that she thought the bare touch of his skirt would give her an immediate cure; and so it really did, but not without being perceived by him; for notwithstanding his being so thronged by the multitude, he knew, by the virtue that was gone out of him, that somebody had touched him, and inquired of his wondering disciples, who it was? The woman, finding, by this question, that she could not go undiscovered, fell trembling at his feet, and owned herself the blessed object of his miraculous power, and had this gracious answer superadded to her cure, Daughter, be of good comfort, thy faith hath made thee whole (F). By this time they were come so near the ruler's house, that they could hear the mournful tunes and cries that were made over the dead damsel, who had expired in the interim; and

Raises the ruler's daughter.

* MATTH. viii. 13, & seq. MARK iv. 35, & seq. viii. 22, & seq.

difficult to know the situation of this canton, or of the city from which it took its name. *Origen* (12) thinks the name of the city to be neither *Gedara* nor *Gerasa*, since none of those two cities were near any sea or lake, but *Gergesa*, situate on that of *Genesareth* or *Tiberias*, where they shewed still in his time the rocky declivities, from which the swine were hurried down into the water. If so, that place might still retain its name from the *Girgashites*, ancient inhabitants of *Canaan*, of whom we have spoken in a former volume*.

This canton, where-ever it was, must have been inhabited partly by heathens, which is the reason of the herd of swine being suffered to feed in that neighbourhood, which was not permitted in any place where they were all *Jews*, because that creature is forbid by the *Mosaic law* (13).

(E) Those who pretend to censure this miracle, as a wrong done to the owners, would do well to consider how they question the justice and authority of a person, who had given such irrefragable proofs of both. Had the evangelists supposed any men capable of such a presumption, it is likely they might have given us such reasons for this action, as would have stopped their mouths.

If the owners of the swine were of that kind of apostate *Jews*, of whom we have had frequent occasion to speak in some former sections, the punishment must be allowed to have been rather too mild than too severe. If they were *Romans*, *Syrians*, or

of any other nation, they were still guilty of a breach of faith to the *Jews*, who, though under a foreign yoke, were to be governed by their own laws; so that they might as well have introduced some of their idols into that country, as herds of a creature forbid by their law, and abhorred by the whole nation.

However, if the singularity of the miracle proved a means to convert them to christianity, that was abundantly sufficient to repay their loss; and it is perhaps for this reason that Jesus would not suffer the cured persons to follow him to the other side, but bid them stay in their own country, to be standing monuments of his miraculous power and goodness; and that the change he had wrought in them was not a transient action, done by some delusion or fascination, but a permanent and real, and consequently miraculous cure.

(F) *Eusebius* tells us, that the woman, out of gratitude, erected a brass statue to her miraculous physician, in which she was carved kneeling behind him, and laying her hand on the skirt of his coat. The story is much questioned, and if ever there was any such monument of this miracle, she can hardly be supposed to have been in a capacity of rearing it, because *St. Mark* and *St. Luke* tell us, that she had spent all her substance on physicians; so that it must have been done by some of the inhabitants of *Caesarea Philippi*, of which city *Eusebius* says she was.

(12) In *Johann. Vide Calm. sub Gerasa.*

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* Vol. I. p. 335, n. & (D).

I i i

(13) *Vide Levit. xi. 7, & alib.*

Jesus,

Jesus, who beheld with pity his paternal grief, bid him not fear, but firmly believe; ^a and entering the house with him, and with two or three only of his disciples, ordered the mourners to cease their doleful music, since the child was only asleep; but, whilst these derided him, he took *Peter, James and John*, with the girl's father, into the upper room, and taking her by the hand, bid her rise; which she immediately did [•]. This miracle did still the more increase his fame, notwithstanding all his prudent cautions to prevent it (G).

Comes to Nazareth.

He soon left *Capernaum*, to go and revisit his ungrateful city *Nazareth*, and, in his way thither, cured two poor blind men. He went, as usual, into their synagogue, and preached to them with such powerful eloquence, as astonished the whole audience; but they, remembering the meanness of his education and parentage, were offended at him, instead of admiring him the more for it. This stubbornness of theirs ^b prevented his working any signal miracles there; so that he contented himself with healing such sick persons as offered themselves in his way, and departed, never to visit them again. By this time *Sejanus* having been put to death at *Rome*, and *Tiberius* been undeceived with regard to the false accusations of that hellish minister against the *Jews*, sent orders to all his governors to have them treated with greater mildness, as we observed a little higher out of *Philo*; and *Tacitus* [•] observes thereupon, that they enjoyed a long peace under that emperor; which could mean no more, than that they neither disturbed his government, nor he their tranquility; but they were at this time in too great a ferment among themselves to be properly said to have been at peace. But these intestine feuds of theirs were beneath the notice of a *Roman* historian, if he knew any thing of them; for these troubled themselves no farther about ^c what was done in foreign provinces, than the interest or fame of their commonwealth was concerned in it; and this, as a judicious historian of our own observes [•], is probably the reason why they are so silent about the glorious transactions of these three last years of our Saviour's life.

Sends his apostles to preach.

We are now come to the third year of his public ministry, which he began with making a thorough progress through all the cities of *Galilee*; where beholding, with his wonted compassion, the multitudes that followed him every-where, and how few the labourers were in comparison of the plentiful harvest in view, he sent his twelve apostles, two and two, to preach also through all that country. To qualify them for this high office, he endowed them with his own miraculous gifts, commanding them to ^d dispense them with the same gratuitous liberality as they had received them, and at the same time forbidding them to incur themselves with any worldly conveniences, but depend upon providence for a supply and reward worthy their charitable labour. He reminded them however, that they must not expect it so much in this life as in the next; for, added he, I send you as lambs among wolves; and since you have been witnesses of the ill returns which I have met with from this blind and ungrateful generation, you must not expect to fare better than your master; but rather rejoice to be, like him, despised, rejected and persecuted; for they will hurry you many a time to the judgment-seat, and inflict many a grievous punishment on you; but be not terrified at it, nor solicitous what answer you shall make to their puzzling and ^e ill-natured questions; for ye shall be endued with such wisdom at those times, as all your adversaries shall not be able to gainsay [•]. In other cases, remember always to

^a MATTH. ix. 18, &c. MARK v. 22, &c. LUKE viii. 41, & seq. ^w ANNAL. l. vi. c. 25. [•] ECHAR. cent. i. ch. 4. ^y Vide LUKE xxi. 15.

(G) Christ often injoining secrecy to the persons whom he cured, has been censured by some of our unbelievers, as unreasonable, and contrary to the design for which they were wrought, the proving of his divine mission. But he had several cogent reasons for preventing his miracles being too much blazed abroad, at least till after his resurrection; one of which was most probably, that he might not hasten the effects, as well as aggravate the guilt, of the *Pharisaic* malice, which, he knew, was to fall on him, before he had gone through every part of his work.

But there was a much greater motive to have these miracles concealed for the present; for the

multitudes, who had already beheld so great a number of them, had conceived such notions of his being the Messiah, that upon his feeding five thousand persons with a few loaves, they made a bold push to take him by force to make him a king (14); so that he was obliged to withdraw himself from them into some private mountain. Such attempts might therefore have proved of dangerous consequence, either by causing an insurrection, and bringing the civil power upon him; all which, and many others of the like nature, were opposite to his design, and the scheme of providence concerning the time, nature and manner of his death.

(14) John vi. 17.

- a join the innocence of the dove to the cautiousness of the serpent (H). Blessed indeed will be the case of those who receive you and your doctrine; but miserable and dreadful, beyond that of *Sodom* and *Gomorrab*, shall be the fate of those who reject you: And as for yourselves, depend upon it, that he, without whose permission not a sparrow falls to the ground, will be still your sure guide and protector¹. With these excellent gifts and instructions they departed, whilst Jesus tarried still at or in the neighbourhood of *Capernaum*, where he heard, about this time, the news of the baptist's death, mentioned a little higher, and whither his disciples soon after returned, and with no small joy acquainted him with the success of their late mission².

- Herod all this while had only laid his conscious fears asleep by the death of his
b troublesome monitor, which were soon awaked again at the fame of Jesus, whom he supposed to be that prophet risen from the dead, whilst others took him for *Elias*, or some other of the ancient prophets. This obliged him to withdraw himself, with his disciples, into a desert place, where he was however followed by a great multitude, and taught them there. The day being far spent, and victuals being scarce in such a place, Jesus, unwilling to send them away fasting and faint, made the troops sit down in a convenient place, and having blessed his mean and scanty provision, which consisted in all of five barley loaves and a few small fishes, multiplied, and distributed it amongst them; and, after they had all eaten to satiety, his disciples were ordered to gather the remaining fragments, and filled twelve baskets with them,
c over and above what had been eaten by the multitude, which amounted to five thousand men, besides women and children. This stupendous miracle made them look upon him as the promised Messiah. They therefore were consulting to have made him king by main force; but, as soon he perceived it, he resolved to convey himself far enough out of their reach^b. He bid therefore his disciples to cross over the lake towards *Bethsaida*, whilst he stayed to dismiss the people, after which he was to follow them. Whilst they were on the water, he withdrew into a retired part of the mountain, to spend some part of the night in prayer. The wind being then contrary, and very fierce, hindered them from reaching the shore; but whilst they were rowing and toiling in vain, Jesus came towards them, about the fourth or last watch of the
d night, walking on the boisterous waves, and made as if he would pass by them; at which they gave a hideous cry, supposing that they had seen what the *Jews* call a *mazik* or spectre of the worst kind, concerning whose power of doing mischief their rabbies tell us wonders too absurd to deserve a place here^c. Jesus soon recovered them of their fright, by assuring them that it was he; but *Peter*, between doubt and surprize, answered him, Lord, if it be thou, bid me come to thee on the water; and being permitted, ventured to walk towards him. A sudden gust of wind having swelled the surges, and his faith beginning to fail, he found himself sinking, and cried out to his master for help. Jesus stretched forth his hand to save him, upbraided his want of faith, and led him into the boat, where himself being also entered, there
e followed a calm, and they were agreeably surprized soon after, with the sight of the wished-for shore^d. Here he was again met by innumerable multitudes, who brought to him their diseased from all parts to be cured. Among them were a great number of those whom he had lately so miraculously fed, who had missed him, and came seeking after him, and expressed a more than ordinary joy when they had found him. Jesus however blamed their untimely diligence, because it did not so much proceed from a love to his doctrine, or from an earnest desire after that eternal happiness which he preached to them, as from the temporal advantages which they expected from his carnal reign, as they believed him to be the Messiah. He therefore exhorted them to seek after those more spiritual ones, which he was come to ten-

Feeds five thousand with five loaves.

Walks on the sea.

Reproaches the carnal zeal of the multitudes.

¹ MATTH. ix. 36, & seq. x. 1, & seq. MARK vi. 7, & seq. LUKE ix. 1, & seq. ² MATTH. *ibid.* & seq. MARK vi. 29. ^b MATTH. xiv. 14, & seq. JOHN vi. 5, & seq. ad 17. ^c Vide auct. Tzeror, Hammor, & Hebr. comment. in Psal. xci. ^d MATTH. *ubi supra*, ver. 24, & seq. MARK vi. 46, & seq. JOHN vi. 16, & c.

(H) That seems the most obvious sense of the Greek *πονηρος*, and not *wife*, as most versions render it. We have elsewhere shewed upon what account that creature is ironically called cunning and crafty in several parts of the scripture, and refer our readers to what has been said there†. But here our

Saviour only bids his his disciples to imitate their cautiousness or presence of mind, they being known to guard with their heads the rest of their bodies, and to dart it with surprising quickness where-ever the other parts are in danger.

† Append. to Vol. I. p. 854, d, e.

der to them. This unexpected turn had a strange effect upon them, inasmuch that a they, who, at the first sight of his late miracle, had cried him up for the great deliverer promised by *Moses**, began now to question him, and to ask for some fresh and surer tokens of his being so. *Moses*, they said, had proved his mission, by giving their forefathers manna from heaven; but as for him, he had done nothing like it for them, but only talked of his coming down from heaven, tho' they knew him to be the son of *Joseph* and *Mary*, and promised them no other food and drink than that of his body and blood, which was still a stranger and more offensive doctrine. Jesus tried in vain to persuade them, that these were not so imaginary or unnatural food as they apprehended, but such a real and efficacious one, as could alone fit them for, and raise them to a happy immortality. All these, and several other spiritual topics, served only to convince them, that he was not the Messiah they wanted, and were taught to expect; so that the greatest part of them forsook him from that very hour. Jesus was nothing less than surprised at this defection, which, he observed to his disciples, was owing to a want of such a true disposition of mind, as nothing could work in them, but the miraculous grace of his heavenly father, since nothing less than that could rectify the carnal warp, which their prejudices had given to their minds. He addressed himself next to his disciples, to know of them, whether they felt any inclination to leave him, as the rest had done? To whom *Peter* gave this glorious answer in the name of the twelve, Lord, whither, or to whom should we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life, and we are now fully assured, that thou art the Christ, the son of the living God. Jesus took occasion here to hint to them, that he had indeed chosen them twelve, but that one of them was a devil, meaning *Judas Iscariot*, who was to betray him†, tho' he continued to follow him with the rest (1).

Simon's noble
confession.

THESE things happened a little before the third passover after his entrance into his ministry; for the evangelists hints, that that festival was at hand; but whether Jesus went up to it, or stayed in *Galilee*, is no where expressly said. Only the former is most probable, not only from his constant and zealous attendance on all other festivals, but because his absence at this time, on any pretence, might have shewn an ill precedent to his disciples, and given the *Pharisees* an occasion of scandal and accusation. But, if he went up to *Jerusalem*, he did it so privately, and stayed so short a time there, by reason of the plots which the heads of the *Jews* had laid against his life,

* Conf. DEUT. xviii. 15. JOHN vi. 14, & 30, & seq. † JOHN vi. 30, ad fin. ‡ Ibid. ver. 4.

(1) The choice of this traitor into the apostolic college was not without a manifest providence, not only as he was thereby to fulfil that prophecy, that Christ should be betrayed by one of that number (15), but as his character and actions justified the admission of him into it. It is plain from what Christ says here of him, and the apostles elsewhere, that his offering himself a candidate for the apostleship was wholly from sinister motives, and this made him put in presently after for the office of treasurer.

On the other hand, he saw enough to have made him a true convert to Christ and his heavenly doctrine; for he not only was a witness to all his stupendous works, and excellent sermons, but was, like the rest, endued with the same miraculous power, and christian knowledge; so that if he continued in the same hellish disposition of mind, it was not out of any doubt concerning either the miracles or doctrine, much less from any knowledge, or even suspicion he could possibly harbour, that his master was acting some grand imposture; for had either of these been the case, he would have been so far from hanging himself out of remorse for his treachery, that he would have gloried in the action, and justly too. The great horror therefore which he expressed for his guilt, and his desperate end, when he saw him unjustly condemned by the sanhedrim, could proceed from nothing else but a full conviction, that the person whom he had thus betrayed was the true

Messiah, that his miracles were real, and his doctrine altogether divine.

If it be asked, how a man, under such conviction, could act such a perfidious deed? it may be answered, that he did it in a fit of anger and resentment, when he disdainfully beheld the profusion of a precious ointment bestowed on his master, which, he thought, might have been better sold for three hundred pence, and put into his bag (16). He might perhaps not foresee all the ill consequences of his treachery, but might suppose, either that the sanhedrim would acquit him, or that he would work some signal miracle to extricate himself out of their hands; so that when he found it quite otherwise, it threw him into that horrid despair and madness in which he died.

We shall have occasion in the sequel to speak more fully of the nature of his death. In the meantime we beg leave to observe, after an eminent critic, an error which has crept into most translations concerning him, which seems to intimate as if there had been some worse place than ordinary appointed for him in the other world on account of his crime. The words run thus in the version (17), *Lord,—show whether of these two thou hast chosen, that he may take part of this ministry and apostleship, from which Judas by transgression fell, that he might go into his own place.* Whereas these last words ought more properly to be rendered, that he, viz. the person now to be chosen, may go into his (that is, *Judas's*) place, that is, may fill his vacant office (18).

(15) Conf. Psal. xli. 9. & John xiii. 18.

(18) *Le Scena. essay ubi supra.*

(16) John xii. 3, & seq.

(17) Acts i. 24, 25.

that

a that it was not known to them till he was gone back into *Galilee*, where we find him presently after ^b. It is at this passover that *Pilate* is supposed to have made such a severe example of the rebellious *Galileans* or *Gaulonites*, whose blood he mingled with their sacrifices, as they were performing their devotions in the temple ^c; the news of which being afterwards brought to *Jesus*, as well as the misfortune of those eighteen men, whom a tower in that metropolis, named *Siloam*, crushed to death, he assured them, that neither of them came to such a dreadful end, because they were greater sinners than the rest; but that without a speedy repentance, they should all share in some such-like dreadful fate.

THE feast being over, the scribes and *Pharisees*, who missed him there, sent some
b of their spies after him to watch his words and actions, and to catch some matter of accusation against him. The first thing these laid hold on was his and his disciples eating with unwashed hands, contrary to the traditions of the ancients, and the constant custom of the *Pharisaic* sect. *Jesus* easily exploded this accusation, by shewing them the hypocrisy of cleansing the hands, dishes, and other vessels, whilst their hearts, which did most want it, were carelessly left in all their filth of rapine, deceit, and other real defilements. But he went further to show the mischiefs arising from too close an adherence to those traditions, a great part of which, though plainly opposite to the divine law, were yet preferred to it in point of authority and observance. He instanced in several particulars, especially that abominable one, by which they had
c made void the only command with a promise, that of children honouring and succouring their parents ^d. He not only showed them the impiety of some, but the unreasonableness and stupidity of others of those traditions; such as those that absolved a man that swore by the temple, but not him that swore by the gold of the temple, or him that swore by the altar, though not him that swore by the gift that was on it; though, as he justly observed to them, it was the temple that sanctified the gold, and the altar that sanctified the gift. These severe reflections did so much the more gravel these *Pharisaic* spies, as they seemed to come down to the capacity of the meanest of his audience, and could not but inspire the people with a singular contempt for those expounders of the law, as well as with a great veneration for himself.

To avoid therefore the persecutions which were likely to be raised against him from that quarter, he withdrew himself towards the coasts of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, and entered into a house privately, being unwilling to be known there; but it was soon beset by a great number of sick folk, who flocked to him to be cured. Among these was a *Pagan* woman (K), who yet addressed him with the title of *Lord*, and *Son of David*, and earnestly intreated him in behalf of her daughter, who was tormented with a devil. *Jesus* at first seemed so far to overlook her, that his disciples begged of him either to grant her suit, or dismiss her with a denial. The woman, becoming thereupon more importunate, received this unexpected repulse from him, that it was not fit
e to deprive the children of their bread, to cast it unto dogs; but she, nothing discouraged at so mortifying an answer, threw herself at his feet, and owned herself indeed unworthy of a child's portion; but at the same time humbly expostulated with him, that the whelps were permitted to feed on the crumbs that fell from their master's table. *Jesus* highly commended her singular faith, and pronounced her daughter healed; and the woman highly satisfied with his promise, returned home, where she found her daughter sitting on the bed, and perfectly cured ^f.

Heals the
Syro-Phoeni-
cian's daughter

SHORTLY after this, *Jesus* went more eastwards towards the head of *Jordan*, and took a progress through *Decapolis* (L), where, among other miraculous cures, he gave speech and hearing to a man born deaf and dumb, insomuch that the astonished multitude cried out, *That he had done all things well, and made the deaf to hear, and the*

* JOHN vii. 1, & seq. ¹ LUKE xiii. 1, & seq. * MATTH. xv. 1, & seq. MARK vii. 1, & seq. & alib. ¹ MATTH. ibid. v. 21, & seq. MARK vii. 24, & seq.

(K) St. Mark calls her a *Syro-Phœnician*, because she was an inhabitant of *Phœnicia*, of which *Sidon* was the metropolis, that province having been joined by conquest to that of *Syria* ^a. St. Matthew, who wrote in *Hebrew* or *Syriac*, calls her a *Canaanite*, because *Phœnicia* was the ancient seat of the *Canaan-*

nites, *Sidon* being the eldest son of *Canaan* (19).

(L) A canton in *Palestine*, so called from its ten cities, situate some on this and some on the other side *Jordan*, the capital of which was *Scythopolis*; it was mostly inhabited by *Gentiles*.

* See before, Vol. I. p. 392, b, c. III. 543, d, e.
VOL. IV. N° 3.

(19) Vid. *Genes.* x. 15. & Vol. I. p. 396, c.

K k k

dumb

Multiplies the seven loaves among four thousand.

Cures a blind man.

The Jews opinion of Christ.

Peter's noble confession of him.

dumb to speak^m. He was followed by the multitude from thence into some desert mountain, where he tarried three days with them, teaching them, and healing all their sicknesses, of whatever kind. But as they had brought no sufficient quantity of provisions, *Jesus* pitying their case, and being unwilling to send them away empty, signified his design to his disciples; and finding they had still seven loaves, and a few fishes, he multiplied both, as he had done before, into a sufficient quantity, to satiate four thousand men, besides women and children; and seven baskets full, which the disciples gathered of the remaining fragmentsⁿ; after which he dismissed the multitude, and crossed the lake of *Tiberias* towards the south-east parts of *Magdala* or *Dalmanutha* (M). Here he was accosted again by some of the *Pharisees* and *Sadducees*, who came to ask of him a sign; to whom having answered as formerly, that they should have no other but that of the prophet *Jonah*, he sailed back, and left them to make the application. In their passage, he bid his disciples beware of the leaven of the *Pharisees* and *Sadducees*, which caution gave them a strange kind of an alarm, because they had forgot to take some provision with them; but after he had put them in mind of his two late miracles on the loaves, they came at length to understand, that the leaven he forewarned them against, was the pernicious doctrines of those two sects^o. Upon his landing at *Bethsaida*, the native place of some of his disciples, a blind man was brought to him to be restored to his sight. *Jesus* could not refuse his help to such objects; but as he had received such ungrateful returns from the people of that city for the many miracles he had wrought among them^p, he was unwilling to aggravate their guilt by fresh ones. Taking therefore the blind man with him out of the town, he restored him to his sight, and bid him go directly to his home, without entering into the city again^q.

BEING come to the borders of *Syria*, in the neighbourhood of *Cæsarea Philippi*, a city built by *Philip* the tetrarch of that canton, the son of *Herod the Great*, as was hinted a little higher; he began to question his disciples, who had by this time been about a year chosen into the apostleship, what the *Jews* commonly thought of him? Being answered, that he was supposed by some to be *John the Baptist*, by others *Elias*, or some other prophet, he asked them, what their own opinion was of him? To this *Peter* answered for himself, as well as for the rest, whose judgment concerning him he could not but know, and affirmed him positively to be the Messiah, the Son of God. It was upon this noble confession that Christ surnamed him *Peter*, or *Rock*, and promised him upon that rock to build his church, to give him the keys of his heavenly kingdom, and the power of binding and loosing; so that which of the two sentences he pronounced upon earth, should be ratified in heaven. But he charged him and the rest of his colleagues not to let it be so much as whispered abroad, that he was the Messiah or Christ, till he was risen from the dead^r.

^m MATTH. *ibid.* 31, & seq. MARK viii. 1, & seq. MARK viii. 10, & seq. ^p Vid. MATTH. xi. 21. LUXE ix. 18, & seq. & alib.

ⁿ *Id.* *ibid.* & seq. ^o *Id.* xvi. 1, & seq. ^q *Id.* *ibid.* & seq. ^r MATTH. xvi. 12, & seq.

(M) It is not easy to know whether these be two names of the same place, or two different ones, nor to guess where their situation was, only some where upon the coasts of the sea of *Tiberias*. For so much *St. Mark* intimates, when he says, that *Jesus* crossing that sea, came to *Dalmanutha* (20); and *St. Matthew* speaking of the same thing, says, he came to the coasts of *Magdala* (21). Some manuscripts of this last have *Magedan* and *Magdan* instead of *Magdala*. This makes it next to impossible to guess with any probability at their situation; for which reason we shall refer those who have a mind to know the conjectures of the learned, to the authors quoted in the margin (22).

The last-quoted author supposes *Dalmanutha* to be the same with *Medan*, a pleasant place near the *Phiala*, or spring of the *Jordan*, where a kind of fair is kept, and much resorted to all the summer.

Hegesippus, it seems, calls that place *Melda* and *Meldan*, from which he thinks *Dalman* to be a corruption, by degrees stretched out into *Dalmanutha*. This is going very far for an etymology, and yet it is by far the best we have met with, and perhaps nearer than that of our learned *Hammond*, who takes it to be the *Meggiddo* mentioned by the prophet (23), and famous for the death of two Jewish kings, *Ahaziah* and *Josiah* (24).

Magdala is a corruption of the Hebrew *Migdol*, signifying a high tower. There might be many places of that name in *Judæa*, as well as in the neighbouring provinces; and if this *Medan* or *Meldan* was the same with *Dalmanutha*, then *Magdala* may have been some famous tower or land-mark leading to it, or some strong castle or fortress belonging to it. All which is at best but conjecture.

(20) c. viii. 10. (21) xv. ult. (22) *Euseb. Hieron. in loc. Hebr. Reland. Lightfoot, Hammond, Calmer, &c. al.* (23) *Zachar.* xii. 11. (24) 2 *Kings* ix. 27. xxiii. 19.

a FROM this time finding their faith so well founded, he began to open a mystery to them, which they little dreamed of, but which it was high time for them to be acquainted with; namely, that of his sufferings and death at *Jerusalem*. *Peter*, thunder-struck, as it were, at such an unexpected discovery, could not forbear crying out, *Lord, far be it from thee, that ever any such thing should befall thee*; but he presently received such a severe rebuke from him, as gave him to understand that he was but a novice in the doctrines of man's redemption and self-denial. He took therefore that fair opportunity to rid them of all their prejudices concerning a temporal kingdom, and to assure them that there was no way for them, or any other of his disciples, to enter into his heavenly one, but by treading in his steps, and going from the cross to that glorious crown, which waited for them at the end of their race. He concluded this sorrowful discourse with assuring them, that some of those that were there present should not see death, till they had seen the beginnings of this his kingdom powerfully displayed before them^(N). But as he had given such a kind of foretaste of his sufferings and death, as could not but make a deep effect upon them, considering that they had always looked on him as the restorer of the kingdom of *Israel*, and continued to do so even after his resurrection[†]; he thought fit to give some of the most intimate of them a specimen of his future glory.

Christ foretells his sufferings and death.

c THESE were *Peter*, and *James* and *John*, whom he took up with him to an exceeding high mountain, generally believed to have been mount *Tabor* or *Thabor*, described in a former volume[†], and was there transfigured before them. This happened whilst he was at prayer[‡], when they suddenly beheld a lustre darting from his face, outshining even that of the sun. His garments contracted a splendid whiteness, exceeding that of snow. *Moses* and *Elias* appeared immediately after, in all the brightness of their glorified state, and conferred with him about the sufferings and death which he was shortly to undergo at *Jerusalem*, and for which he was to be exalted above every name in heaven or earth[¶]. During this extraordinary intercourse, the three apostles, whether overpowered with the heavenly vision, and fallen into a kind of trance; or whether it happened at night, when their eyes were used to be closed with sleep; they found themselves in a kind of slumber for some time, from which being at length recovered, they beheld the glory, wherewith their master, and his two heavenly visitors, were surrounded; and *Peter*, in a kind of ecstatic surprize, cried out, *Lord, how good is it for us to be here! Let us make three tabernacles, one for you, one for Moses, and the third for Elias* (O), being scarcely sensible of what he said. Their surprize increased, when they found themselves surrounded by a bright luminous cloud; soon after which they heard a voice from heaven, saying, *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased: bear ye him*. At these words they remained prostrate on the ground, struck with wonder and amazement, till their master came, and raised them up; when upon their looking about, they were surprized to find him alone, and in his usual dress and appearance^{*}.

Transfigured upon the mount.

e THEY came down soon after to rejoin the rest of their company, and in the way, *Jesus* gave *Peter* and his two associates a strict charge to conceal the vision, till he was risen from the dead. These last words caused a fresh question among them, what the expression of his rising from the dead should mean? for, it seems, they could not yet persuade themselves of what he had so lately told them concerning his death at *Jerusalem*. However, they took care not to speak of his transfiguration till after his resurrection. *St. Peter*, by his second epistle, which he wrote a little before his own death[‡],

Comes down from the mount.

^{*} MATTH. *ibid.* vers. 22, & seq. LUKE *ubi supra.* vers. 22, & seq. MARK viii. 31, & seq. [†] Vid. ACTS i. 6. [‡] See Vol. I. p. 571, a, b, &c. & (A). 572, a. [¶] See LUKE ix. 28, & seq. and the parallels. [‡] Conf. PS. cxxxviii. 2, & PHILIP. iii. 9. and before, page 19, note. ^{*} MATTH. xvii. 1, & seq. MARK vi. 2, & seq. LUKE ix. 28, & seq. [‡] Chap. i. v. 13, 14.

(N) Accordingly, he gave them soon after several sure indices of it: First, in his glorious transfiguration, then in his resurrection, ascension, in the wonderful change that was wrought on them by the descent of the Holy Ghost, when they came to see and taste of that spiritual kingdom which they had before but the most imperfect notion of; in the success of the gospel, through the greatest part of the world, in spite of all the opposition of the *Jews* and *Gentiles*; and lastly, in the dreadful vengeance

he took against the former, by the arms and power of the latter, according to his formal prediction of that last catastrophe. All which will be best seen in the sequel.

(O) *Bede* informs us (25), that in consideration of this request of the apostle, the christians in after-times built three sumptuous churches on the top of that mount, which were had in great reverence, and very much resorted to by the devout pilgrims.

appears to have retained still the most lively impression of it, by that short, but elegant description he gives of it there², though he owns at the same time the evidence which is drawn from the testimony of the prophets to be superior to it. By that time they were got to the foot of the mountain, where a great multitude, and among them some *Pharisees*, waited for them, and had had no small strife with those disciples of his, whom *Jesus* had left behind him; before he could well inquire into the occasion of their dispute, a man pressed through the croud, and fell prostrate at his feet, and implored his assistance in the behalf of his son, who was miserably tormented with a dumb demon, by whom he was sometimes hurried into the fire, and at other times into the water, and was become such a dismal object of pity, that he had brought him to his disciples, but that they had not been able to give him any relief. *Jesus*, moved with the deepest compassion at this doleful story, could not forbear upbraiding both his disciples, and the whole *Jewish* generation, with their want of faith; and to convince them the more powerfully of it, ordered the child to be brought before him; and whilst he was in the strongest convulsions and agonies, and his sorrowful father beseeching him in most moving terms, only returned him this answer, that if he could believe, the cure of his son would be easily performed. At these words the father immediately cried out, Lord, I believe; supply my unbelief; and *Jesus* rebuking the evil spirit, forced him to go out, not without hideous cries, and leaving the boy breathless on the ground, insomuch that the by-standers believed him dead. But *Jesus* soon undeceived them, and taking him by the hand, raised him up, and delivered him to his father, perfectly cured. As soon as they had withdrawn themselves from the astonished multitude, his disciples begged of him to know the reason, why they had in vain attempted to cast this devil out? to whom he answered, that all their disappointments in general were owing to their want of faith; but that this particular one was owing to their neglect of fasting and prayer, which alone could obtain a sufficient power from heaven to expel that kind of evil spirits³.

Heals a demoniac.

Foretels his crucifixion and resurrection.

Jesus having observed the three, at their coming down from the mount, questioning about his resurrection, took this opportunity, as they were moving towards *Capernaum*, and freed from the crouds, to speak to the twelve afresh concerning his approaching death; and to assure them, that he should be betrayed into wicked hands, to be crucified, but that he should rise again on the third day. But their heads seem to have been so filled with a notion of an earthly kingdom, that instead of desiring him to explain further to them the grating mystery of his cross, they were rather debating how he was likely to dispose of his new dignities, which they had more immediately in view. This dispute lasted till they were got to the city, where the collectors asked them, whether their master did not pay the usual tribute (P)? and *Peter*, who knew his disposition to give God and *Cæsar* their due, answered them in the affirmative. *Jesus* however expressed himself to him in such manner, as plainly hinted that tribute to be due only from strangers, and not from the children, or those who are free-born. Nevertheless, added he to *Peter*, to prevent giving any offence on that account, go and cast thy hook into the lake, and in the mouth of the first fish thou takest, thou wilt find a piece of money (Q); pay that for thee and me⁴.

Pays the tribute.

² Ibid. v. 20, 16, & seq. ³ MATTH. xvii. 14, & seq. MARK ix. 14, & seq. LUKE ix. 37, & seq.
 ⁴ MATTH. ibid. 22, & seq. MARK & LUKE ubi supra, ad fin.

(P) Several interpreters have thought the tribute-money here exacted to have been that which every one was to pay yearly to the temple; and that *Jesus* pronounced himself exempt from it on account of his being the Son of God. But we rather think with *Beza*, that it was the capitation money which had been made in the time of *Cyrenius*, after *Archelaus's* banishment; of which we have lately spoke. For as our Saviour seems to observe to St. *Peter* here, it was a tax imposed upon the *Jews* by the arbitrary will of *Cæsar* against justice and equity, because by their former alliances with *Rome*, they were to be free from all such imposts. However, to avoid giving offence, or too great a countenance to the pernicious *Gaulonizish* faction, *Jesus* rather chose to work a miracle, than refuse to conform to the

law of the conqueror, and bringing thereby a greater mischief upon himself and nation.

It seems as if by this law or tax every man had been obliged to enroll himself in some city, whether of his nativity or abode. *Jesus* had made his chief residence at *Capernaum*, after he had forsook *Nazareth*. *Peter* had done the same in all likelihood, and that is the reason why he bids him give the piece of money for them both, without mentioning any thing of the other apostles, who might be enrolled at *Bethsaida*, or some other town near the lake.

(Q) This piece the *Greek* calls *Stater*, and the *Hebrew* or *Syriac* מָנָה, *mana*; it was equal to the double shekel, and was worth about half a crown of our money (16).

(16) De hoc vid. int. al. *Brookwood de Ponder. Bernard De mensur & Pideaux in pref. ad Co'm. B. Beza, & al. in Matth. ubi supra.*

- a** As soon as *Peter* was returned, *Jesus* asked them, what they had been disputing about in their way thither, whilst they, conscious of their ill-timed ambition, held their peace. But *Jesus*, who knew it perfectly well, taking a child in his arms, expressly told them, that the only way of becoming great in his heavenly kingdom, was to become like that little child in innocence and humility; and that the more nearly they resembled him in those two excellent virtues, the peculiar foundation of his religion, and of all christian virtues, the greater and higher would their rank be there; whereas pride and ambition, the bane of his new and divine institution, were the ready means to exclude them from having any share or title to that glorious kingdom. Here one of the apostles interrupted him, to acquaint him that they had observed a man take upon him to cast out devils in his name, and had forbidden him, because he thought himself above following them. But *Jesus* blamed his untimely zeal, since no man could work miracles in his name, but out of some due regard to his person and character; then resuming his figurative discourse, he told his audience, that whosoever should receive one of these little children, or meek and humble disciples, the least favour bestowed on them, though but a cup of water, in his name, should not fail of a reward. On the other hand, added he, whosoever shall presume to despise or give them just cause of offence (as it is indeed scarcely possible for men of that low and humble character to escape such a contemptuous treatment from a haughty and degenerate world) such indignities will meet with the same severe punishment, as if offered to my own person, or even to God himself, whose greatest favourites they are. But whilst mankind entertain a spirit so contrary to that of my gospel, they will hardly ever be free from such pernicious offences; and this is the reason why I, who am come to save that which is in danger of being lost, am so earnest in warning you against them. If a good shepherd find that one in a hundred of his sheep is gone astray, how readily doth he leave the rest, to go and fetch back the stragling one! and how much greater pleasure would it be to me to recall every poor stragling mortal, who know how desirous my heavenly father is that none of them should perish, but that they may all be saved!

Reproves the ambition of his disciples.

Recommends humility.

- But I tell you moreover, that you should be so far from offending these meek disciples of mine, who are incapable of giving you the least just provocation to it, that you ought to avoid even retaliating the wrongs and offences that are done to you. You all stand in great need of forgiveness from your heavenly father; but how can you ever expect it from him, if you refuse it to your fellow-creatures. In offences of a different nature, and of ill tendency to religion, your duty is to admonish the offender, first in the privatest manner; if this fails, repeat it before one or two witnesses; if this doth not reclaim him, declare his offence to the church; and if he rejects their admonition and censure, let him be rescinded from it; and till he return and submit, look upon him as an infidel; pity and pray for him, but avoid all familiar intercourse with him. For here I repeat it again, whatever sentence is thus regularly passed upon such an obstinate offender by you here on earth, shall be ratified in heaven. For whatever any number of you, though ever so small, thus gathered in my name and spirit, shall agree to ask from above, I will surely be in the midst of them, to direct and help their prayers, and send them home with the desired blessing.

Charity.

- Here *Peter*, finding that an offender was to be forgiven, if private admonition reclaimed him, asked his master, how often he must repeat that forgiveness? whether so far as seven times? and was answered, not only as far as seven, but as seventy times seven times. But to prevent their being scared at such an unlimited number, he explained to them the unreasonableness as well as danger of an unforgiving temper, by the significant parable of a wicked servant, who having had the vast debt of ten thousand talents mercifully forgiven by his lord, went and arrested a fellow-servant for a poor hundred pence, and without any regard to his intreaties and tears, threw him into a gaol; for which merciless cruelty his lord condemned him to a condign punishment. The application was easy, and the force of the parallel easily felt; but *Jesus* was pleased to corroborate it, by assuring them on his infallible word, that they must expect no forgiveness from his heavenly Father, unless they were willing and ready to forgive each other their trespasses.

Forgiveness.

AFTER a short stay at *Capernaum*, the feast of tabernacles drawing near, some of his near relations, who were, it seems, the backwardest to believe in him, observ-

* MARK *ibid.* *vct.* 38. 39. LUKE ix. 49.

4 MATTH. xviii. 15. *ad fin* & *alib.* *ubi supra.*

ing what a long stay he had made in *Galilee*, and how the fear of the *Jews* had made him avoid going into *Judæa* ^a, took upon them to reprove him for it, telling him, that if his design was to make himself known to the world, he ought to go and shew himself at *Jerusalem* to the great concourse of people that were just ready to flock to that feast, instead of hiding himself in those obscure corners of *Galilee*. *Jesus*, instead of reproving their temerity, only took occasion to remind them, that they indeed had nothing to fear there from the *Jews*; but that it was otherwise with him, against whose life the heads of that nation were more busily plotting at this time than ever. He therefore told them that they might go thither as soon as they pleased; but as to himself, he would take his own time. He staid not long however after them, but went thither in the privatest manner he could, for fear of awaking the jealousy of his enemies ^f. He chose to go through some parts of *Samaria*, and sent one or two of his disciples to prepare a lodging for him at one of their towns on the road; but these, according to their usual rancour, understanding that he was going to *Jerusalem* to the approaching feast, refused to give him any entertainment; which so exasperated his company, that the two *Boanerges*, whom we mentioned in a late note, were for bringing down fire from heaven to consume that ungodly place. But *Jesus* gave them so severe a rebuke, as made them sensible how diametrically opposite such a revengeful and murdering spirit was to that meek and charitable one, which brought him from heaven to save mankind ^g.

Jesus goes to the feast of tabernacles.

Appoints seventy disciples.

Teaches in the temple.

BEFORE he reached *Jerusalem*, he was pleased to appoint another college of disciples, ^c to the number of seventy, answering to the number of the elders chosen by *Moses* to be his assistants ^h, as that of the twelve apostles did to the twelve tribes of *Israel* (R). These he sent also by two and two, and with the same instructions and miraculous power which he had given to the twelve apostles; with this difference only, that the former were permitted to go to any city of *Israel*, but these only to those particular cities where himself designed to come after and preach ⁱ. By this time the feast of tabernacles was come, when there was no small search after, nor small strife about him; some doubting whether he would venture himself there, some affirming him to be a prophet, others an impostor. He appeared at length publickly in the temple about the latter end of the feast, and to their great surprize, taught boldly and openly there; ^j and displayed such a superior knowledge of the sacred books, that they could not forbear asking one another in a kind of amazement, whence a man of so mean an education could ever attain to it? When *Jesus* heard this reasoning, he assured them, that his doctrine was not from men, but from heaven; and that if any of them were but sincerely disposed to do the will of God, they would soon be convinced of the truth of what he said. Whilst therefore some admired his courage, in speaking such bold truths at the hazard of his life, and affirmed his miracles to demonstrate him to be the true Messiah, others, more obstinate, objected the meanness of his birth and parentage. To these he answered, that whatever they might know of his earthly descent, they were wholly ignorant of his heavenly one; all which he enforced by such irrefragable proofs, that a great number of them began to believe openly in him, which when the *Jewish* magistrates knew, they sent some of their officers to apprehend him. But as his time was not yet come, instead of following their instructions, they came back filled with admiration, and told those chiefs that they never heard a man speak like him ^k.

ON the last day of the feast, in which they used the ceremony of drawing water, and bringing of wood into the temple, concerning which the reader may see what we

^a JOHN vii. 1, & seq. ^f Ibid. ver. 4, & seq. ^g DEUT. i. 9. See also before, p. 512, d. 525, (H).

^c LUKE ix. 51, & seq. ^h Vid. EXOD. xviii. pass. ⁱ LUKE x. 1, & seq. ^j JOHN vii. 11, & seq.

(R) The names of these seventy or seventy-two (for they are indifferently called by either number, the first because expressly mentioned by St. Luke, and the latter from a supposition that he uses the round number instead of that of seventy-two, answering to seven out of each of the twelve tribes) are mostly unknown to us. We find only twenty-eight of them in *Eusebius* (27), *Epiphanius* (28),

and *Papias* (29), chiefly mentioned in the acts, they are as follows: *Matthias, Mark, Luke, Barnabas, Stephen, Philip, Prochorus, Nicanor, Timon, Parmenas, Nicolas, Justus, Apelles, Sosthenes, Rufus, Niger, Cephas, Thaddæus, Aristion, John, Barsabas, Andronicus, Junius, Silas, Lucius, Monahem, Mnasem, and Ananias*, the same who baptised St. Paul (30).

(27) *Ecl. hist. l. i. c. 12. Vid. & Mills in Luke x. 1. ubi supra, l. iii. c. 39.*

(30) *Ad. ix. 10, & seq.*

(28) *De Christ. c. 4.*

(29) *Ap. Euseb.*

have

a have said in a former volume *, *Jesus* took occasion to entertain his audience with a discourse on those living waters, which were to be imparted to those who believed in him, alluding, as the evangelist observes, to those gifts and graces of the Holy Spirit, which were shortly after to be poured on his church. This last speech caused a fresh division among them, some believing that none but the Messiah could express himself in that exalted manner; others objecting his being an obscure *Galilean*, whereas the Messiah was, they rightly said, to be born in *Bethlehem*; for so he was, though they knew it not. But the *Pharisees*, more exasperated than the rest, to hear such numbers of the multitude, and particularly the officers sent to seize on him, declare themselves so openly for him, were the loudest in their invectives against him and b them, alledging that none of their learned rabbies or rulers, or indeed any but an accursed ignorant mob, had believed on him. Here *Nicodemus*, who was his disciple, though secretly, undertook to moderate the difference, by reminding those hot-headed zealots, that the law did not permit them to condemn a man in that rash and mercilefs manner, and without hearing what he had to say in his own defence. This speech galled them so much the more, because, though they were conscious of the charge, they dared not bring it to so fair an issue. They therefore asked him in a tumultuous manner, whether he was a *Galilean*? and bid him go and search the scriptures, and he would find that that province never yet produced a prophet (S); after which the assembly was broke up for that time †.

The Pharisees
invectives
against him.

c *Jesus* went that night out of the city, and retired towards the mount of olives, and returned again early in the morning, and taught in the treasury of the temple, where the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* brought an adulteress before him, said to be taken in the very act (T). We have seen in a former volume, that the *Mosaic* law condemned such offenders to death ‡, and they failed not to remind him of it; but pretended to have a desire to know what he thought was to be done in this case, that they might find some accusation against him, such as his too great severity, if he condemned; or if he did not, his too great indulgence and disregard to the law; or in either case, his assuming a judicial power. *Jesus*, who easily perceived their malicious design, stooped down, and made as if he did not hear them, but was writing something with his finger on the d ground. This made them more earnest to make him declare his mind, upon which he rose up, and told them, that he, who was free from sin, should cast the first stone, and then returned to his former attitude. This unlooked-for answer filled those hypocrites not only with wonder, but with such shame and remorse, that they withdrew themselves one after another, and left the woman alone with him. When *Jesus* stood up and found all her accusers gone, he dismissed her with this mild reproof, Go thy way, and sin no more, and then resumed his discourse to his audience ¶.

An adulteress
brought before
him.

He began with telling them, that he was the true light of the world, and that those who followed him were free from darkness. This expression exasperated the *Pharisees* afresh, who thought that title to belong to them alone. They therefore despised e him, as bearing testimony of himself, but were answered, that they indeed were peculiarly famed for bearing a pompous testimony, and complimenting one another; but as for him, he had the testimony of *Moses* and the prophets, of *John the Baptist*, and above all, that of his heavenly father, of which the stupendous works, which he wrought before them, were an undeniable proof. But, added he, this will more evidently appear after ye have lifted me up on the cross; for then shall my disciples find themselves truly freed from that yoke and thralldom, under which the rest of the world doth groan. Here the *Pharisees*, not perceiving that he spoke of the freedom from sin and guilt, told him with their wonted assurance, that they being *Abraham's*

* Vol. I. p. 608, a, & 650, d.

† JOHN *ibid.* vers. 37. ad fin.

‡ See Vol. I. p. 676, a.

¶ JOHN

(S) And yet we have formerly shewn, that *Jonah*, who is universally acknowledged by them to have been a prophet, was a native of *Gathhepher*, a town in the tribe of *Zebulun* in *Galilee* †, so that these men must have been either very ignorant or perverse to have affirmed such a palpable falshood.

(T) This whole story of the woman is omitted in the *Syriac* and some other ancient versions. Those

who conclude from our Saviour's absolving, or rather refusing to condemn her according to the *Mosaic* law (31), that adultery ought not therefore to be looked upon as a capital crime under the gospel, may as well argue against the lawfulness of dividing inheritances, because he refused in the like manner to intermeddle with such an affair, when desired by one of the parties (32).

† *Vid. sup.* Vol. I. p. 827, (A).

(31) *Deut.* xvii. 7.

(32) *Luke* xii. 13.

children,

children, it was out of his power to make them freer than they were, since they had ^a never been in bondage to any ; but *Jesus*, instead of exploding the falshood, told them, that if their actions were to determine whose children they were, their pride, avarice, persecuting and murdering spirit, and their perverse opposing of all saving truths, rather proved them the children of the devil, and the slaves of sin, than the free-born offspring of a righteous *Abraham*. The *Jews*, unable to refell so just a censure, contented themselves with calling him a *Samaritan* and a demoniac, but were answered that the zeal which he had constantly expressed for his father's honour, and the malice which they had as constantly opposed him in it, could easily determine which of the two did most deserve the appellative of demoniac. However, he added, turning to his audience, this I assure you of, that he who obeys that divine law which ^b I am preaching unto you, shall never die. This equivocal expression raised new arguments as well as new invectives from the carnal *Jews*, which in this and some other occasions, we shall for brevity omit ; tho' they rose to such height, that they attempted several times to stone him, but he as often miraculously conveyed himself away from them ^c.

The seventy
return with
joy.

UPON his departure from the city, the seventy disciples rejoined him, and with no small joy acquainted him with their success, and that the very devils became subject unto them. *Jesus*, though pleased with the approaching downfall of satan's power, yet observing that his disciples seemed to express too great a satisfaction at their miraculous power, bid them rather rejoice at their having their names written in heaven. ^c Whilst he was giving them some further directions for their rightly dispensing of these new gifts, a certain doctor of the law asked him, what he must do to be saved ? *Jesus* referred him to the *Mosaic* law, the sum and substance of which consisted in loving God above all things, and our neighbour as one's self. But as the strait-laced *Jews* scarcely accounted any but those of their nation and sect for their neighbour, the lawyer asked him further, whom he ought to look upon as such ? Upon which *Jesus* put forth that most excellent parable of the *Jew* that fell among thieves ; and after having been overlooked and neglected by priest and levites, was at length happily relieved by the charitable *Samaritan*. From which he concluded, that our duty to our neighbour was not confined to sect, nation, or any other circumstance, but extended to all mankind. ^d In his way to *Galilee*, he stopped at a small village called *Bethany*, situate on the furthest part of the mount of olives, where he was entertained by *Lazarus* and his two sisters. These upon his arrival were very differently employed, *Martha* in preparing an elegant supper, and *Mary* in listening at *Jesus's* feet to his heavenly discourse. *Martha*, vexed to see her sister *Mary* (U) leave the whole care of the feast to her, went and complained of it before him ; but instead of her help, she received this severe rebuke from *Jesus's* mouth, that she incumbered herself too much about the trifling affairs of a supper, whilst her wiser sister was minding the one thing necessary, the concerns of another and a better life ^e.

Parable of the
good Samaritan.

Teaches in
Galilee.

FROM *Bethany* he proceeded to *Galilee*, where he went about teaching in every ^e synagogue, and other convenient places, instructing his followers with many excellent parables, and confirming all still with some new miracles ? Among the last, he wrought one on the sabbath day, in some *Jewish* synagogue, on a poor decrepid woman, whom old age and sickness had so bowed down, that she had not been able to raise herself up during the space of eighteen years. *Jesus*, moved with her misery, called her to him, and having laid his hands on her, pronounced her free from her infirmity, not without moving the *Pharisaic* indignation and resentment ; but *Jesus* retorted their reproofs with such powerful arguments, and familiar parables, as did at least silence them, though all too little to convince them that doing such good deeds was the proper work of that day. The following is a very pregnant instance of it. ^f

Jesus, after frequent peragrations through *Galilee* and *Judæa*, was come to the feast of the dedication of the temple, instituted by *Judas Maccabeus*, and mentioned in a former section *. He chanced one day, which was the sabbath, to meet in the street

* Ibid. vers. 12, & seq.
61, & 62, & note (W)

° LUKE x. 17. ad fin.

° LUKE cap. xi. & xii. pass.

* See page

(U) This *Mary* has been wrongfully confounded with that sinful woman, mentioned a little higher, out of the same evangelist, who doth not tell us her name, but only that she came to be absolved by *Jesus*. It doth in no case appear that *Mary, Laza-*

rus's sister, was ever a woman of that loose character ; on the contrary, *Jesus*, who often lodged at their house, is expressly said to have had a particular affection for the whole family ; we shall see a pregnant instance of it in the sequel.

a man

- a a man that was born blind, concerning whom his disciples asked him, whether the sins of his parents, or his own, had brought that calamity upon him (W)? *Jesus* answered, that neither his own nor his forefathers sins were the cause of his blindness; but that God suffered such things to happen for the greater manifestation of his unlimited power, adding, that he was chiefly come to make a fuller display of it. Having thus said, he spit upon the ground, and anointed the blind man's eyes with the moistened earth, and bid him go and wash himself in *Siloam's* pool. He did so, and obtained his sight to the no small admiration of all that saw him, who could hardly persuade themselves that he was the same person, till he had assured them of it. The news of this wonderful cure was soon brought to the sanhedrin, whither the man was also brought, and carefully examined; but upon his acquainting them with the circumstance of *Jesus's* anointing his eyes with the clay made with his spit, a great dissension arose among them, one side affirming this action to be a breach of the sabbath, and the other asking them, how they could suppose it possible for a sinner and sabbath-breaker to work such an extraordinary miracle? To be therefore satisfied of the truth of the fact, they ordered his parents to be brought before them, who upon examination owned the man to be their son, and to have been born blind; but pretended to be ignorant how he had recovered his sight. Upon their receiving this further evidence, they called the young man in again, and bid him ascribe the glory of his cure to God alone; for as to the man, who had wrought it, they knew him to be a sinner, and a cheat. After several other inquiries, in which they betrayed the most unaccountable partiality, and inveterate rancour against his divine physician, the young man at length took the liberty to plead in his defence; and to remind them, that since the creation of the world, no such cure had ever been wrought on a man born blind, and that it was consequently not only above the power of such a hateful sinner as they represented him, (since all such are in the highest detestation with God) but even above the power of any but a true prophet sent from above.

*Cures a man
that was born
blind.*

*The sanhedrin
condemn him.*

- Such strong reasoning, accompanied with so much candor, and honest boldness, might have wrought on any hearts, but those of the *Pharisaic* mould; but these, exasperated to hear themselves so justly reprov'd by a man whom they accounted altogether born in sin, after a severe and contemptuous rebuke, ordered him to be turned out of the assembly (X) 9. But *Jesus*, who found him soon after in the temple, gave him a more gracious reception, and then turning to the audience, took occasion, from the late partial behaviour of the sanhedrin, to exclaim against those false and pernicious teachers, under the similitude of shepherds, and their flocks, and to shew them that many of those climbed up into the sheep-fold by private and unlawful ways, like thieves and robbers, only to kill and destroy the sheep. That others, who were only hirelings, and had neither property in, nor true concern for their flocks, minded nothing but their fleece, and their milk; so that when they saw them in danger from ravenous beasts, they left them to become a prey, instead of protecting and defending them. Hence he proved himself to be the true shepherd, because he came to give his life for his sheep, and to procure them wholesome and lasting pasture. He concluded with telling them that he had other sheep, than those of the *Jewish* kind, to bring into his fold, which would prove more tractable and obedient to his voice, intimating thereby the conversion of the heathen world.

This discourse had likewise a different effect on his audience, some calling him a demoniac, and blaming the rest for listening to him; others asking, when they had ever known a demoniac utter such excellent truths, or open the eyes of a man born blind?

9 JOHN IX. per tot.

10 JOHN X. pass.

(W) This question plainly proves that the *Jews* believed the doctrine of the soul's sinning in a pre-existent state, and being punished for it in another. Else a man born blind could not be supposed to have been born so on account of his own sins.

(X) The text doth barely say, that they ordered him to be turned out; but some understand it of his being cast out of the synagogue, or in other words, that they excommunicated him. It is true, they had

passed that sentence on every one that should acknowledge *Jesus* to be the Christ (33), and his actually doing so before them all, had laid him liable to it; but it doth not appear from the evangelist, that they pronounced excommunication against him: if they did, he seems to have been the first confessor, as *John the Baptist* had been the first martyr, for the testimony of Christ.

Year of the
flood 4035.
Of Christ 36.
The last year
of Christ's mi-
nisty.

WE pass now to the fourth and last year of his public ministry, an epoch full of the most surprising and signal events that ever the world beheld; the redemption of mankind by the blood of the Son of God; his resurrection, ascension, mission of the Holy Spirit: miraculous change wrought on the apostles, and first preachers of christianity; the church of Christ planted by the powerful preaching of a few plain and illiterate fishermen, confirmed by great and glorious miracles wrought by them, by many supernatural gifts bestowed on them, and by them on the first believers and preachers, and in a little time cemented by the blood of innumerable martyrs, and founded on so firm an immoveable rock, that neither the powers of earth or hell have since been able to destroy it. We shall omit a great number of his excellent sermons, parables, strenuous struggles with the incredulous *Jews*, and frequent persecutions from the *Pharisees* and *Sadducees*; but especially a much greater number and variety of miracles which he wrought within this short interval, to come to that celebrated one, which determined the sanhedrin at length at any rate to put him to death. We mean the raising of his friend *Lazarus* from death to life, after he had been four days buried, and corrupting in his grave, and in the presence of a great multitude of considerable *Jews*, who by reason of the nearness of *Bethany* to *Jerusalem*, were come thither from that metropolis to the burial, and were eye-witnesses of this stupendous fact.

He raises La-
zarus from the
dead.

Jesus had designedly conveyed himself away at some distance from him, during the time of his sickness, and had at last acquainted his disciples with his death, adding to it, that he would now go and raise him up to life. Upon his approaching to *Bethany*, *Martha*, who was informed of his coming, went to meet him at some distance from the place, and complained to him with tears, that if he had been there, her brother would not have died. *Jesus* comforted her with the promise of his rising again, but she understanding it of the last resurrection, earnestly intreated him that he would now use his never-failing intercession with his heavenly Father to have him restored to life. Having obtained a gracious promise from him, she went in haste to call her sister, who came accordingly, accompanied with a great number of *Jews*, who were come to comfort her, and by her hasty departure supposed that she was going to vent her tears at her brother's grave. As soon as she came in sight of *Jesus*, she fell on her knees, and expressed her grief in such a pathetic manner, as drew some sighs and tears from him, as well as from the rest of the by-standers. At length, seeing fresh multitudes coming towards him, he desired the two sisters to conduct him to the grave, the sight of which drew a fresh shower of tears from him; insomuch that the *Jews* wondered, that he, who could give sight to a man born blind, should not interpose the same miraculous power to have saved so dear a friend from death. Whilst they held this discourse, *Jesus* ordered the grave-stone to be removed, at which *Martha* cried out, *Lord, by this time he stinketh!* But he, after a gentle reproof for suffering her faith to fail so soon, addressing himself to heaven in a pathetic prayer, called out aloud, *Lazarus, come forth.* Upon which he that was dead, came out, bound, as he was, in his funeral dress (Y); from which he was at *Jesus's* desire immediately loosed.

IT

* JOHN xi. 1, & seq.

(Y) This circumstance, expressly mentioned by the evangelist, renders the miracle still more authentic and unquestionable. We are told by him in another place (34), that the custom of the *Jews* (those at least that could afford it) was to embalm the dead with an aromatic mixture of myrrh, aloes, and other gums, mixed with spices, with which they rubbed their bodies all over, more or less profusely, according to their circumstances, or regard to the dead person; after which they wrapped their heads all over with a napkin, and their whole body with a shroud or winding-sheet, both which they afterwards sweated as tightly as they could with proper bandages (35).

We formerly observed also, that they buried their dead very soon †, seldom or never keeping them twenty-four hours above-ground. *Lazarus* there-

fore, having been dead four days, must have lain at least three of them in his grave, which was a cave cut into the rock, and covered with a large stone; so that it was impossible for any cheat or imposture to be transacted with all those circumstances, since if it could be even supposed that a person could live so many days in such a damp and airless cave, yet the lining sweated on his face and body, and over such a gummy composition, must have smothered him in less than so many hours.

This was so plain and unquestionable, that neither any *Jews* there present, nor even any of the sanhedrin, pretended to deny or doubt of the fact, but rather condemned him upon the notoriety of it, and as tending to give rise to a new sect, which would endanger their church and state. Of the same nature afterwards was the apostle's cure of an old cripple;

(34) XIX. 39.
cerem, *Jud. part. 5. c. 8. Lamy apparat. & al.*

(35) De his vid. Jo. Nicolas sepult. Hebraeor. Calmet. *differt. in ead. Leo de Moden.*
† Vid. sup. Vol. I. p. 696.

- a It is easy to imagine either the joy of the two sisters, or the surprise of the rest of the Jews, at the sight of so stupendous a miracle; and indeed it wrought such a conviction in the greatest part of them, that they began now to confess him in good earnest to be the Messiah. And not only those who had been witnesses of it, but vast multitudes of others, who hearing of it from them, came flocking to *Bethany* to be further satisfied of it, believed also in him. The sanhedrin was soon acquainted with this transaction, and were in no small concern how to put an effectual stop to this dangerous increase, both of his fame, and of the number of his disciples. For, as they rightly argued, if we let him alone, and suffer him to work such signal miracles, all men will believe on him; the consequence of which will be, that the *jealous Romans will come and destroy both our place and nation*. At length *Caiafas*, the then high-priest stood up, and spake to this effect: You seem to know nothing at all, nor to consider that it is expedient that one man should die to prevent the ruin of a nation¹. Little did he or they think he was then inspired from above, and that he was delivering the will and decrees of heaven, that *Jesus* should suffer death, not for the Jewish nation only, but for the faithful, which were to be gathered together in him, from the four corners of the earth. For being high-priest that year, it pleased God to give him the spirit of prophecy, to utter this great and comfortable truth, and thereby further manifest the accomplishment of the divine oracles concerning the Messiah's dying for the sins of the world. His advice was readily embraced, and after they had once resolved on his death, they were easily determined to cut off *Lazarus* also, the sight of whom daily increased the number of believers.

The Jews consulted to put him to death.

Caiafas prophesies.

- b But *Jesus*, who knew his own appointed time, as well as the result of their last consultation, withdrew himself into a small city, called *Ephraim*, in the neighbourhood of the wood or wilderness of that name², and there continued with his disciples till the approaching feast of the passover. He left the place six days before that feast to go to *Jerusalem*, and took *Bethany* in his way, where *Lazarus* and his sisters entertained him and his disciples at a sumptuous supper; it being a sabbath night, at which times they kept a more plenteous table. Whilst they were eating, *Mary*, to shew her extreme regard to their guest, came and anointed his feet with a precious ointment of spikenard, whose fragrancy filled the whole house. Whilst the disciples were wondering at her profuseness, *Judas*, whom we observed to have been their knavish treasurer, could not conceal his indignation at it, and asking, why the ointment was not rather sold, and the money given to the poor? the rest of the twelve seemed also in some measure to join with him in it³, till *Jesus* had severely rebuked him, and excused her generous action, as an anticipation of his burial rite; adding moreover, that the memorial of it should be preserved to her honour, as far and as long as the preaching of his gospel should reach or endure⁴.

- c On the very next day (Z), *Jesus* knowing his time to be just at hand, marched now boldly towards *Jerusalem*, whilst his disciples, to whom he had more than once or twice foretold all the circumstances of his future sufferings and death⁵, accompanied him with heavy and trembling hearts. As for the traitor *Judas*, he conceived such a grudge against him at the last night's action, that he resolved to betray him into the hands of his enemies upon the very first opportunity. When they were come to *Bethphage* upon mount *Olivet*, within a small mile of *Jerusalem*, *Jesus* directed two of his disciples to a place where two roads met, and bid them bring from thence a she ass, with a young colt by her, that had never been backed; and if the owners asked them any questions, they should only answer that the Lord had occasion for them, and they would readily permit them to be brought to him. They brought the ass and colt accordingly, and having spread a garment upon the latter, set *Jesus* on it, and accompanied him to *Jerusalem*, in a kind of triumph, attended by great multitudes;

¹ Ibid. vers. 47. & seq.

² Vid. 2 SAM. xviii. 6. & seq.

³ Conf. MATTH. xxvi. 8. MARK xiv.

4. & JOHN xii. 4.

⁵ JOHN ibid. vii. & seq.

⁶ Val. MATTH. xx. 17. & seq. MARK x. 31. & seq. LUKE xviii. 31.

cripple; which, though the whole sanhedrin owned and acknowledged to be a miracle (36), yet they endeavoured by the like unjustifiable means to suppress, and upon the same account.

(Z) This happened in this year on the tenth day of the month *Nisan*, answering to the twenty-ninth of our *March*, and was the day on which the passover lamb was taken up and presented at *Jerusalem* (37).

(36) Vid. *Acts* iv. 14. & seq. Conf. *cum* cap. iii. 1. & seq. Val. L. p. 602. & seq.

(37) Vid. *Usser*, & *Echard*, & sup.

some

Jesus Weeps
over Jerusalem

some of whom going before, strewed the way with their garments, and green a boughs, crying out *Hozanna* (A); *blessed is the son of David, and blessed is the king of Israel, who cometh in the name of the Lord*. Thus was that famous prophecy of *Zachary* fulfilled; *Fear not, O daughter of Sion, behold, thy King cometh to thee, just, humble, and meek, and riding on the sole of an ass* *. The multitudes still increasing as they went on, the *Pharisees*, which beheld the sight, and heard those acclamations with no small indignation, drew nearer to him, and earnestly desired him that he would command at least his disciples, if not the whole croud, to be silent. But *Jesus* rather chose to silence their own envy, by assuring them, that if those should hold their peace, the very stones would cry out, and proclaim the divine author of so many glorious miracles. But he took a much more effectual method to suppress the pomp b and noise of that mock triumph, as well as the *Hozannas* of the multitude, which he but too well knew would in a few days be changed into the blasphemous cry of, *Away with him, crucify him*. For as he drew nearer to *Jerusalem*, the sight of that rebellious and unhappy metropolis having revived in his mind the more dreadful prospect of that approaching ruin, which was now hastening on upon it, and which he himself had more than once foretold to his disciples (B), it was then a proper time to damp their untimely joys, by reminding them of it; and here it was that the dismal scene having quite disarmed him of his anger and resentment, made him break out into the following compassionate expostulation, mixed with a flood of tears: Oh that thou hadst but known, at least in these thy latter days, the things that would c have conduced to thy peace! but now are they hidden from thee; and now the sad appointed time draws near, when the enemy shall surround thee with trenches, and inclose thee on every side, butcher thy children within thy bosom, and level thee

* Conf. ZACH. ix. 9. ISAIAH liii. 1. MATTH. xxi. 1, seq. MARK xi. 1, & seq. & alib.

(A) Or rather, according to the *Hebrew*, *Hoshab-na*, *Save, we pray*; so that this was a kind of prayer or blessing used by the *Jews*, and taken from the hundred and eighteenth psalm (38). and signified *Save, preserve, and prosper, Lord, this Son of David*.

(B) Particularly in that full, elegant, and pathetic description he gave to them of it, when being near the same place, the twelve desired him to look back, and behold the beauty and magnificence of the temple, the strength and prodigious size of its stones, and the like (39); and where he foretold them, that before the present generation was dead and past, not only that stately and stupendous fabric, but the whole city, would be reduced into a heap of rubbish (40).

And on this occasion it was, that from the likeness of the destruction of the *Jewish* polity, and that of the world, or, (as others perhaps more rightly understand it) the final end of idolatry, irreligion, and every wicked work, ushering in the millennium, in which Christ and his doctrine shall be universally acknowledged and professed throughout the world, during a thousand years) from the near resemblance, I say, of those two dreadful catastrophes, of which the former seems to have been a lively type of the latter, whether as to its prognostics, such an universal degeneracy and apostasy, a general deception by false prophets, lying wonders, abominable wickedness, cruelty, oppression, wars, tumults on the earth, dreadful signs in the heavens, and the like; or, as to its dismal consequences, the horrid destruction of the *Jews* by war, pestilence, and famine, in the former, or of the sinful race of men in the latter, typified by that of *Gog* and *Magog*, and other figurative expressions preceding the millennium; Christ takes occasion to make such a natural, but almost unperceptible transition, that the primitive christians could not easily distinguish them, but were led into a notion, that he spoke of one and the same catastrophe, which was consequently to happen before

the extinction of the then living race.

For it was in this sense that they took the word generation, according to which it was also meant, and really fulfilled with respect to the *Jews*; but the word *דור*, *der*, was no less capable of a larger sense; the *Hebrew*, *Syriac*, &c. having none other or better to express a much longer series of time. Thus they indifferently spoke of the generation of the antediluvians, of that under the judges, kings, priests, &c. and we have elsewhere more than once observed, that they divided the world into three epochs, or, in their style, into three generations, consisting each of two thousand years. The first before, the second under the law, and the third under the Messiah. It was therefore to the exit of this last, that the second part of his prophecy had an eye, when that thorough change was to be wrought in the world, elegantly expressed in the prophetic writings by a new heaven, and a new earth, a new *Jerusalem*, &c.

As long therefore as the mistake of the primitive christians in cutting that epocha so very short, had no other tendency, than to make them more fervent, zealous, and heavenly-minded, more patient and heroic under sufferings and persecutions, and more fervent and diligent in preaching the gospel; the inspired writers might have thought it a sufficient warrant for their overlooking it. But St. Peter, among others, seems to have taken particular care to rectify it, and to obviate the objection which might be raised from their non-completion at the expected time, by reminding them, that what they mistook for a delay, was not really such, since with God a thousand years were but as one day (41). A phrase well understood then by the *Jews*, to whom he wrote, and which alluded most probably to the notion of the six days of the creation, prefiguring the six thousand years duration of the world, before the great and glorious change, which it was to receive at Christ's second coming.

(38) *vers.* 25. (39) *Vid.* *Matth.* xxiv. 1, & seq. 8. Conf. *enim Revel.* xx. 6.

(40) *Ibid.* *vers.* 34.

(41) 2 *Petr.* iii.

with

a with the ground, so that not a stone shall be left standing upon another, because thou wouldst not know the time of thy visitation (C) ^b. The people however, more full of the present triumph, than mindful of his distant threatenings, went and entered the city with their usual acclamations, and drew such a vast concourse after them, to know who this prophet was for whom they made all this bustle, that the whole city was in an uproar; and well it might, when they heard them say, that it was *Jesus of Nazareth*, the promised Messiah, and remembered at the same time what a severe sentence the sanhedrin had passed against not only him, but every one who should acknowledge him to be the Christ.

Jesus repaired immediately to the temple, and, as he had formerly done, expelled ^{Monday before his passion.} all the mercantile brood from that sacred place, and convinced them of his authority in so doing, by working several cures there on the sick, lame, and blind, whilst the wondering multitude continued their loud acclamations of *Hosanna to the son of David*; to the great scandal of the *Pharisees*, who did all they could to silence them. But *Jesus*, who knew the main spring of all their pretended zeal, not only stopped their invectives, by reminding them of that prophecy out of the psalmist; *Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise*; but exposed their malice and obstinacy by such strong arguments, and pungent parables, that they would doubtless have laid hold on him, had not the sight of so great a multitude overawed them ^d. There were at this time a number of *Greeks* (D), who were come to the feast, and expressed a desire to see him. *Jesus* readily caused them to be called in; and to take off the scandal of the cross, by which he was going to procure the salvation of both *Jews* and *Gentiles*, he entertained them with a discourse on his sufferings, and closed it with assuring his audience, that those only, who after his example, were ready to lay down their lives for the sake of heaven, would be intitled to it. Reflecting next on the glory which God would receive from his death, he broke out into this ejaculation, *Father, glorify thy name*; and was answered by a voice from heaven, *I have both glorified it, and will glorify it again*. This was probably meant of the plentiful effusion of the Holy Ghost, and that conversion of the *Gentile* world, which was shortly to follow his death; but the people not rightly attending to it, mistook the voice, so ne for that of an angel, speaking to him, some for what they called the *bath-col* (E), and others for a clap of thunder; till he assured them, that it was a real voice sent

^b Conf. LUKE xix. 37, & seq. & JOHN xii. 12, & seq.
^d MATTH. *ibid.* 24 ad fin.

^c Conf. P.S. viii. 2, & MATTH. xxi. 16.

(C) Those who maintain the doctrine of predestination, though even in the more moderate sense of it, called by them the *Sublapsarian system*, would do well to consider, what a horrid scene of mockery and injustice they make the son of God, and Redeemer of the world, to act here upon this melancholy occasion. For if the *Jews* blindness and infidelity, their persecuting and murdering of him, their obstinacy in rejecting him and his doctrine, and those dreadful punishments which were shortly to be the consequence of it, were not only absolutely unavoidable by them, but were owing to the want of that supernatural grace and power, which he only came to impart to some few elect, whilst he wholly excluded the rest of mankind from it; with what sincerity could he say to them, even with tears, *Oh that thou hadst known at least, &c.* or with what justice cry out against them, *Oh Jerusalem, that murderest the prophets, &c. how often would I have gathered thee and thy children, with the same care and tenderness, that a hen doth her chickens! and ye would not, therefore, &c.* (42); but there is something so monstrously shocking and impious both in that supposition, and in the doctrine from which it flows of course, that we may justly wonder that neither this, nor all the learned treatises which have been written against it (43), have hitherto been able to expode it; but as the argument belongs no farther to our province, than as we are bound to vindicate

the divine justice and mercy displayed in the gospel, we shall gladly dismiss it.

(D) These were properly neither *Jews* nor *Gentiles*, but what the former called proselytes of the gate, of whom we have spoke more fully in a former volume †.

(E) This word which literally signifies the daughter voice, or daughter of the voice, is what the *Jews* have substituted to the gift of prophecy, after this last had been extinct in *Zachary* and *Malachi*, the last of the prophets. For though they allow that several eminent men among them have been since endowed with it, such as we have seen some of the *Essenians*; yet they looked upon them in an inferior view to the former, who received theirs by immediate inspiration, whilst these had it chiefly by the help of the *bath-col*.

They are however divided in their notions concerning this last, having no other guide to go by than their pretended tradition, which they make no difficulty to understand, every one in his own way, and as it best serves their turn. Whilst therefore some pretended that it was a plain, loud, and articulate voice, such as was heard by young *Samuel* (44); others looked upon it either a kind of soft whisper, and others again as a kind of internal voice speaking to the heart of the person.

Whether there is any foundation for the two former, is hard to affirm upon so tottering a testimony of

(42) *Matth.* xxiii. 34. & seq.
c, d. (44) 1 *Sam.* iii. 4. & seq.

(43) *Vid. ins. al. Le Clere, Pelling, Whistby.*

† See Vol. I. p. 664.

from heaven, not for his, but their sakes; and to warn them to make a right use of that light, or irrefragable evidence, which he had afforded them, lest they should bring upon themselves a judicial blindness. For, added he, when I am once lifted up, alluding to his death upon the cross, I shall draw all men unto me, intimating thereby doubtless, that his laying down his life in confirmation of his doctrine, joined to all the other evidences that had preceded, and were to follow it, and to the excellency of his precepts and rewards, would be sufficient to draw all sincere and well-disposed persons to his gospel and religion.

THIS heavenly discourse made a deep impression on many of his audience, and amongst them upon some of their chief rulers, who yet did not dare own themselves his converts for fear of being thrust out of the synagogue. When the evening came, ^b Jesus, to avoid the croud, withdrew himself and his disciples for that night to *Bethany*; and on the next morning they returned to *Jerusalem*. In his way he observed a fig-tree afar off, full of leaves indeed; but upon his approaching nearer it, as expecting to have found some fruit upon it; according to the season of the year (F), and finding himself disappointed, he cursed the tree, upon which it presently withered down to the very root. On the next morning, which was the *Tuesday*, Peter casting his eye upon it as they went to *Jerusalem*, could not forbear wondering at the suddenness of the change; upon which Christ took occasion to assure them, that if they had but a

Tuesday.

^a JOHN xii. 20, & seq.

of the rabbies, who all own to have lived long after they had in some measure ceased to be so common. Of this nature was that which is affirmed to have been heard to pronounce rabbi *Akiba*, happy in the next world, after he had been sent out of this by order of the emperor *Hadrian*; and another, which declared two famous doctors, *Hillel* and *Samuel*, to be worthy to receive the Holy Ghost; and some others (45), which, if really heard, might be yet owing to some juggle of those who were concerned in it. As for the last, or inward one, though it were hard to disprove good men having such secret motions or impulses, yet they may be of two uncertain a nature to be always depended upon.

But if we examine the practice of the compilers of the talmud, or even of those that lived before them, we shall find them consulting this *bath-col* in a much different way, and not unlike that of the *Romans* in their *sortes Virgilianæ*, and other heathenish superstitious methods; of which the two or three following, taken out of the talmud (46), will be a sufficient proof. "Rabbi *Jochanan* and Rabbi *Simeon*, desirous of seeing the face of Rabbi *Samuel*, a prince among the *Babylonish* doctors, said, Let us follow the directions of the *bath-col*. As they were passing by a school in their travel thither, they heard one of the boys reading these words out of the book of *Samuel*; And *Samuel* died; from which they inferred, that the person they were in search after was dead, and so it actually proved."

Two other doctors going to see a friend of theirs, and hearing a woman speak the words, *The lamp is going out*, and her next neighbour answers, *May the lamp of Israel never go out*, took this also for a warning from the *bath-col* (47). But the most surprising was, that of one rabbi *Asa*, who had been guilty of so many notorious crimes, that upon his being led through thirteen different synagogues, in each of which they examined the verse which the readers were then upon, they were every one found to be reading a grievous sentence against him, such as in one, the words, *There is no peace to the wicked*; in another, those of the psalmist, *Unto the wicked God says, What has thou to do to preach my laws?* &c. and so of the rest (48).

The whimsical way likewise of prying into futurity by the casual opening of a book, was not confined to *Jews* and *Gentiles*, but was even practised by the christians in the times of ignorance and superstition, of which the reader may see some instances in dean *Prideaux* in the place last-quoted out of his connection.

(F) It is strange, that all versions, except the ancient *Saxon* one, have made *St. Mark* there say, that the time of the figs was not yet come; when the very time of the year, the warmth of the climate there, as well as the tenor of the story, the design and justice of the curse (for who can think the Judge of all the earth could pronounce an unjust one?) all shew that the time of the figs was come (49).

The design of this sentence on a fruitless tree, like that other, *Cut it down, why cumbereth it the ground*, was to shew the *Jews* what they must expect to be their lot, if after having received so many incentives to repentance, especially of late from the preaching of the baptist, of Christ's apostles and his own, they continued still like this fig-tree, barren and fruitless. This should therefore have made the interpreters see that there was either some error crept into the text, or a manifest one in the version; and upon due consideration, they would have found, that without any violence to the former, the latter should have been rendered, *For where he was, the time of the figs was come*, or it was the time of the figs there.

This version will likewise justify the act, since it could be no injustice to the owner to rid his ground of a plant which sucked its nourishment from it without making any return to him; and here we beg leave to observe, that except this withering of the fig-tree, and that of sending the wine into the lake, of which we have spoken in another note, all the other miracles were of the beneficent and merciful kind; so that to complain of two miracles of severe justice, if they were really such, against him, who, setting aside his absolute power, has given us so many thousands of goodness and mercy, argues a mind so extremely perverse and ungrateful, as ought to make them fear lest something worse should befall them.

(45) *Vid. de his Basnag. hist. des Juifs, tom. 3. ch. 5. sect. 8, & seq.*

fol. 8. col. 3. Vid. Frid. connect. sub an. c. 29.

(46) *Tractat. Shabbath.*

(47) *Orho, hist. doct. Mishn. ap. Ba'nag. ubi supra.*

sect. 9.

(48) *Vid. Hotting. excerpt. gemar. & Basnag. ubi supra.*

(49) *Vid. Heinl. in loc. Lejcene*

Essay, part 2. c. 6.

a stedfast faith in God, they might work much greater wonders than this; which they did accordingly, when their faith was soon after miraculously strengthened by the supernatural effusion of the Holy Ghost upon them. Being arrived at the temple, the Pharisees began to ask him again for some surer tokens of his authority, than those miracles he wrought before them. *Jesus*, who knew that nothing could convince them, if these did not, appealed immediately to the testimony of the baptist, asking them at the same time, whether or no they acknowledged it from heaven? Here they found themselves sadly intangled; if they answered in the affirmative, they condemned themselves; and if negatively, they were in danger of being condemned by the audience; so that they were forced, after some deliberation, to have recourse to that pitiful shift of owning that they knew not whence it was, for which *Jesus* justly pronounced them unworthy of any further evidence from him ^f.

Confutes the Pharisees.

It was upon this occasion that he tried to awaken them to a sense of their obstinacy and dangers, by several familiar, but pungent parables, such as that of the unjust and murdering husbandmen; of the wedding supper; and of the ingratitude and inhumanity of those that were invited to it; and some others of the same nature. But these, though feelingly enough understood by that hypocritical tribe, wrought no other effect upon them, than to set them upon seeking for some more effectual means to cut him off; and since they found it dangerous, by reason of the admiring multitude, to make any attempt upon him, to expose him at least to the resentment of the civil power. It was with this view that they sent their disciples, with some of the Herodians, to intangle him with the grand question about the lawfulness of paying tribute to *Caesar*, of which we took notice in the last section; and which being easily perceived, *Jesus* as easily defeated their malicious intent, by calling for a piece of *Caesar's* coin, and exposing their hypocrisy, in making use of his money and protection, and yet refusing to pay tribute to him, as affirming it inconsistent with their duty to God ^g. Next to these came the Sadducees, armed, as they thought, with such a puzzling question against the resurrection, as all his learning could not elude the force of. It was of a woman, who having been married, according to the *Mosaic* law ^h, to seven brethren, had died at length without having any children by any of them. They asked him therefore, if there was any resurrection, whose wife she must be, since they all had her to wife?

Jesus prefaced his answer to their stupid question with this excellent one; *Do ye not therefore err, because ye know not the scriptures, nor the power of God?* implying thereby, that their denial of the resurrection proceeded from their either not acknowledging (G), or, if they did, from their not rightly considering the sense of the scriptures, and the extent of the divine power. For, said he to them, the state of the blessed after the

^f MATTH. xxi. 23, & seq. MARK xi. 27, & seq. LUKE xx. 1, & seq. LUKE & MARK.

^h DEUTER. xxv. 5.

ⁱ MARK xii. 24.

^g MATTH. xxii. 15, & seq.

(G) We think the words *not knowing*, might be more properly rendered, according to the *Hebrew* idiom in other parallel places, *not acknowledging the scriptures, and the power of God*. Thus St. Paul is introduced, as not knowing the high-priest (50), who presided at the judgment seat, before which he was brought to be tried; when it is plain, every child could not but have known him both by his garb, and the place where he sat. Those who understand it, that the apostle, in the height of his resentment, had forgot, or did not consider that he was the high-priest, make him say something unworthy of his great character, and usual behaviour on such occasions; besides, that it puts some strain upon the plain meaning of the word *know*, which cannot be properly used to imply to consider, call to mind.

But the sense which with some critics we give here to that word, is both more agreeable to the *Hebrew* idiom, and to the known zeal of the apostle; and he may justly say, *I do not acknowledge him to be high-priest*; since we have seen throughout the two last sections, that that dignity was become so venerable, that the vilest wretches might obtain it,

provided they proved but the highest bidders. All which was contrary to the *Jewish* law. In this sense then the *Sadducean* error will be founded on their unbelief of, and not on their not understanding the scriptures, or the power of God; and, indeed, considering their denial of the immortality of the soul, and the rewards and punishments of another life, they can scarcely be supposed to have believed either scriptures, or the divine power.

But if we take the word in the other sense, and admit that their error proceeded from the want of a right and due understanding of both, and not through a questioning or disputing of either; yet as long as they took upon them to limit the sense of the one, and the extent of the other, by the shallow scan of their reason, they did but pretend to believe, or at best fancied they did so, though in fact they denied them. If we were to examine the source of that scepticism and infidelity which reigns now so much among us, and opposes all gospel truths with such seeming assurance, we should find it flowing from this *Sadducean* leaven, which is ever ready to limit the divine power and will, as soon as their reason cannot keep pace with it.

Silences the
Sadducees.

His question
about the
Christ.

Washes his
disciples feet.

resurrection is not to be measured by the exigencies of this life. Here marriage is a necessary to keep up the race of mankind; there they will, like the angels in heaven, be free from such carnal and superfluous appetites, where their life will be wholly spiritual. He concluded with proving the truth of the resurrection from those of the sacred books, which they professed to acknowledge; which not only put a final end to that dispute, but forced even an approbation from the contrary sect of the *Pharisees*^k. He next received a singular applause from one of the scribes for his excellent answer concerning the grand and chief command in the law^l; after which he ventured to propose a question to them concerning the Messiah, namely, Whose son they thought he was to be? To which they answered with one accord, the son of *David*; if so, laid he to them, how came *David* to call him Lord by the Spirit, *Saying, the Lord* b *said unto my Lord, sit thou on my right hand*? How then think ye he could be at once his Lord and his son (H)? This last question quite nonplused his whole audience, in-
somuch that they never ventured to put any more puzzling questions to him from that time. It was probably on this night, that being retired with his small attendance to *Bethany*, he was there invited by *Simon*, surnamed *The Leper*, and where *Mary* came and anointed his head and feet with a fresh quantity of the same precious ointment which she had lately bestowed on him on the like occasion (I); and gave a new subject of murmuring, not to *Judas* only, but to the rest of the twelve. *Jesus* excused her a second time as he had done before, and perhaps to the satisfaction of the rest; but *Judas*, who thought it an unreasonable profusion, resolved that night to go and betray a him to the sanhedrinⁿ.

IN the mean time, *Jesus* knowing his time to be just at hand, and recollecting how oft the twelve had quarrelled among themselves about precedency, and perhaps had they started the same dispute on this very night^o; to give therefore an effectual check to their unreasonable ambition, so contrary to the spirit of his gospel, and to leave them a lasting memorial of the contrary virtue, instead of rebuking them as he had done heretofore, he rose up from the table, and having laid aside his upper garment, and girded himself with a napkin in the guise of a waiting servant, came with a basin of water, and began to wash their feet, and wipe them with the towel which girded him. *Peter* however was so offended at this condescension, that he could not at first be prevailed upon to suffer it; whereupon *Jesus* told him, that though he could not see the reason of it now, he should be made sensible of it in time. But *Peter* still stiffly persisting in his refusal, was commanded immediately to submit, under the penalty of forfeiting all his right and title in him^p; which terrible threatening frightened him at length into a ready compliance (K). After *Jesus* had gone round with his

^k MATTH. xxii. 23, & seq. Vid. & parallel. ^l Ibid. vers. 32, & seq. ^m Ibid. vers. 42, & seq. MARK x. 35. LUKE, &c. ⁿ MATTH. xxvi. 6, & seq. MARK xiv. LUKE, &c. ^o Vid. LUKE xxii. 24. ^p JOHN xiii. 8.

(H) It doth not indeed appear that they had any notion of his divine nature, and therefore might be easily puzzled to answer this question; though it seems from some expressions in the gospel, that they had had some higher idea of him, than that of his being the bare son of *David* or deliverer of *Israel*. Thus *Nathanael* being convinced of his being the Messiah, addresses him with these words, *Rabbi, Thou art the Son of God, thou art the King of Israel* (1). Thus *Peter*, and *Martha* also, to name no more, affirmed him to be the Christ the Son of God, that was to come into the world (2).

However, the *Jews* have since found out a more effectual way of evading the force of this question, by affirming that *David* did not there speak of the Messiah, it never being the custom any where for the ancestors to give any of their successors the pompous title of their lord; but the meaning of *David*, according to them is, *the Lord* (God) *said unto my Lord Abraham, Sit thou on my right hand*, &c. (3), for *Abraham* being superior to *David* in point of geniture, might be properly called lord by him.

(1) The circumstances of these two actions are so alike in all parts, except the first being said to have happened at the house of *Lazarus*, and this last at that of *Simon* the leper (so called perhaps, be-

cause he had been lately cured of that distemper, either by *Jesus*, or by some other means) that it is not easy to know whether they were really two, or one and the same. We should be apter to suppose the last, were not the generality of commentators for the first. The house might belong to *Simon*, and go by his name, and *Lazarus* might be a tenant, and the master of the feast, and so both evangelists be reconciled.

(K) If ever a non-compliance to a command was justifiable, or even, we had almost said, commendable, it was certainly on this occasion, where it apparently flowed from the deepest regard which that apostle had of his master, as well as from the humblest sense of his own unworthiness. Since therefore *Jesus* was so far from admitting it as an excuse, that without giving him any further satisfaction, he bids him to obey under the most severe penalty; this whole circumstance seems to be transmitted to us as a warning, how we make our short-sighted reason the standard of our faith or obedience, in things plainly revealed, or expressly commanded. Since God is not obliged to give us, nor we indeed capable of comprehending his all-wise ends and purposes, whose ways and reasons must be allowed to be infinitely above our comprehensions.

(1) John i. 49. (2) Ibid. xi. 27. Matth. xvi. 16. (3) Vid. Munst. vers. Hebr. Matth. not. ult. in cap. 22.

- a humble task, he took up his upper garment, and addressed himself to the twelve in words to this effect: Ye rightly call me lord and master; for such I really am; if then you have seen me, for your example and encouragement, condescend so low as to wash your feet (which among the *Jews* was reckoned the lowest office a man could do to another) know and remember that those who pretend to be my disciples, must never think themselves above performing the lowest office of charity to one another. It is by such acts of mutual and sincere love, that men will know, and I acknowledge you for mine. A new command I leave with you, that as I have loved you, and did not think my life too dear a price to save you, so ye also love one another, and stop at no difficulty or discouragement, where the good of your fellow creatures, especially fellow christians, calls for your charitable assistance. Upon these conditions I leave you my peace, such a peace as neither the world can bestow on you, nor any thing make you capable of tasting the sweet influence of, but the divine virtue I am recommending to you ^{Recommends charity to them.}

AFTER these and some other heavenly discourses, with which he chose to entertain them during the short time he had to stay, that they might make the stronger impression on them; he concluded the whole with an elegant and pathetic description of the last day, when every man should receive the rewards of his deeds done in this life, according as they were either good or evil. And because he knew how apt men were to be more apprehensive of the divine anger for the commission of wilful crimes, than for the omission of such necessary duties, as he had been enforcing; and to find out a salvo to excuse their neglect of them; he chose to awaken them from that fatal mistake, by describing the general inquiry of that solemn day, as running chiefly on these last; that is, whether they had or had not fed the hungry, clothed the naked, visited the sick, and the like; and the retribution of his rewards or punishments, as chiefly dispensed according to their performance or neglect of those essential duties ^{Describes the day of judgment.}.

- WHILST he was instructing his disciples in these and many other excellent truths ^{Wednesday.}, the sanhe'drin were holding their consultations how to lay hands upon him, at some proper season, when the multitude were out of the way. As they therefore feared doing it during the approaching festival, lest they should cause some insurrection among the people, *Judas* came to their relief, and offered to betray him unto them ^{Judas betrays him.} for a certain reward, which they gladly agreed to, and paid him out of hand. The sum covenanted had been long ago foretold by one of the prophets, and we shall have occasion to speak more of it in the sequel. The feast of unleavened bread or passover being then just at hand, the *Jews* set about removing all the leaven from their houses, according to the *Mosaic* law, and preparing themselves for the celebration of that grand festival.

- Thursday* being come, in which *Jesus* was to celebrate his last, and most solemn ^{Thursday.} passover, he directed two of his disciples by a special token to a house in *Jerusalem*, where they should prepare all things for it; and he followed them thither with the rest of the twelve towards the evening. When they were set down on their couches, according to the custom of those countries, he drank a glass of wine, with which the master of the family always began the solemnity of the paschal lamb; after which, whilst they were eating, he told them with some concern, that one of them should betray him, pointing to *Judas*; that *Peter*, who had always appeared the most zealous, should thrice deny him; and that the rest should all forsake him on that very night; and reminded them of some prophecies, in which these things were written concerning him. At the conclusion of the supper, *Jesus* took the bread, and having broke and blessed it, distributed it among them, saying, *Take, eat, this is my body,* ^{Christ's last supper.} *which is given for you: do this in remembrance of me.* Then taking and blessing the cup of wine also, he said, *Drink ye all of this, for this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you, and for many, for the remission of sin (L).* He ended this

¹ De hoc vid. 1 SAM. XXV. 41.

² JOHN, *ibid.* & seq.

³ MATTH. XXVI. 31. ad fin.

⁴ JOHN XIV,

(L) We have contented ourselves with repeating the bare words of this divine institution, without venturing to give them any gloss that should seem to lean towards any of those various systems, which every church and sect has severally formed from

them; and which being not only endless, but out of our province, we gladly forbear entering further into, to avoid giving any offence.

The opposition which a considerable writer has of late met with from several quarters, upon his venturing

solemn rite, with assuring them, that this was the last wine he should drink; for the traitor's hand, which was shortly to betray him, was just ready to deliver him up to death; when all things that were written of his being numbered with the transgressors would have their full accomplishment*. The whole ceremony was closed as usual with a proper hymn (M); after which, *Jesus* having again exhorted his disciples to continue steadfast in their faith and reliance on him, and recommended them to the protection and care of his heavenly Father, by a most fervent and pathetic prayer, he ordered them to follow him over the brook *Kedron*†.

Enters the
doleful garden.

WHILST they were going to the mount of olives, to a place called *Gethsemane* (N), *Judas* slipped from them, and went to the high-priest's palace to get a sufficient number of hands to come and surprise *Jesus* in his retirement. *Jesus* on the other hand, being entered into the garden, where he usually resorted, bid some of his disciples to stay and watch near the entrance of it, whilst he took *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, further into the garden; that as they had been the witnesses of his glorious transfiguration, they might now be so of his present sorrows, and dreadful agonies. Having therefore earnestly enjoined them to be watchful, he parted from them about a stone's cast; where his human nature feeling the most violent struggles between flesh and spirit, at the apprehension of his future sufferings, he threw himself prostrate on his face, and with utmost fervency, mixed with the most submissive resignation to the heavenly will, he prayed, that, if it were, possible the dreadful cup might pass from him. He repeated the same prayer twice more, but with such fervency and resignation, that the vehemency of the struggle between those two passions, joined to the prospect of what he was to undergo from the malice of men and devils, threw him into an agony and bloody sweat, inasmuch that there was an angel sent on purpose to comfort and strengthen him under it (O)‡. By this time the traitor *Judas*, at the head of his armed gang, was far advanced into the garden, whilst the disciples were fallen into a sound sleep. *Jesus* therefore, having awakened them with the news of his enemies being at hand, went forward to meet them, whilst *Judas*, who led the van, came to offer him the treacherous kiss, which was to be the signal to the rest; who thereupon sur-

His agony and
prayer.

* MATTH. XXVI. 20, & seq. MARK XIV. 18, & seq. LUKE XXII. 1, & seq. &c. † JOHN XVI. & XVII. pass. ‡ LUKE XXII. 40, & seq.

turing to give the world his own particular one on that sacred subject, shews how dangerous it is to revive a controversy of this high nature, in which every side is so jealous of any word that glances even the least contradiction to their received doctrine.

And yet we cannot but own, that too tenacious a zeal seems in this last instance to have carried his opponents censures farther than is perhaps consistent with christian candor and charity. The small regard that is paid to that sacred institute by very great numbers, or on the one hand, and the visible neglect of it in others, from some mistaken dreadful apprehensions about it, might incline that writer to think his book and system excellently well calculated to obviate those two grand obstacles to a more frequent use of it.

As for those men, who from a firm and sincere persuasion, that God displays some further miracles of grace and mercy in that sacrament, find themselves inspired with greater love to God, and charity to men; with a greater propensity to virtue, and abhorrence to vice; and in a word, feel their minds and hearts more effectually attracted from earth to heaven; that author must be supposed too sagacious to have wrote his book for such men, since they could not come down to his notions of it, without being considerable losers by the change.

(M) Or rather what the *Jews* call the *Hallel*, consisting of six eucharistical psalms, beginning at the hundred and thirteenth, and ending with the hundred and eighteenth, and with which they used to close all those solemnities (4).

(N) So called probably from the Hebrew גת-השמן, *gath-hashemen*, the oil-press. For as the mount had

its name from the quantity of olive-trees that grew upon it, it is probable that this garden, which was at the foot of it, had a press in it; and this reconciles the evangelists, two of whom mention only the mount (5), another the garden (6), and the fourth the *gethsemane* or oil-press (7).

(O) This dreadful scene must be confessed to contain some mysteries far enough above our utmost capacities; but which we think may be much more reasonably and safely believed on the authority of the sacred writers, than the latter disputed on the account of the former. The whole economy of man's redemption is every-where represented to us as an unfathomable mystery of divine wisdom and goodness, and as the object of our belief, and not of our comprehension.

For this reason therefore it is that God has taken such care to confirm it to us by the most irrefragable evidence, by types and prophecies from the beginning, and by innumerable miracles and supernatural gifts accompanying the preaching of these saving truths. It was on that divine authority that the primitive christians received them, and sealed their faith in them with their lives; and it is on the same grounds that they have been conveyed to us through a succession of near seventeen centuries; and it will be time enough for us to give up the one, when infidelity has overthrown the other. Till when the imperfect notion we have of the mutual action of our souls and bodies, will be an effectual check how we presume to call in question, or to reconcile those opposite passions in the human to the divine nature of Christ.

(4) Vid. מוסף של פסח &c. *al. ritual. Jud.* (5) MATTH. XXVI. 30. LUKE XXII. 39. (6) JOHN XVIII. 1.

(7) MARK XIV. 32.

a rounded and made sure of him. In the interim *Peter* drew his sword, and struck off the ear of one of the high-priest's servants, but was severely rebuked for it by his master, who by a miraculous touch, healed the wounded person, and then suffered himself to be bound, and led away as a malefactor, without any other mark of resentment than his observing to them, that it was now their hour, in which the power of darkness was let loose against him. When the eleven heard this saying, they immediately forsook him, and fled according to his prediction (P), and the soldiers conveyed their prisoner first to *Annas*, the late high-priest, and father-in-law to *Caiaphas*, who was now in possession of that dignity, as we hinted a little higher out of the Jewish historian ¹.

b HERE they found the sanhedrin sitting, though at that late time of night, and waiting for *Jesus* to be brought before them, as he was accordingly; upon which the high-priest began to ask him several questions concerning his doctrine and disciples, in hopes to find either some heresy in the one, or rebellion in the other. *Jesus* contented himself with referring him to these last, whom he told them he had always taught in the most public manner, and who were therefore fittest to bear witness against him, if he had taught them any thing amiss. For this answer, just and modest as it was, an officer struck him a violent blow on the face; and *Jesus*, having given him a gentle reproof for his rashness, stood before them, with astonishing patience, and humble silence, whilst the instruments of the sanhedrin were busy in seeking out fresh evidence to put him to death. After much ado they brought a couple of fellows, who deposed that they had heard him brag that he would destroy the temple, and rebuild it in three days; but even their evidence jarring in some particulars, as the expression of *Jesus* was figurative, they dared not condemn him upon it; but were forced to have recourse to another expedient, which was to make him turn his own accuser. *Caiaphas* therefore, rising up, adjured him by the living God to answer directly to the supreme court, whether he was the Christ the son of God or not (Q); and upon his readily answering in the affirmative, and adding that they should hereafter be convinced of it, when they beheld him sitting at the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven; fell a rending his cloaths, which was not lawful for an high-priest to do², and pronounced him guilty of blasphemy. The rest of the court did readily join with him, and having pronounced him guilty of death, and ordered him to be brought early on the next morning to receive his sentence, they left him to the mercy of the guard, who made it the cruel diversion of that night to use him with the vilest indignities and blasphemies³.

c WHILEST this melancholy scene was acting, *Peter* and *John*, the latter of whom was known to some of the family, having recovered themselves from their last fright, had got admittance into the hall, willing to know what was likely to be determined concerning their master. Their courage however was soon cooled again, when they saw what treatment he underwent from an enraged and insulting rabble; so that *Peter*, being thrice challenged for one of his disciples, as often stily denied it, and rather than not be believed, bound it the last time with an oath. The cock crowing now the third time, put him in mind of *Jesus*'s prediction; but that which gave him a more lively sense of his cowardice and perfidy, was a pitying look which he received at that instant from that gracious and forgiving Saviour; upon which the tears gushing plentifully out of his eyes, he was forced to leave the hall to go and hide his grief and shame⁴.

EARLY on the next morning the chief-priests and sanhedrin being convened at their usual place, sent for *Jesus* to have him further examined, and to pronounce their final sentence upon him, in order to have it ratified by the Roman governor (R). In the

MEAN

¹ Antiq. l. xviii. c. 3. Vid. & Luke ubi supra, v. 54. MATTH. xxvi. 57. JOHN xviii. 12, & seq.
² Vid. LEVIT. xxi. 10, & alib. ³ MATTH. xxvi. 57 ad fin. MARK xiv. 53 ad fin. LUKE & JOHN. Vid. & ISA. l. 6. ⁴ JOHN xvi. 1, & seq. MATTH. LUKE, &c.

(P) Which he quoted to them out of the prophet (8); *I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered*. In the like manner the whole scene of his sufferings is most lively described by another prophet (9), who is therefore called evangelical, because his prophecy seem rather a rehearsal of things past, than a prophecy of what was to happen so many centuries off; as the sequel will presently shew.

(Q) Nothing could be more cunningly excogitated than this question, to which if he answered in the affirmative, they were ready to condemn him as a blasphemer, and if in the negative, as an impostor, and deceiver of the people.

(R) Not, as some have imagined, because the Romans had some years ago deprived that court of the power of life and death; for we shall meet with fe-

VERA

(8) Zechariah xiii. 7.

(9) Isai. liii. pass. & alib.

Judas's remorse.

mean time, *Judas* being surpris'd at what had pass'd within the sanhedrin, was stung with such lively remorse, that he came and threw the reward of his treachery down before them, owning himself the vilest of wretches, for having betrayed an innocent person to them; but they, regardless of his sorrow and despair, bid him look to it; upon which he went, and, as most versions render it, hanged himself (S) ^c. But those hypocritical judges were soon after taken with a quite different qualm of conscience, thinking it now unlawful to refund those thirty pieces of silver into the treasury, because it was the price of blood, though they had made no scruple to take them out of it, to purchase that very blood. After some deliberation therefore, they agreed to buy a potter's field with them, for a burying-place for strangers; and in so doing fulfilled an old prophecy, in which the number of pieces, the design for which they were given, the purchase made with them, and the potter, to whose share they came at last, were expressly foretold ^d. The field was accordingly bought soon after the feast was over, and from thence was called in their tongue, *Hacceldama*, or the field of blood ^e. It stood on the south-side of mount *Sion*, within a stone-cast of the pool of *Siloam*.

Jesus brought before Pilate.

As soon as the sanhedrin had ended their process against *Jesus*, he was hurried before the *Roman* tribunal, and there accused of perverting the people, raising seditions, setting up for a king, and forbidding tribute to be paid to *Cæsar*. They would not however venture into the prætorium, or judgment-hall, for fear of polluting them-

^c MATTH. XXVII. 5. Acts i. 18.

^d Conf. ZECAR. XI. 12, 13.

^e Vid. MATTH. ubi supra, vers. 7, & seq.

versal instances of the contrary in the sequel; in particular that of the protomartyr *Stephen*, who was regularly tried, condemned, and stoned, by their single authority (10), about a year after. But they seem to have had a double end in it; the one to throw the odium of his death, as much as possible, upon *Pilate*, and the *Romans*, as if he had condemned him for raising some rebellion against them; and the other, to make him undergo a more severe and ignominious punishment, and such a one as they could not inflict upon him by their own power, because it was not one of those that were prescribed by their law; concerning which the reader may, if he pleases, turn to our first volume [†]. So that their pretence of its not being lawful for them to put any man to death, was no farther true than in cases where the crime was against the state; of which the governor was the proper judge. But as to blasphemy, or any other against the *Jewish* religion, the instance above related of *St. Stephen*, plainly shews that they made no scruple to put the guilty person to death without the governor's consent.

Yet nothing of this was done without the direction of providence, since crucifixion was the death which it had been foretold by *David* he should undergo (11), and which he himself had likewise often hinted, both to the apostles, and to the rest of the *Jews* (12). Accordingly therefore, the accusation which they intended against him before *Pilate*, was of a civil nature: We have found, said they, this turbulent fellow raising up seditions, and forbidding to pay tribute to *Cæsar* (13).

It is true, indeed, when they found that this accusation could not determine that governor, who saw through their malice and injustice, to condemn him; they tack'd the other of blasphemy to it, and insist'd that their law made it capital; but this was only added to give more weight to their other accusation; upon which they wanted him to be condemned; as the sequel will shew.

However, it was necessary to observe these circumstances thus far here, against those, who from

the notion of the who's power of life and death being taken away before this time, have inferred that the sceptre spoken of by *Jacob* (14), was also departed from *Judah*. The contrary of which will be seen in its due place.

(S) The difficulty which interpreters have found to reconcile what is said of his hanging himself here, with what *St. Peter* says in another place (15), *That he fell headlong, and burst asunder, and his bowels gush'd out*, has made them fall into several conjectures, such as the breaking of the rope before he was quite dead, and his throwing himself down some precipice, which brought on the last dismal circumstances of his death, and the like ^{*}; all which is said without foundation.

What the same apostle says a little lower, and which the versions have, as we observed in a former note, misrendered, that he might go into his own place (16), has led others to look upon his fall, bursting, &c. as a further judgment on that unhappy wretch (17), who did yet shew the most lively tokens of a sincere repentance, viz. the most public acknowledgment of his crime, restitution of the ill-gotten money, reparation to the best of his power to the injured person, and an open condemnation of their unjust proceedings against him. Now all these difficulties might be easily removed, if they had rendered the words of *St. Matthew*, according to *Le Scene*, that he was suffocated, namely with grief, shame, and remorse, or, which is the same thing, died of a squinancy occasioned by it (18).

His falling on his face, which, as the same critic observes, is all that is implied by what we render, he fell, and others, he thrust himself headlong, and burst asunder, is, it seems, no more than what is common to people in that distemper; who fall down on their faces for want of breath, and commonly burst after it (19). This sense therefore will easily reconcile the two sacred historians, without either doing violence to the text, having recourse to improbable conjectures, or introducing the divine vengeance pursuing even his breathless carcase.

(10) Acts vi. 8, & seq. vii. per tot.

[†] Page 672, & seq.

(11) Ps. xxii. 16.

(12) Vid.

John iii. 14. xii. 32, 33.

(13) *Luke* xxiii. 2.

(14) *Gen.* xlix. 10. *Vid.* & *Vol.* I. p. 452, (G).

(15) *Vid.*

(15) Acts i. 18.

^{*} *Vid. Theophylact. Maldonatus. & al. in loc.*

(16) *Act.* *ibid.* vers. 25.

(17) *Vid.*

ins. al. Taylor's life of Christ, in loc. Echard eccl. hist. Tremell. Beza, & al.

(18) *Le Scene's Essay,*

part 2. c. 7. sect. 3.

(19) *Vid. eund. & aut. ab eo citat.*

selves,

- a selves, and becoming unfit for the approaching solemnity ; but desired the governor to come out to them, whilst they stood in the open place before his palace-gate. When *Pilate* heard the accusation, and found that it was cognizable by himself alone, he caused *Jesus* to be brought before his tribunal, where he asked him, whether he was really a king? *Jesus* readily answered him in the affirmative (T) ; but added at the same time, that his kingdom was not of this world ; for if it had, his servants would have fought in his defence, and saved him from falling into the hands of his persecutors. This was enough to convince the governor of the injustice of his accusation, which he already knew was the effect of some private malice they had against him. However, that he might know something more concerning his imaginary kingdom,
- b for such and no other he seems to have supposed it, he asked him again, Art thou really a king? To which he replied, I am indeed. For this cause was I born, that I might bear witness to the truth ; and none are my subjects, but such as obey the voice of truth. *Pilate* being still more out of conceit with this new kind of kingdom, contented himself with asking, what he meant by truth? and without staying for an answer, went out to the people, and told them that he could find no fault in their pretended criminal. When the *Jewish* rulers heard this, they were still more vehement in their accusations. *Pilate* therefore urged him to give some kind of answer to them ; but he who knew how vain it was to attempt it, made then no other defence than that of a surprising and invincible silence.
- c THE *Jews* took this opportunity to be more vehement in their invectives, in order to exasperate the fluctuating governor against him, by assuring him that he had filled not only *Jerusalem*, and all *Judæa*, but even all his own country of *Galilee*, with his seditious doctrine. As soon therefore as *Pilate* heard that he was of that country, and belonged to *Herod's* jurisdiction, he ordered him to be immediately sent to *Herod*.
Sent to Herod.
- d *Herod* was no less glad to see a person, of whom he had heard such wonders, and from whom he expected to have seen some signal miracles ; but *Jesus*, ready and liberal as he was of them to the poor and afflicted, disdained to work them, either to gratify the curiosity of such a tyrant, or to silence the malice of his enemies ; so that in spite of all their vehement accusations, and of *Herod's* scornful treatment of him, he would not so much as vouchsafe him an answer to any of his questions. *Herod*, affronted at his obstinate silence, and his own disappointment, began to treat him as a despicable person, and turned him over to his guards, with orders to send him back to *Pilate* ; and these after several rude indignities, arrayed him in a gorgeous robe of mockery, and brought him back to the hall of judgment. From this time however, *Pilate* and *Herod* laid aside all their resentment, and were perfectly reconciled to each other.
- e WHILEST this was doing, *Pilate's* wife had sent to warn him against having any hand in condemning of that just person, on whose account she had been terrified with some dreadful dreams that night. The *Romans* were very observing of these kinds of superstitions ; so that this message made him still more afraid to yield to the pressing instances of the tumultuous *Jews*. As soon therefore as *Jesus* was brought back to him,
Brought back to Pilate.
- f he came out to them, and plainly told them, that he could not condemn a person, in whom, after the strictest examination, he had not been able to find the least capital crime ; nor even *Herod* himself, who though much better acquainted with their laws, had sent him back to him absolved. I will therefore, added he, inflict some lighter punishment on him, and let him go. This proposal, instead of mollifying them, made them more instant to have him crucified. He bethought himself at length of another expedient, which he expected would have both saved him, and assuaged their fury. You know, said he to them, that it is a custom for your governors to release to you some one criminal on these festivals, whom you shall name. Tell me therefore, shall I deliver you this man, or *Barabbas*, who lies in prison for an insurrection and murder? He judged indeed, and reasonably too, that they would not carry their resentment or boldness so far, as to prefer a rebel and a murderer before an innocent person ; and therefore it was that he gave them only the choice of these two. But to his great surprise, the people, instigated by the priests and rulers, demanded
- Barabbas preferred to him.*

(T) Ours and some versions make his answer somewhat ambiguous, as if dared not to speak out, *Thou sayest it, or, thou sayest that I am a king; whereas,*

according to the *Hebrew* idiom, it should properly be rendered, *It is as thou sayest, I am indeed a king.*

Barabbas to be released, and *Jesus* to be crucified, in spite of all he could say in a his behalf.

*Jesus scourged
and mocked.*

SINCE therefore he could not work on their reason and conscience, he resolved to try what he could do on their pity, and ordered *Jesus* to be sent to the pillar, and to be severely scourged (U); which was accordingly done, and (as we may suppose, from the natural barbarity of the *Roman* soldiers, as well as from the additional indignities which they offered to him presently after) was executed with utmost severity. After they had untied him, the whole cohort gathered about him, threw a ragged purple robe about his mangled body, set a crown of thorns upon his head, and put a reed in his hand; and whilst some bowed the knee to him in mockery, and saluted him king of the *Jews*, others did buffet him, spit upon him, and use him with utmost insolence and inhumanity. *Pilate* thought this a proper time to bring him forth to them in this sad and deplorable guise, not doubting but the sight of so dismal an object would have melted them into pity and remorse. But he little knew the temper of the *Jews*, and that the more abject and miserable the person appeared, on whom they had fixed such great hopes and expectation, the more they would detest and abhor him. And so he found it happened on this occasion, though to his greatest surprize; and the very people, who but six days before, followed him with their loud *Hozannab*'s, could not now behold him in that abject state, without crying out with greater vehemence, *Away with him, crucify him*. *Pilate*, surprized at this horrid cruelty, refused again to comply, alledging that he found no fault in him; upon which the priests and elders finding it impossible to get him condemned for sedition, began to accuse him of blasphemy: We have a law, said they to him, which condemns him to death for calling himself the Son of God. At these last words, *Pilate* still more terrified, took him again to his tribunal, and asked him several questions, to which *Jesus* disdainingly answered, he tried again to provoke him to it, by reminding him that it was in his power to condemn or release him. *Jesus* gave no other answer to it, than by reminding him in his turn, that all his boasted power came to him from above, and that he should therefore be accountable for his abuse of it, though the greater guilt did fall on those who had delivered him up unto him. These last words made such an impression on the governor, that he went out to the people, fully determined, as he thought, at any rate to release him. But during this interval the priests and rulers, who knew but too well the temper of the *Roman* prætor, bethought themselves of an expedient which would quickly bring him into a compliance; so that before he could well discover his resolution to them, they began to cry out with one accord, and in a threatening tone, Thou art not *Cæsar*'s friend, if thou lettest a man go, who by assuming the royal title, and forbidding to pay the usual tribute, has declared himself his open enemy. This argument proved more powerful than all the rest, and *Pilate* now no longer daring to refuse their unjust demands, for fear of bringing his loyalty to *Cæsar* into question, having first washed his hands (W) before them all, and declared himself innocent of the blood of that innocent person, delivered him up to be crucified, and released the seditious murderer, according to their desire ^f.

*Accused of
blasphemy.*

*Condemned to
the cross.*

As soon as *Pilate* had pronounced that most unjust sentence against the most innocent of men, the *Roman* soldiers led him back to the hall, where they stripped

^f Vid. MATTH. xxvii. per tot. MARK xv. pass. LUKE xxiii. per tot. JOHN xviii. & xix. pass.

(U) This punishment was not like that used among the *Jews*, of which we have given an account in a former volume †, and did neither exceed forty stripes, nor was reckoned dishonourable, since even their monarchs were subjected to it. But among the *Romans*, it was very severe and shameful. The person being stripped naked, at least down to the girdle, had his hands tied to a ring fastened to a stone pillar, not above a foot and half high, if so much, so that his body was bent forward almost double, which gave such an advantage to the executioners, that the blows came down, as it were, with double force.

This particular part of our Saviour's suffering, is rightly supposed to be foretold by the psalmist (10), in these words; *The plowers plowed upon my back,*

and made long furrows. As likewise that of his being buffeted, and scornfully spit upon in the halls of the high-priest, and of the governor; by the prophet *Isaiah* (21), in these terms; *I gave my back to the smiters, and my cheeks to them that plucked off the hair; neither did I hide, or defend, my face from being shamefully spit upon*.

(W) This mock ceremony seems to have been a kind of form used by judges in cases of this unjustifiable nature. Else *Pilate* could not but be conscious, that all the water of the sea could not wash away the guilt of his unrighteous sentence; no! not, though the impious *Jews* did then pray that the sin and punishment of it might fall on them and their unhappy posterity (22).

† Vol. I. p. 672, & (A).
xxvii. 25.

(20) Ps. cxxix. 3.

(21) Ch. l. 6, & seq.

(22) *Matth.*

him

- a him of his mock royalty, and put on him his own garments; and having laid his cross on him, they led him with two other criminals out of the city (X), to a place called in *Hebrew*, *Golgotha*, and in *Latin*, *Calvary*, to be crucified. His tender body, quite spent with watching and sufferings, beginning to sink under its weight; they compelled a *Cyrenean Jew* †, named *Simon*, to help to bear his cross after him. In this doleful march he beheld some women melting into tears at the sight of his deplorable condition; but it seems as if the more dreadful fate, which waited the unhappy *Jews*, had made him quite insensible of his own misery; for turning to them with usual compassion, he bid them rather weep at the more dismal prospect of their future ruin; when their calamities would make them wish their wombs had been barren, and their
- b breasts incapable of yielding any nourishment to a generation, whose infidelity would shortly render them the sad objects of the divine vengeance, and the scorn and hatred of the world ‡.

- I τ was now about the sixth hour of the day, answering to our mid-day (Y), when they came to the place, where they offered him some wine mixed with myrrh (Z), which, when he had tasted, he refused to drink. They then stripped him of his cloaths, and extending his body on the cross, fastened him to it, with nails driven through his hands and feet, whilst he was earnestly praying to his Father to forgive them a deed which they committed through ignorance. After which they reared up the cross, and fixed it on the ground, so that his body hung on four wounds, made
- c on the most tender and sensible parts of the body. With him they crucified two malefactors (A), one on each side, according to that oracle, which foretold his being

Jesus crucified
between two
thieves.

† De his vid. sup. pag. 31. a. & (D).

‡ Luke xxiii. 27. & seq.

(X) The *Jews* suffered no criminals to be put to death in any of their cities, much less in the metropolis; and this was done in imitation of what had been practised in their camps in the wilderness (23), and was typified by the red heifer and scape-goat, of which we have spoken in a former volume *; so that Christ, the grand propitiatory victim, was led, laden with the sins of mankind †, to be offered up without the gates of *Jerusalem*.

Golgotha or *Calvary* was a rocky hill on the west side of the city (24), and was a kind of charnel store-house, from which it had those names, which signify the place of a skull, probably from its resemblance to it; and was also made use of for a place of execution.

It is supposed by the ancient fathers to have been the mountain where *Abraham* went to sacrifice his son. Some of them add, on the authority of a *Jewish* tradition, that the skull of *Adam* had been there buried by *Shem*, to whom his father gave it in charge after the flood, as it was he who was to people the holy land (25).

(Y) The difference between St. *Mark*, who calls it the third hour (26), and the other two evangelists, who call it the sixth (27), is easily reconciled by their different ways of dividing the day, namely, either into twelve hours, beginning at the sun-rise (28), which the two last follow, and into four parts, called also hours; but which they distinguished only by three, six, nine, and twelve; and these were the usual hours to repair to the temple or synagogues, &c. to pray (29); and to this last way of reckoning the former seems to allude, calling it the third hour, probably because the sixth was not quite begun. Perhaps also is he there speaking, not of his real crucifixion, but of the *Jews* obtaining *Pilate's* sentence of it against him, which was certainly near the third hour, or our nine of the clock in the morning.

(Z) This mixture was probably given to intoxi-

cate the sufferers, that they might be less sensible of their torment; and *Jesus* might refuse it upon that very account, because it became him, who was then going to offer himself a free and voluntary sacrifice to God for the sins of men, and was to shew them a pattern how to bear afflictions with due resignation to the divine will; to avoid a thing which might too far discompose his thoughts, and shew too ill a precedent to his followers.

One of the evangelists makes this mixture consist of myrrh and wine (30), and another of vinegar and gall (31). Hence some suppose; that though the former was usually given on such occasions, yet the soldiers out of spite and contempt gave him the latter, which would have a contrary effect. But we much doubt whether the *Romans*, naturally delighting in being cruel to persons in misery, could be capable of so much compassion towards criminals. Their barbarous sports and spectacles argue rather the reverse. Besides, the *vinum myrrhatum*, we are told (32), was highly esteemed by them, in so much that one of the laws of the twelve tables forbade their dead to be washed, or sprinkled with it. And who can imagine that they would bestow it on such criminals as they condemned to this kind of death, which was held in the greatest ignominy and reproach among them?

It is more likely, that the evangelist, who wrote in the *Hebrew* or *Syriac*, made use of the word מר, *mar*, which signifies bitterness, or any bitter ingredient, and that his translator mistook it for מור, *mor*, myrrh; and thus the two evangelists will be reconciled, and the prophecy fulfilled, *They gave me gall to eat, and in my thirst, vinegar to drink* (33). For the whole tenor of this psalm seems to be a continued prophecy of Christ's sufferings, as well as of that judicial blindness, ruin, and dispersion, which fell on the impenitent *Jews* (34).

(A) These are reasonably supposed to have been two of the gang of those free-booters, whom the *Jews*

(23) De hoc vid. Ins. al. Vol. I. p. 528. d. 557. & note. * Ibid. 619. (V). 622. c. & (Z). † Ibid. in fin. not. (Z). (24) See the map of the city. (25) Hieron. Euseb. Tertul. Orig. & al. multis. (26) Ch. xv. 34. (27) Luke xxiii. 44. John xix. 14. (28) Vid. Matth. xxi. 3. & seq. John xi. 9. (29) Ut Aët. iii. 1. x. 9. De his vid. & Drus. in loc. Goodwin, Moses & Aët. l. iii. c. 1. scilicet. 6, 7, & seq. (30) Mark xv. 23. (31) xxvii. 34. (32) Vid. Plin. l. xiv. c. 13. (33) Ps. lxi. 21. (34) Vid. a vers. 22. ad fin.

being numbered with transgressors ^b. Pilate had likewise ordered the title of his accusation to be fixed to the cross; it was written in *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latin*, the three most known tongues at that time, and in these words; *Jesus of Nazareth, king of the Jews*. The chiefs were therefore highly affronted at it, and came to beg of Pilate to have it altered, and instead of calling him king of the *Jews*, to have it inserted that he assumed that title to him. But he as stiffly refused it, and sent them away with this haughty answer, *What I have written, I have written*. Here, whilst the soldiers, who were set to watch him, fulfilled another prophecy of him, in the division they made of his garments, and casting lots on his robe, because it was without seam, and woven from top throughout ^c; the priests and elders were verifying another, in the scornful taunts and injurious reflections they cast upon him in the height of his anguish, and dying pangs. He saved others, said they, in a deriding tone; but cannot save himself: he pretended to trust in God, let him now deliver him, if he had such delight in him ^b. Their example was followed by all the multitudes that were gathered to see the dismal sight. The very criminals, who were crucified on each side, could not forbear reviling him, till one of them, stung at last with some lively remorse, gave his fellow-sufferer a severe rebuke for his impiety; then addressing himself to the suffering *Jesus*, who was then, more than ever, touched with a feeling of our infirmities, and sympathizing with his torments and agonies; in the humblest terms confessed his own guilt; and in that pathetic and glorious confession he made of him, whilst under the same shameful sentence and punishment, gave such a signal instance of his faith and piety, as no age of the christian church since that time could ever parallel (B); and for which he received this comfortable assurance, from him that had the keys of life and death, *This day shalt thou be with me in paradise* ^c.

Reviled by the
priests, &c.

The penitent
thief forgiven.

WHILST *Jesus* hanged on the cross, he beheld his sorrowful virgin mother standing by, on whom was now verified the saying of old *Simeon*, that a sword should pierce her very soul; and with her stood his beloved disciple, with *Mary Magdalen*, and some other women. The sight of her grief, which must be supposed to be beyond expression at this dismal juncture, revived his tenderness for her; so that being now come to the last period of his life, he recommended her to the care of that favourite disciple, intreating them to shew to each other from thenceforward the endearing duties of mother and son; and from that time *John* took her to his own house ^d. In the mean time a horrid darkness overspread the face of the earth; the sun hid, as it were, himself from so dismal a sight (C); all the spectators were seized with a sudden terror and

^b Conf. *ISAIA* liii. ult. & *MARK* xv. 28. *LUKE* xxii. 37, xxiii. 33. ^c Conf. *PS.* xxii. 18. & *LUKE* xxiii. 34. *JOHN* xix. 24. ^d Conf. *PS.* xxii. 7, 8. & *MATTH.* xxvii. 41, & seq. ^e *LUKE* ibid. 39, & seq. ^f *JOHN* xix. 25, & seq.

Jews called *Ῥοιδῶν*, *liffessin*, and the *Romans* *pradones*; such as, we have observed in a former section, used to infest those countries, and had given *Herod* so much trouble to suppress.

(B) This remarkable circumstance is the more worthy being observed in all its parts, because many a wicked person have flattered themselves with a dangerous notion, that some such short ejaculation at their last agonies, will meet with the like success, though in every other particular quite opposite to him.

He sees *Jesus* rejected and condemned by his whole nation, who had been witnesses of his stupendous works; sentenced by the *Romans*; reviled by the *Jewish* priests and elders; forsaken by his own disciples; undergoing a most ignominious and excruciating death; and yet under all those disadvantageous circumstances acknowledges him a King, a Saviour, and a Lord. He proclaims the unrighteousness of his sentence, and the justice of his own: he declares his faith and hope in him; his belief of another life; and so submissive is he under his torments, that instead of praying to be delivered from them, either by some miracle, or by a speedy death, his extreme humility will not suffer him to ask for more than a bare remembrance of him, when he came into his kingdom.

(C) This darkness was the more miraculous, because it happened in the time of the opposition of the two luminaries, when consequently there could be no eclipse of the sun. For we have formerly observed, that the passover began in the full moon ^a; besides, the total darkness of the sun's eclipses lasted but at most twelve or fifteen minutes; whereas this is recorded to have lasted three full hours (35). Whether it reached the whole hemisphere, or only the land of *Judah*, is not easily determined, the ancient fathers being divided about it. *Origen* and some others confined it to the latter (36), whilst others (37) extend it over the former. These quote the famous astronomer *Phlegon*, the free-man of the emperor *Adrian*, who affirms, that in the fourth year of the CCII olympiad, which is supposed to be that of the death of *Christ*, there was such a total eclipse of the sun at noon-day, that the stars were plainly to be seen. It has indeed been disputed whether this year of *Christ*'s crucifixion answered to that of the olympiad abovementioned; and what is there of this nature that some bold critics will not dispute? but we shall refer our readers for a fuller view of the controversy to the learned doctor *Dawson*'s dissertation on that subject. *Tertullian*, in his usual elegant way, refers the hearers to their public records for this surprising phenomenon, wherein mid-

^a Vol. I. p. 500, a, b. 602, a, & seq. & alii.

(35) Vid. *Matth.* xxvii. 45.

(36) In *Matth.* ubi supra.

(37) *Jul. African.* ap. *Syncl.* *Emab.* in *chronic.* *Hieron.* & al.

amazement,

a amazement. Some returned to *Jerusalem*, smiting their breasts, and proclaiming him a righteous man, whilst the rest, more hardened, stood in a kind of mournful silence, expecting the event. This unnatural darkness and disorder, which lasted from the sixth to the ninth hour, that is, from noon to three of the clock after it, was followed by a greater, when *Jesus*, quite spent with pain and anguish, cried out, *Eli, Eli, Lama Sabachtani* (D); and having tasted the mingled vinegar, which was offered to

night happened at noon day (38). And *Suidas* introduces *Dionysius* the *Areopagite*, then at *Heliopolis*, in *Egypt*, exclaiming himself to his friend *Apollophanes* concerning this unnatural eclipse; that either the Author of nature suffered, or was sympathizing with the sufferer.

(D) Or, which is more probable, repeated the whole twenty-second psalm, of which those are the title, or first words, and in which there are the most lively strokes of all the remarkable particulars of his passion; some of which we have already quoted, others we have elsewhere explained in a manner wholly new, and yet satisfactory, as we have found, to many of our readers *. The word *נִבְּחָנִי*, *habachtani*, here used, instead of the Hebrew *נִבְּחָנִי*, *hazabithani*, shews that it was quoted out of the *Chaldee* paraphrase, which was then the most in use, and in which alone that word is to be found (39). So that he seems here to have, as it were, reminded his heavenly Father, how he was now fulfilling all those prophecies contained in that psalm, which is a kind of epitome or summary of all the other oracles relating to his sufferings and death. In consequence of which, he was praying to him that he would make good to him, and to his spiritual posterity, that is, to his church; all those gracious promises which are contained in the latter part of the same psalm, from the twenty-second verse to the end.

The Jews therefore, who knew that there was no other way, then to quote either a psalm, or any other section of holy writ, but from the first words of it, as we have elsewhere shewn †, might have saved their invectives against Christ, as if he had been then seized with a kind of despair (40), and objecting to him the words of the psalmist, *I never saw the righteous forsaken*, &c. (41). Our commentators might likewise have saved themselves the trouble of accounting for this seemingly despairing exhortation, from the supposition that the Deity had wholly withdrawn every spark of comfort and hope from him, whilst he was thus undergoing the punishment due to sin; some of whom have carried it to such a height, as cannot be read without horror (42). Whereas the supposition above-mentioned, that he was then repeating this noble psalm, which after the capitulation of his unparalleled sufferings, concludes with the most comfortable promises both to him and his followers; shews him to have been so far from either doubt or despair, that he comforted himself under the terrible weight of the former by the assured prospect of the latter. And that he really died in this godlike temper of mind, all the other circumstances of his passion and death, as well as his last dying ejaculations, and the noble testimony which the centurion gave of it, do plainly shew.

And here we beg leave to make one remark more on the elaborate metrical version, mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, wherein that learned prelate, speaking of the psalm we are now upon, thinks to have found in it such difference of style, matter,

&c. that he cannot forbear supposing they are two different psalms, absurdly tacked together by the Jews, and which ought to be divided at the twenty-second verse above-mentioned, where a kind of new theme seems to begin.

But with due submission to his lordship's great judgment, we think this difference of style, &c. highly consistent with the two fold design of it, the one to foretel the great humiliation of Christ, and the other to shew his glorious exaltation immediately following it (43). The subject of those two prophecies being vastly different, it could hardly be otherwise, but the style must be so likewise. We may add, that the fifty-third chapter of *Isaiah*, which runs almost parallel in both their cases, and is allowed by all christians, as it was once by the ancient Jews, to relate to the Messiah (44), might be as properly divided into two, as this psalm; which yet never came into any man's head, on account of that difference, or any other. No not even in that of the Jews, though so closely pinched by it, that they have even ventured to split the person there spoken of into two.

Before we dismiss this noble psalm, we beg leave to answer an objection which the latter raise against our reading in the sixteenth verse, *וְנָדְוּ, carne, they pierced my hands*, &c. instead of *וְנָדְוּ, carne, which they pretend is the true reading, and signifies like a lion*, as if the meaning had been, my hands and feet, like those of a lion; (to which they were forced to add to make it sense,) were watched or observed. And this exchange of the latter for the former they do not scruple to charge us with, as done designedly by the sacred historian (45).

As we have no manuscript of so old a date as to be able to decide the matter on either side, it might be a sufficient answer to observe to them the unlikelihood, that St. *Matthew*, who was a converted Jew, and wrote in a language so well understood by the whole nation, should dare to quote a passage so contrary to its received reading and sense, if theirs had really been the right one.

We might tell them farther, that by their own confession the septuagint version had altered the sense of several texts of scripture, which they thought looked derogatory of either their law-giver, or of the Messiah. Of this last nature was the changing of the words of the text, *Mine ears hast thou bore, for a body hast thou prepared for me*. Concerning which we have spoken more fully in our first volume ‡; to which we might add, that *Justin Martyr* charges them (46) with having made many other more considerable alterations, and in particular with having expunged the words *ἀπο τοῦ ξύλου* out of the tenth verse of the ninety-sixth psalm, when both that version, and the ancient *Latin* one made from it, called *Vetus Latina*, read, *Dicite in gentibus, Dominus regnavit à ligno*; which last words are likewise to be seen in some other versions in the same tongue (47); and is it not more reasonable to think, that when the old *Masoretes* came to find what use was made

(38) *Apolog. c. 21.*

* *Vid. Vol. I. p. 612. in fin. (Z).*

(39) *Vid. Munst. in Ps. xxii. note b. Frid.*

connect. pars. 2. l. 8. sub an. A. C. 27.

(40) *וְנָדְוּ, carne, & al. comments. in Psal.*

(41) *Psal. xxxvii.*

24, 25. & alib.

(42) *Vid. ins. al. Calvin. in loc. & institut.*

(43) *De hoc vid. Philip. 11. 8. & 9.*

(44) *Vid. ins. al. Mori Diatrib. in Isai. liii. praef. & not. pass. & parallelism. ins. loc. & nov. test. script.*

(45) *Vid. ins. al. Auct. lib. Nitzachon. ‡ Pag. 614. not. (N)*

(46) *Dialog. cons. Tryph.*

(47) *Vid.*

Orig. hexapl. in loc. Palster. pentaglot. August. in Ps. in loc.

inbitter his last gasp, recommended his spirit into the hands of his heavenly Father, ^a and in an agony of prayer yielded up the ghost.

The strange
prodigies which
happened at his
death.

FOR immediately upon his expiring, the frame of nature fell, as it were, into convulsions: the earth quaked, the rocks were cleft asunder, the graves opened, the dead raised; and the veil which covered the most holy place, was rent in twain from the top to the bottom, uncovering thereby those mysteries of the *Mosaic* dispensation, which had now in his death their full accomplishment; in token of which he broke out in his last agonies with those signal words, *It is finished*. Here the centurion and infidel soldiers, observing his meek and pious exit, and the miraculous circumstances which attended it, were struck with such admiration and dread, that they confessed him to be the Son of God ^b. Not so did the *Jewish* priests and elders, who remained inflexible in spite of all these prodigies, and pursued their malice to the utmost, and without the least relenting. It was now past three of the clock, the time in which the evening lamb was daily offered up; and this was the eve of their sabbath, and of one of their grand festivals; that the solemnity of it therefore might not be sullied or disturbed by the hanging of the three bodies on the cross ^c, they went to beg of *Pilate*, that he would order their legs to be broke, and that they might be taken down, and carried off. This was immediately executed on the two criminals; but when they came to *Jesus*, and found him already dead, they broke not his legs, but one of the soldiers seemingly out of wantonness struck his lance into his side, which immediately issued forth water and blood. These last circumstances happened, not without a peculiar direction of providence, not only as they fully assured us of his being really dead, ^c but as they verified two signal prophecies concerning him; the one, that not a bone of his should be broken ^d; and the other, that they, the inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, should behold him whom they had pierced ^e.

Christ embalmed
and buried.

WHILST these things were transacting on mount *Cavalry*, *Joseph* of *Arimathea* (E), a wealthy and honourable *Jewish* ruler, and a secret disciple of *Jesus*, but yet of such courage and integrity, as to protest against their violent and unjust proceedings against him, went boldly to *Pilate*, and begged leave to take down and bury his sacred remains. *Pilate* at first could scarcely believe that he could be so soon dead, but being assured of it by the centurion, he readily granted his request. *Joseph* had ^d a garden adjoining to the place, in which he had hewn a new tomb in the rock, which he designed for himself, but was now by a particular providence better disposed of, and was made the repository of his master's body. We have formerly observed in what manner criminals that died by the hands of justice were to be buried apart ^f; but in reconding him in this maiden grave, they seem to have fulfilled another signal prophecy in the same chapter of *Isaiab*, where the history of his sufferings is so lively represented, and where this remarkable circumstance is foretold, that though he was

^a MATTH. XXVII. 50, & seq. ^b De hoc Vid. DEUT. XXI. 22, & seq. & Vol. I. p. 673, 2. ^c Vid. EXOD. XII. 46. NUMB. IX. 12, & alib. ^d ZECHAR. XII. 10. Conf. cum JOHN XIX. 36, & seq. ^e See Vol. I. p. 672, & seq.

made of this text against them, they might at first slide the *קרי* in the margin, or *keri*, and by degrees change that into the *ketib*; than to suppose an evangelist to be guilty of such a manifest and wilful corruption. Those who are unacquainted with the terms of *keri* and *ketib*, may see what we have said of them at the beginning of this chapter ^{*}.

But let the words have slipped in or out of the text as they will, as long as they own that *קרי* is the true reading, it will be sufficient to answer them with the learned *Hettinger*, in his dissertation on that word, that it may as well be the participle *קרי*, and so signify as properly piercing, the *&* being there euphonical or hemantic; in which case the sense will run still more elegant and agreeable to the *Hebrew* idiom, which often uses the participle for the verb, piercing my hands and my feet; whereas, take the *caari* in the *Jewish* signification, the sense is imperfect, and must be supplied with a far-fetched verb, to make it intelligible.

However, we are far enough from allowing this

last to be the true ancient reading; the contrary has been fully proved from the septuagint version, which read it as we do, *Carn*; and from the confession of several rabbi's, as the reader may see, among many more, in the two learned authors quoted in the margin (48).

(E) The same which is called in the sacred *Hebrew* books *Ramah*, and *Ramathah*, and signifies a high place; and this is the reason why we meet with several of the same name, which have been confounded one with another. This therefore here spoken of by the evangelists, and which St. *Jerom* places between *Joppa* and *Lydda* (49), and some modern travellers on an eminence between the former and *Jerusalem*, being consequently on the west of that metropolis, was very different from *Ramathaim Zophim*, *Samuel's* native place, which was situate on the north of it. As the reader may see by comparing *Saul's* journey in search of his father's asses (50), with the map of *Palestine* (1).

^{*} Pag. 14. (Z). (48) Bochart. hieroz. p. 1. L. iii. c. 6. Hars in Pf. xxii. note 35. (49) Epitaph. in Paul. (50) 1 Sam. ix. 4, & seq. (1) Vid. Rel. Palest.

- a numbered (in his death) with the transgressors, yet he should have his grave among the great or wealthy¹. *Nicodemus*, another of his private disciples, assisted at this doleful rite; and these two having hastily embalmed the body with a large quantity of myrrh and aloes, and wrapt it in a new winding sheet, deposited it into this new sepulchre, wherein no corps had as yet been laid; and covered the mouth of it with a large stone, not to be removed but by a good number of hands; after which they went to prepare themselves for the celebration of the ensuing solemnity². In the mean while the jealous *Jews* went to *Pilate*, and acquainted him, that *Jesus*, whom they there style this deceiver, had formerly boasted that he would rise again on the third day; and that it was therefore highly necessary to have his tomb well guarded till then, lest his disciples should privately steal him away, and then give out that he was really risen, which would make the last mistake more dangerous than the first. *Pilate* easily agreed to what they asked, and to prevent any imposition of that kind, told them, Ye have a guard (F); go ye therefore and make every thing as sure as you can. So they went and set a guard at the door of the sepulchre, and set their seal upon the stone³; and by their extraordinary care to prevent any private attempt, made the truth of his resurrection appear in the stronger light, as we shall see in the next section.

His tomb sealed and guarded.

¹ Isaiah liii. 9. Vid. MOR. distrib. in loc. & parallel. in fin. ² MATTH. xxvii. 57, & seq. MARK xv. 42, &c. LUKE xxiii. 50, &c. JOHN xix. 38, & seq. ³ MATTH. xxvii. 62. ad fin.

(F) We think there is here a material circumstance, which has hitherto past unobserved, and which still more secures the truth of Christ's resurrection, viz. his tomb being guarded, not by a *Roman*, but a *Jewish* watch. The former might have been liable to suspicion, and these *Pagan* soldiers, little minding whether the *Jews* or Christ's disciples were most in the right, might have been bribed by the latter to connive at an attempt to impose on a whole nation, which they hated and despised. But a *Jewish* guard, or, as they are elsewhere called, the officers and band of the high-priests (2), and were perhaps the same who had so lately brought him from the garden into that pontiff's palace, where they had made him suffer so many indignities, these, we say, could not be supposed to join in such a cheat.

Now this seems to be the reason why *Pilate*, who by his late behaviour seems to have entertained

a much higher notion of Christ, might now be so far apprehensive of his keeping his promise, that to prevent all suspicion from him or his soldiers, he tells the *Jewish* chiefs, You have a guard of your own; make the best use you can of it. We do not however pretend to insinuate, that they were permitted by the *Romans* to keep any troops of militia of their own; but only, that since the high-priesthood had been joined to the royalty in the time of the *Maccabees*, they used to have a considerable body of life-guards, it is more than probable, that after those two dignities were parted, the pontiffs were still allowed the same, though perhaps in a less number, or else it will be difficult to guess what to make of those soldiers and officers of the high-priest, which are so often met with in the gospels, and in the acts.

(2) Vid. JOHN xviii. 3. Conf. enm vii. 32, 45. MATTH. xxvi. 47. MARK xv. 43. ACTS iv. 1, & alib.

S E C T. VII.

The history of the Jews from Christ's resurrection to the total destruction of their city and temple, and dispersion of that people.

- a WE have hitherto seen *Jesus Christ* the Son of God in his lowest humiliation, despised, rejected, and abhorred; persecuted, tried and condemned to a death of utmost shame and ignominy; expiring on a cross, and laid in a grave, and in all these respects in the lowest and most abject condition of a man. The third day after his death, being the first day of the week, or our *Sunday*, and the fifth of *April*¹, offers him to our view in his glorified state, and risen again from the dead, according to his own promises, and the oracles written of old concerning him². By the earliest dawn of this day, those pious women, who had accompanied him through his last three years travels, and had prepared a costly mixture to embalm his body, not dreaming at least of his so sudden resurrection, made their way towards the place, where they had seen him deposited two days before. They do not seem to have known any thing of a guard being set over it, their great concern was only how to

Christ rises from the dead.

¹ Vid. USSER. ann. sub A. M. 4036, p. 843.

² Conf. Psalm xvi. 10. & ACT. ii. 31. & alib.

The angel's
speech to the
women.

get the ponderous stone rolled from the entrance. But that obstacle was already ^a taken off by a miraculous earthquake, which had likewise put the guards to flight, so that at their arrival they found the stone rolled on one side, and an angel clothed in a refulgent array sitting upon it. Their surprise was still greater, when they heard the heavenly messenger reprove their officious, but untimely piety, in words to this effect: Why seek ye the living among the dead, forgetful of what he often repeated to you, that he was to suffer death, and to rise again on the third day? Behold the place where he was laid, and from which he is risen, and go and acquaint his disciples with it, and tell them, that he will meet you in *Galilee* according to his promise. They did so accordingly, and with the greatest joy and wonder, went and told them what they had seen and heard; but those, still backward to believe, ^b looked upon it as the effects of fancy and delusion ^c.

Two of them however had the curiosity to run to the sepulchre: *John*, who was the youngest of the two, came first; and stooping down, found that the body was really gone; but when *Peter* came next, he went into the place along with that beloved disciple, and to their surprise found the grave-cloaths, and the napkin, not hastily and confusedly thrown by, but neatly folded up separately; upon which they began to entertain some hopes, and returned to acquaint the rest with the news ^d. Whilst they were thus together, and the women with them, *Mary Magdalen*, who had stayed in the garden, prying about to find whether the body had not been removed to some other place; came hastily to them, and assured them that the Lord had appeared to her there ^e. But neither could this further confirmation dispell either their sorrow or unbelief; till *Jesus* at length came and shewed himself to them, gave them a gracious *All hail*, and bid them be of good comfort, for he was alive again, and according to his promise, would shortly meet them in *Galilee*. In the mean time the frightened guards leaving the garden with utmost speed and confusion, went to acquaint the chief-priests and rulers with what had happened; upon which a counsel was immediately called: here one might have reasonably expected they would either have yielded to so much evidence, or at least suspended all further resolutions, till they had made a full inquiry into the fact. But instead of that, they rather chose at any rate to suppress a truth, which was sure to cast the deepest guilt on their late unjust sentence against *Christ* ^f; and accordingly bribed the watch with a good round sum, to give out, that his disciples had stolen him away whilst they were asleep, promising them at the same time, that if the matter came to the governor's ears, they would find means to pacify him, and bear them harmless. Upon which they went and spread abroad that report, which was readily swallowed by the greatest part of the *Jews*, and went still current among them for many years ^g (A).

ON that evening two of the disciples going to a village called *Emmaus*, distant about sixty furlongs, or eight miles north-west of *Jerusalem*, were discoursing with each other about the strange transactions of the day, when *Jesus* overtook them, and without making himself known, asked them the cause of their melancholy entertainment. *Cleophas*, one of the two, in a kind of surprise, that he should seem so great a stranger to the transactions of the last week, began to give him an account both of them, and of those of that day; particularly their surprise at the vision, which the women had seen at the sepulchre, concluding the whole with a kind of complaint, that though they had hitherto looked upon *Jesus* as the future deliverer of their unhappy nation; yet it being now three days since they had seen him expire on a shameful cross, their hopes were almost at an end, in spite of the women's report of his resurrection,

^a MATTH. xxviii. 1, & seq. MARK xvi. 1, & seq. LUKE xxiv. 1, & seq. JOHN xx. 1, & seq.
^d JOHN ibid. vers. 3, & seq. ^e Ibid. vers. 15, & seq. ^f Vid. int. al. ACTS v. 28. ^g MATTH. xxviii. 9, & seq.

(A) So says the evangelist (1). But the *Jews* have since found out another way to oppose this signal truth, by denying that of his crucifixion, under pretence that it was a punishment unusual and unwarranted among them. We have had frequent occasion to mention this and some others of their poor and shameful evasions, and shall not repeat them here.

Much less shall we take upon us to answer all

the cavils which our modern sceptics have raised against this important article, which has been so strenuously defended by so many abler hands, and more particularly of late by a very learned pen, and in a manner wholly new, but so convincing, that nothing need be added to it (2), as indeed nothing has or can be replied to it.

(1) Matth. xxviii. 15.

(2) Trial of the witnesses, pass.

- a** and its being in some measure confirmed by some of the apostles, who had been that morning at the sepulchre. Here *Jesus* took occasion to blame their want of faith, not only in him, but in the scriptures, where both his sufferings and death, resurrection and glory, were so plainly foretold, and to give them a thorough exposition of them from the first to the last. By this time they were got to the village, where *Jesus* made a shew as if he designed to go farther; but they had been so comforted by his discourse, that they intreated him to spend that night with them, the evening being then just upon closing. He went in with them accordingly, and being sat down at table, began with the breaking of the bread, as he had been wont to do; upon which they knew him, and he immediately vanished. This surprising discovery, added to the warmth
- b** which their hearts had felt, whilst he expounded the scriptures to them on the road, would not suffer them to tarry longer there; but they went to communicate their joy that very night, to the rest that were then gathered together at *Jerusalem*, and who acquainted them at the same time with his having appeared unto them ^h.

ALL these circumstances had been so far from convincing them hitherto, that they rather concluded from his so sudden disappearing, that they had only seen some spirit in his likeness. They seemed still more confirmed in it, when being sat down to supper, with the gates fast, for fear of the *Jews*, he surprized them with his presence, and gave them his usual salutation, *Peace be to you*. To convince them therefore of their mistake, he commanded them to draw near, and consider his pierced

c hands and feet, handle his body, and satisfy themselves by all proper means, that he was no spirit or phantasm, but their real risen lord and master. Whilst they were still fluctuating between joy and doubt, he reminded them of his former promises, explained those oracles to them, in which these things were presignified of him, renewed his former commission and power to them to preach and confirm his gospel, and left them for that night with his usual blessing, full of joy and wonder, to collect and compare the several transactions of that glorious and signal day (B) ⁱ.

Appears to the twelve at supper.
Year of the flood 3029.
Of Christ 3336;

- Thomas*, one of the eleven apostles, called *Didymus*, happened to be absent when this happened; so that when the rest informed him of it, he plainly told them that he should never believe it, till he had thrust his fingers into the print of the nails,
- d** and his hand into his wounded side. Eight days after, being the twelfth of *April*, *Jesus* appeared again unto them, when *Thomas* was there, and invited him to come and take that full demonstration, which he had so stiffly insisted on; but the incredulous servant being now fully assured without it, fell at his gracious feet, and with an humble ecstasy of joy, confessed him to be his Lord and his God; upon which he was dismissed with this gentle reproof; *Thou believest, Thomas, because thou hast seen; but blessed are they that have not seen, and yet believe* ^k. Some days after, they all left *Jerusalem*, and went according to his appointment into *Galilee*; where he appeared again unto them, and after his usual salutation, said unto them, *All power is given me in heav'n and earth. Go therefore and preach to all nations; baptizing them in the name*
- e** *of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, &c.* ^l Seven of them being soon after gone to the sea-side to fish, namely *Peter, John, James, Thomas, Bartholomew, or Nathanael*, and two others, not named, and having toiled all night in vain, *Jesus* manifested himself again to them in the morning, by the kind and known token of a beneficial miracle; and after they had dragged their loaded net to the shore, condescended to eat and drink with them. After breakfast, *Jesus* addressing himself to *Peter*, asked whether he loved him more than the rest? and being answered in the affirmative, commended him to feed his flock. He repeated the same question twice more to him, inasmuch that *Peter*, being grieved at it, broke out into this expression; *Lord, thou, who knowest all things, must know that I love thee*. After this treble confession of
- f** his unfeigned love, designed probably as a kind of expiation for his treble denial of him, *Jesus* plainly told him, that the time would come when he should make a much more authentic acknowledgment of him, when he suffered himself to be bound and led

Appears to Thomas.

To seven others.

His commission to Peter.

^h LUKE xxiv. 13, & seq. ibid. vers. 24, & seq.

ⁱ LUKE xxiv. 34, & seq. JOHN xx. 19, & seq. & alib.

^k JOHN

^l MATTH. xxviii. 16, & seq.

(B) This last was the fifth appearance he made of himself on this one day, viz. 1. to *Mary Magdalen*; 2. to the other women; 3. to *Peter*, in some

manner not plainly recorded, but mentioned transiently by St. *Luke* and St. *Paul* (3); 4. to the two disciples; and, 5. to the whole college at supper.

(3) LUKE xxiv. 34. 1 *Corinth.* xv. 5.

to a glorious martyrdom for his sake, and in imitation of him, intimating thereby, as the evangelist hints, his crucifixion, by which he was to glorify God, as he did accordingly many years after, with a constancy becoming a chief apostle (C). This was

(C) The sufferings and martyrdom of the primitive preachers of the gospel being not only an irrefragable testimony of their sincerity, as well as assurance of the facts and truths delivered by them, but moreover one of the highest instances of the divine wisdom and power, which was to be displayed in the propagation of it (4); it will not be amiss to speak a little more fully of them in this place, and upon this occasion; since the thread of this chapter will not permit us to follow them into those foreign countries, where they sealed it with their blood.

Whoever considers what a strenuous opposition the degenerate world has always made to christianity, must own, that whatever fate had attended the preachers of it, was sure to be turned into an objection against it. Were they encouraged, admired, and caressed, or did their charitable labour meet with suitable returns, No wonder, would it have been said, they are so zealous and indefatigable to propagate a gospel, which turns so much to their credit and advantage. Were they despised, abhorred, persecuted, and liable to the most shocking discouragements, how inconsistent would it have been thought with the divine goodness and justice, to suffer such faithful, zealous and charitable servants to be thus treated by those, whom their chief study and design was to render the most happy persons both here and hereafter; or to permit men of such excellent and godlike dispositions to be exposed to the barbarous fury of the very vilest of human race!

What medium the most consummate human forecast could have found out between these two cases, we may well be at a loss to imagine. But here it was that infinite wisdom and power triumphed in such a manner as was once more to confound the most wise and prudent of the world. And this was done, by creating, as it were, such a new nature in those primitive professors of the gospel, as should not only render them insensible of, but even capable of receiving the most ecstatic comforts, in the most excruciating torments, to which they were going to be exposed. By this, the objections of worldly gain on their part, or of injustice on God's, were fully obviated; whilst the amazed world beheld them most calm, serene, and joyful, when, to all human appearance, they laboured under the heaviest loads of pain, and misery.

This miraculous change once wrought in them, they are no more the cowards that forsook their master, or shut to their doors for fear of the Jews; but in the synagogues, the streets, and even to the face of death, freely confess and preach him (5). Peter, who through fear of the danger of being his, had thrice denied and forsworn him, can now sleep as calmly and soundly in a dungeon, with his hands and feet loaded with irons, and on the eve, as he thought, and Herod designed, of his martyrdom, as if he had been in his own bed, and out of all danger (6). Paul and Silas, after having been unmercifully scourged, are thrust down into the lowest hold of a common gaol, and are heard by all the prisoners to sing psalms and hymns in the middle of the night (7).

In a word, this surprizing change was not confined to the apostles, disciples, and preachers of the gospel, much less to the infancy of it; but extended

itself to their proselytes, of all ranks, ages, sexes, conditions, and countries, during near three hundred years, if not much beyond. All which is a subject so well known and attested, not only by the primitive fathers and apologists; the former of whom, sealing the truth with their blood, and the latter, moreover, appealing to the records of their enemies, and the notoriety of the facts, must consequently be allowed unexceptionable witnesses; but likewise by the very heathen authors themselves, who seemed as much to despise them for their folly, as they were astonished at their universal constancy; so that it would be superfluous to insist longer upon it.

We are not insensible indeed how much the innumerable instances of this kind, which we meet with in the later histories of *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, and others, have been thought exaggerated, and what little credit those writers have of late among us. The story of a *Lawrence* throwing his sarcastical jests on his judges and executioners, whilst broiling on a gridiron, has been thought so monstrously absurd, and unnatural, that it has almost discredited all the rest. We would therefore beg leave to ask these doubtful gentlemen, whether they would have believed that story, had it been transmitted down to us by any, but christian writers; or, which is still more, by men professed enemies to christianity, and at the same time of avowed sense, learning, and integrity? If they would, we hope we may be permitted to subjoin one here of altogether as surprizing a nature, and upon the authority of a person of the unquestionable character last mentioned.

Libanius the famous orator of *Antioch*, a person greatly esteemed by all for his learning and humanity, but especially by the emperor *Julian*, as appears by their mutual literary intercourse, is the author we are speaking of (8). The story he relates is of one *Mark*, a venerable old bishop of *Arethusa*, a city in *Syria*, between *Emesa* and *Epiphania*; who endured the most exquisite torments under the above-mentioned emperor, not only with utmost constancy, but braved his enemies with such biting sarcasms in the midst of his torments, that being at last overcome by his heroic behaviour, they were forced to let him down, and go off with his life, to prevent the heathen spectators falling down and worshipping him. The design of this story, as well as of the orator's letter, was to stop a persecution newly raised under that apostate monarch against the christians, for the havock they had made of the Pagan temples under his predecessor's reign; and the judge to whom he writes it, had then a zealous christian prisoner, named *Oriem*, who, it was apprehended, would prove a second *Mark*, if the same severities should be used against him, and much more, lest the known constancy of the rest should cause an universal defection from paganism. For which reason *Libanius*, though a bitter enemy to christianity, is for putting an immediate stop to all further persecution.

His letters, to the number of above sixteen hundred, though preserved in manuscript, in several public as well as private libraries, and a good number of them printed and translated into *Latin* (9), are yet so little known by our *English* readers, that we hope it will not be thought impertinent, if we subjoin here

(4) *Conf. Isai. xxix. 14. 1 Cor. i. 19. & seq.*

(5) *Ibid. xvi. 23. & seq.*

(6) *Ibid. xii. 3. & seq.*

(7) *Ibid. xvi. 23. & seq.*

(8) *Vid. AH. ii. iii. & seq. pass.*

(9) *Ibid. xii. 3.*

(8) *De Liban. & ejus epistol. vid. inc. al. Eunap. vita Liban. Johan. Christ. Volf. prefat. in cens. epist. Liban. sophist. cum not. Lipsik, 1711.*

(9) *Fr. Zambicar. Johan. Semmerfeld. Morel. & al. ap. Volf. ubi supra.*

a was the third time of his appearing to the full body of his disciples after his resurrection. After that prediction, *Jesus* bid *Peter* come after him; who turning about, and seeing the beloved disciple, asked his master, whether he would have him also follow him? But *Jesus* rebuked his untimely curiosity, with telling him, If I will have him tarry till I come, what have you to do with it? hence arose a strange notion among the rest, that that disciple should not die^m; though in all probability, Christ meant no more than his tarrying on earth, till his coming to take vengeance on the Jewish nation, which St. *John* actually lived to see totally dispersed.

b Thus did our risen Saviour manifest himself, either to his whole church, or to some of them more particularly, during the space of forty days, in all convincing proofs. Instructing them still further in his heavenly doctrine, discoursing more familiarly with them of his spiritual kingdom, dispelling their doubts, allaying their fears, and comforting their hearts with the glorious prospect of an eternal life to crown their painful and arduous race. At length the appointed time of his departure drawing near, he gathered them together, to the number, as St. *Paul* tells us, of above five hundredⁿ. He led them into a retired part of a mountain, where he again gave them fresh assurances of his never-failing love, care and protection, to the end of the world, renewed his commission and miraculous powers to them, together with the promise of a plentiful effusion of his Holy Spirit to direct them into all truth, and fit them for their glorious work, the conversion of the world^o.

^m JOHN XXI. per tot.

ⁿ 1 CORINTH. XV. 6.

^o MARK XVI. 17. ad fin.

here the substance both of the letter, and of this signal story; though, for the better understanding of it, we shall be forced to have recourse to *Theodore's* (10) assistance. For the style of the former is so intricate and laconic every-where, especially where he speaks of things and facts of a recent nature, and universally known, that without the guide of some other historian, one would never guess what he means or alludes to, because he contents himself with the bare hint of them, as the reader may see by the letter itself (11). We hope the curiousness of the subject, as well as the character of the author, will excuse the length of this note; though, to shorten it as much as we can, we shall join the account out of those two authors together, leaving it to our readers to compare them with each other at their own leisure.

"*Mark*, the heroic bishop in question, having in the reign of *Constantine* built a christian church by and on the ruins of a Pagan temple, and being like to suffer for it under *Julian*, endeavoured at first to avoid it by flight; where being informed that some of his diocese were going to be taken up for it, he came back and surrendered himself to the heathen officers, as the only person accountable for that fact. But these, without regard to his learning, dignity, or great age, ordered him to be stripped naked, and scourged from head to foot. From thence he was flung into a stinking common-shore; and being taken out again, was exposed in that condition to the mercy of a great number of school boys, who made it their cruel sport to pink his flesh with their writing instruments.

"All this was done to oblige him to refund the damages of the demolished temple, which when he constantly refused to do, they beset him all over with honey, and a kind of sweet sauce, called *garon*, and hoisted him up into the air in a kind of net, or open basket; where it being then the heat of summer, the bees, wasps, &c. did eat him up alive. Whilst he hung in this dreadful condition, they offered to abate him half of the stipulated sum, thinking his refusal owing to his inability of paying the whole. But to their surprise, he answered, that he should think it as im-

"pious to refund a doit, as the whole sum. But what increased their wonder beyond expression is, he was all this time so far from uttering a groan, or shewing the least sense of pain, that he even seemed to make himself merry with his Pagan tormentors, telling them, that they were from beneath, but he from above; alluding to his suspension. The consequence of the whole was, that being at length overcome by his supernatural constancy, they let him down, and released him full of the deepest veneration and respect".

Now, when a story comes to us confirmed by a person of *Libanius's* character, and who was not only cotemporary to it, but speaks of it with the same assurance, as if he had been an eye-witness of it; we know not well how that of *Laurence*, or any other, can be questioned in those historians. The same sophist adds to what *Theodore* says, that the people were so astonished at the old bishop's constancy, that they worshipped him as a god; and that when *Julian* heard of it, though he was vexed at the demolition of the temple, he yet chose rather to forgive him, than to make further trial of his patience.

He concludes his letter with desiring his friend the judge not to make of *Orion* his prisoner a second *Mark*, or a second *Marfyn* (who had been lately flayed alive.) If, says he, you think *Orion* has a golden mine in his skin, you would do well to get it out; if not, by *Jupiter*, you had better let him go; or if you must punish him, do it in such a manner, that he may have no opportunity to make a public shew of his patience and constancy. Some have thought, that all this moderation of our orator might be owing to an apprehension of *Julian's* being succeeded by a christian (12); but be that how it will, it cannot invalidate the testimony which he gives to those heroic sufferers. However, many of his letters appear full of the same moderate spirit, in other instances; and the tenor of the letter above-mentioned shews him to have been rather afraid of the effects of the christian constancy, which under such grievous persecutions always drew, as well it might, a great number of converts, and threatened a total dereliction of their heathen temples and worship.

(10) *Hist. Eccl. l. iii. c. 7. Vid. Gr. Sozomen. l. v. c. 10. A. M. 1715. part. 2. sect. 4.*

(11) *In epist. lxx.*

(12) *Le Clerc, bibl.*

Ascends into
heaven.

HAVING finished his discourse, he bid them return to *Jerusalem*, where he would meet them before his ascension, as he accordingly did; and ordered them to remain there till they had received the promised Comforter, by whom they should shortly after be endowed with power from above, answerable to their high commission. Great need they still stood in of such a divine director, since these last words filled them again with hopes, that their master was now going indeed to restore the kingdom of *Israel*. *Jesus* was here again obliged to check their untimely curiosity, but referred the further display of this important point to that promised heavenly instructor. And now, having finished his glorious work, he led them forth toward *Bethany*, to the mount of *Olives*; where being arrived, he tenderly gathered them about him, and in their full sight, went up to heaven, leaving his gracious blessing upon them, and the comfortable assurance, that he was going to prepare a place for them in his own kingdom; whilst they, in an adoring posture, followed him with their wishful eyes, till a bright cloud received him out of their sight (D). Whilst their eyes were thus fixed still towards him, two angels appeared to them in bright apparel, and said unto them, *Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up to heaven? The same Jesus, whom you have now beheld ascending thither, shall in the like manner come down again from thence* ^p; meaning doubtless, at the last day to judge the world; till when he will there remain, and reign at the right hand of his Father, till all his enemies be made his footstool ^q (E).

THE

^p Ibid. ver. ult. LUKE xxiv. 46. ad fin. ACT. i. 6, & seq. ACT. ii. 35. Hebr. i. 13. x. 12, 13.

^q Conf. PL. cx. 1. MATTH. xxii. 44.

(D) This happened, according to our learned *Usher's* computation, hinted a little higher, on a *Thursday*, the fourteenth of *May*, which is the ninth month of the *Jewish* year, and in the thirty-sixth, or, according to others, the thirty-third year of his age, and the nineteenth of *Tiberius's* reign. There is an ancient tradition, which adds, that it was about the time of noon when he was taken up, and ascended from one of the summits of mount *Olives*, where the print of his feet, where he last stood, was still to be seen, and on that account has been had in great veneration ever since. The reader may see what we have said of it in a former volume †.

(E) It will not be amiss to close this history of the Saviour of the world with those other testimonies which we find concerning him, both in *Josephus*, and in some eminent heathen authors. We begin with the former, because we have elsewhere promised to say something further concerning that known and much controverted passage of his, which runs to this effect (13):

"At the same time there was one *Jesus*, a wise man, if at least he may be called a man, who was a great worker of miracles, and a teacher of truth, to all that were desirous to learn it, and had a great number of disciples, both of *Jews* and *Gentiles*. This was (or, as *St. Jerom* read it, *credebatur*, was believed to be) the Christ, whom *Pilate*, through the envy of the heads of our nation, caused to be crucified; but this did not hinder his disciples from cleaving stedfastly unto him. He was seen by them three days after his death, according to the prophecies concerning him. The christian sect subsists to this day, call themselves by his name, and acknowledge him for their head".

This passage being not only found in all the manuscripts of that historian, but quoted by *St. Jerom*, *Eusebius* (14), and other ancients, the main objection against it is, how *Josephus* could express himself in such a manner concerning Christ, and yet live and die a *Jew*. To which may be added another difficulty, viz. how he could acknowledge him the promised Messiah, after he had once complimented the *Roman* emperor with that title (14). But those who believe it to have been foisted in by some pious

christians, will find it still much more difficult to account how they could get it inserted in all future copies, and suppress all the old and genuine ones.

Those who know how much has been already writ for and against it, will easily excuse our not entering further into that controversy, than referring our readers to the authors themselves, whom he will find quoted in the margin (15).

All that we shall add by way of lessening the two difficulties raised against the genuineness of the text is, 1st, That *Josephus* was no less a courtier, than a *Jew* and a *Pharisee*; he might, as an historian, who made great shew of sincerity, be forced to publish a truth, the suppression of which would have brought his character in question, and yet not have resolution enough to sacrifice his temporal interest to his conviction. The cruel treatment which the disciples of Christ met with from *Jews* and *Gentiles* might be a sufficient obstacle to a man of his mould lifting himself into their number. He might, and had in all probability conversed with several learned christians, who might have inspired him with a great veneration for their divine master, and, from the many prophecies concerning him, have convinced him of his being the Messiah, and at the same time, his brethren of the *Pharisaic* leaven might trump up their notion of a double Messiah, viz. a suffering one, and the other a great and glorious conqueror.

For no time could be more likely to produce such a wild distinction, than that about which he wrote his history, when all their hopes were wholly quashed, the sceptre long ago departed from *Judah*, the second temple destroyed, the nation ruined, the utmost length of their computation of *Daniel's* weeks long since ended, and the christians every-where beating them out of all other reitrenchments, and forcing them at length to trust themselves to this broken plank; and was not a man of *Josephus's* character as likely to prefer this soothing notion to the manifest danger of becoming a proscribed christian, as any of his fraternity?

But, lastly, who can tell how far the ill treatment which he met with from these last, at the siege of *Jerusalem*, their invincible obstinacy and ingratitude, their cruelty, hypocrisy, and irreconcilable

† See before, Vol. I. p. 573, 2. 573, 2. (13) *Antiq. l. xviii. c. 4.* (14) *Lib. de scriptor. Vid. & Euseb. eccl. hist. l. i. cap. 11. iii. c. 9.* (15) *Vid. ins. al. Hist. demonstr. evang. prop. scilicet. 11. & Arnold. differt. de loc. sup. an. 1661.*

- a THE disciples, thus warned, returned immediately to *Jerusalem*, where they spent their time in prayers, fastings, and such-like other duties as were likeliest to qualify them for the reception of the promised Comforter. They were about a hundred and twenty persons, probably exclusive of the women, who did not use to be reckoned in the number, though they kept still with them, and among the rest the virgin *Mary*, who is here particularly mentioned, and for the last time^r. The place they used to assemble in, was a large upper room (F), where a few days after their master's ascension, *Peter* addressed himself to the rest, and reminded them how necessary it was, before they entered into their grand commission, to chuse a new member into the apostolic college, from among those who had been conversant with *Jesus* from *John's* baptism to that present time, to fill the vacancy which the traitor *Judas* had made to their number. The proposal being approved, two candidates were offered to them, namely *Joseph*, surnamed *Justus*, and *Barfabas* (who is supposed by some to be the brother of *James the Less*, and by others, the same with *Barnabas*); and *Matthias*, who was one of the seventy disciples (G). After a short prayer to the discerners of all hearts, to direct them to the person whom he had made choice of, they cast their lots, and *Matthias* was chosen into the apostolical ministry, and their number completed again^s.

- c WHEN fifty days from Christ's resurrection were finished, which ushered in the grand feast of pentecost, whilst the disciples were all assembled at their usual place, suddenly there was heard a mighty sound from heaven; a vehement wind filled the room they were in, when there appeared a kind of cloven tongues of fire sitting upon each of their heads; upon which they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, illu-

The Holy Ghost
descends on the
apostles.

^r Act. i. 14.

^s Act. ibid. 15. ad fin.

able hatred to him, may have provoked him to lay this heavy charge upon them, of crucifying the Messiah, and to aggravate it with those other testimonials concerning him, without being himself thoroughly satisfied with them, through prejudice and interest. If we join his resentment against them, and their notion of two Messiahs, with his fawning action of complimenting *Vespasian* with the title of Messiah, we shall find that he acted nothing but what became such a consummate politician; and the passage above-quoted concerning Christ, and that concerning the *Roman* emperor, though set at that great distance from each other, to conceal his design, when brought nearer together, may amount to no more than this: Since the heads of our nation did unjustly reject and crucify the first Messiah, who came to them in the spirit of meekness and charity, and in all respects answered the description given of him by the ancient prophets, it is but just that the second, who is to be the glorious conquering one, should signalise the premises of his reign, with the extirpation of those unworthy wretches, and thereby fulfil the prophecies concerning himself, and his glorious and universal kingdom. All which was in a great measure already done before the historian wrote his two histories, in the last of which he speaks of his conference with that prince (16), and may have dressed it in the most advantageous manner to gain the applause of the *Romans*.

If therefore this text ever suffered any alteration, it seems to have been only in the omission of the word *was believed*, which we find was in *St. Jerome's* copy, though not in that of *Eusebius*, *Rufinus*, and others, where it was left out; but whether through carelessness, or wilfully, must be left to the readers candor. And, after all, we may as well suspect the great character which the *Jewish* historian gives to *John the Baptist*, and to *St. James*, whom he calls the brother of Christ (17), which yet cast no small honour to this last, whose martyrs they were.

Concerning the testimony of heathen writers, we have already mentioned those which confirm the supernatural eclipse which happened at Christ's passion, and the appeal which the apostolic fathers made to the heathen records for that and other facts. *Tacitus* confirms also Christ's having been put to death by *Pilate*, governor of *Judea*, under the emperor *Tiberius* (18). We might add some others, were we not afraid of swelling this note too much. The readers may see them in the apologies above-mentioned, and in the authors quoted in the margin (19).

For the same reason we shall forbear mentioning that of the *Mohammedans*, and all further debate on the apocryphal gospels, epistles, and other writings concerning him, and all useless inquiries after his person, shape, mien, and other such particularities of neither importance, nor the least certainty. As for his pretended correspondence with the king of *Edessa*, we shall refer our readers to what has been said in a former volume †.

(F) The words *εἰς τὸ ὑπερσώον* (20), do certainly imply some upper room of a house, and not of the temple, as some have imagined. This might be therefore that large one in which *Jesus* had celebrated the last passover with his disciples (21); and is supposed to have belonged to one of them, namely to *John*, surnamed *Mark*, and is said to have been turned, in process of time, into a stately church.

(G) The tradition concerning these two, and others of their colleagues, are so uncertain, that there is no relying on them, otherwise this *Joseph* should be the same with that often mentioned in the gospel among the relations of our Saviour; and by his surname of *Barfabas*, he should be the same with *Barnabas*, who is yet said to be a *Cyprian* levite (22). *Matthias* should likewise be the same with *Zaccheus* (23), though this last became a disciple but a few weeks before Christ's death, and the apostles chose only those for candidates, who had been with him from the beginning of his ministry.

(16) *Bell. Jud.* l. iii. c. 14. v. c. 12.

(17) *Anriq.* l. xx. c. 8.

(18) *Annal.* l. xv. c. 4.

(19) *Vid. ins. al. Minus. Felix. H. Gros. de verit. Le Clerc. in eund. Abadie & al.*

(20) *Acts* xiii.

(21) *Mark* xiv. 14, 15.

(22) *Acts* iv. 36.

(23) *De his vid. Clem. Alexandr. Stromat. N. De*

Lysa, Corn. a Iasp. & al.

minated with his heavenly light, inflamed with his divine heat, inspired with the knowledge of foreign tongues, and endowed with all other supernatural gifts, to qualify them for their glorious task, the conversion of the world. They set themselves immediately about it, *Jerusalem* being then filled with people, who came from all parts of the world, both *Jews* and profelytes, who flocked thither, as usual, to that grand solemnity. These hearing of that wonderful event, came to them in great crouds, and were beyond measure surprized to hear such poor illiterate *Galileans*, who never knew any but their own mother tongue, and that no better than as simple fishermen, express themselves with such unheard-of readiness and energy, and display in all their different tongues and dialects the most sublime mysteries of the gospel. The sacred historian mentions fifteen different countries, out of which this assembly consisted¹. Whilst therefore some, struck with amazement at what they saw and heard, were questioning what the issue of such a prodigy would be, others absurdly attributed it to some excess of new wine, which they supposed the apostles had been guilty of that morning. Which when *Peter* understood, he first exploded the supposition, by reminding them, that it was but the third hour of the day, or nine of the morning; and then proved to them from the scriptures, that there was nothing happened in this extraordinary change, but what had been plainly foretold, and elegantly described by one of the prophets². From that he proceeded to those other oracles, which had presignified the death and resurrection of Christ, the true Messiah; all which he shewed to them, with such powerful and convincing eloquence, that three thousand of his audience were immediately converted to his doctrine, and continued strict and zealous professors of it³ (H).

They convert
three thousand
souls.

SOME

¹ Ibid. c. ii. 8, & seq.
cum Act. xi. 15, & seq.

² JOEL ii. 28, & seq. conf. cum ISAI. xxix. 19, & seq. xlv. 3, & seq.
³ Act. ibid. vers. 37. ad fin.

(H) Those that will not acknowledge the truth of this miraculous transaction, must suppose that surprising change in the apostles to have been wrought by some such method as this which follows; we leave them to their choice. They must suppose the hen-hearted college to have been all at once seized with a desperate phrenetic courage, or inspired with it by some one of the boldest of them, suppose the pretended champion *Peter*, by some such speech as this:

Men and brethren, The natural consequence of our having been so egregiously cheated by our late master, and made to wait so long in vain for his pretended resurrection, should according to human prudence be this; that we should for the future detest the very memory and mention of him; that we should become so much the more tenacious of the expostions and traditions of our betters, since it was our departing from them, to follow him, that has brought us into this dilemma; and lastly, that we should go and beg for absolution of the sanhedrin, which they'll hardly make a difficulty to grant; for what wonder is it, that such poor illiterate fishermen as we are, should be so easily deceived, when so many of their learned bench were caught in the same snare?

But for my own part, poor and simple as I am, I think I could undergo the most dreadful hazards in life, rather than to stoop to such a base submission; and my project, if I can but bring you into it, is to do the very reverse; to cry our late master up still for the true Messiah, to profess a greater love and veneration for him than ever, to affirm that we have seen him risen from the dead, conversed with him full forty days, in all convincing proofs, and at length seen him go up to heaven; and to propagate the cheat, not only among our nation, but also among the *Gentiles*, as far and wide as we can; and to make it the better go down with the world, we will pretend to a new and miraculous commission from heaven, to the supernatural gifts of prophecy, tongues, miracles, and every thing that is great and stupendous, or apt to raise our master's glory, and our own.

Methinks I hear you already making ten thousand objections and difficulties against my project, which I doubt not but you look upon as the most romantic that ever came into a crazy brain; and I, who have duly weighed them, do give you leave to think so still, if I do not remove every one of them, and convince you that my scheme is no less practicable, than it is heroic and glorious.

You will object in the first place, that such a design will expose us to the highest opposition and resentment from *Jews* and *Gentiles*, to imprisonments, scourgings, tortures, and death; I own it, and that is the reason of my being so zealous for it; and I promise myself an unconceivable pleasure in carrying it on under all these difficulties and dangers. But our pretence, you'll say, to miracles, tongues, and other supernatural gifts, will be a most effectual means to betray us, because we shall at every turn be ready to discover our want of them. Suppose it happen so; can we not still face them down that we have them, though they cannot see them? Can't we find means to impose, not only upon the eyes and ears of the world, but upon the very understandings of the greatest philosophers that now reign either at *Rome* or *Athens*? Let us but resolutely undertake, and I promise you, you will meet with a thousand unexpected accidents, that will force, as it were, a success into your very laps.

But the greatest objection perhaps to you is, that we shall bring the hatred of even God himself, as well as of the world, upon us; we shall not only deprive ourselves of all the hopes of the true promised Messiah, but of all other comforts of this or of the next life; and what a dreadful thing must it be to be thrown into a dungeon, or led to some cruel execution; abhorred by God and man, tortured by the sting of a conscience as black as the very hell we are hastening to, without one poor glimpse of hope or comfort either from within or from without us?

There is indeed something in this thought which may appear terrible to mean souls; but mine is above shrinking at such bug-bears, when the glorious prospect of imposing one of the vilest cheats is put

in

- a SOME time after, *Peter* and *John*, repairing to the temple at the usual evening hour of prayer, healed a poor cripple, who sat begging at the gate. This drew immediately a great concourse of people about them, to the place called *Solomon's porch*; where *Peter*, having reproved their stupidity in gazing at them, as the authors of so signal a miracle, assured them, that they had wrought it by no other power than that of *Jesus Christ*, whom their elders and rulers had through ignorance condemned to the cross. He concluded with such a powerful discourse on the danger of an obstinate and ungrateful unbelief, and on the unspeakable benefits of a speedy faith and repentance, that five thousand more were added to them. Thus did the new church of Christ daily improve, not in the number only, but in the zeal, and fervour, b holiness and charity of its members; beginning now a kind of heavenly life upon

A new miracle
adds five thousand more.

in the scale against it. For let our guilt be never of so deep a dye, and the generality of the world judge never so justly of it, yet as long as we make the greatest boasts to sanctity, piety, charity, and every real virtue, and take care that our life, at least outwardly, doth not bely our pretence; we shall still meet with admirers enough to keep up our spirits from flagging in this noble undertaking; and who could grudge to run any dangers, or even to die for such a cause?

And now methinks I see you all, like me, impatient to tally out in this heroic race; but there is still one danger, against which I must warn you all. It is likely, that when we come to be dispersed at a vast distance from each other, as we must be of course to carry on the work, some one of us may through fear of torments, or of some cruel death, be cowardly enough to discover the whole imposture, in which case we shall all lose the fruit of our labours. Our late pusillanimous behaviour, and mine in particular to our late master in the garden, might indeed incline one to fear, lest there should turn out another *Judas* from among us. But there is something within me that gives me a quite contrary notion of you all, and that you will resolutely persist in carrying on the common cause, and not through any base fear or terror, torture or death, make shipwreck of that glorious design, to which we are going to sacrifice all that is dear and valuable in this and the next world.

And therefore let me only add a few necessary directions to you, and then let us go on and prosper: 1. It is customary for persons of our character to be elated at every success or applause, and sunk down at every foil. We must act the reverse. Never appear more joyful, lofty, and undaunted, than when you meet with the greatest opposition, scorn, and ill treatment; nor ever more humble and abased, than when men are ready to fall down and worship you. This you know was our master's case, and we must, whatever we do, profess an utter contempt of every thing that this world is fond of, and seem to court nothing but poverty and misery, crosses and persecutions. We may in all likelihood fare the better for it; but if we don't, we shall at least save our credit, if we save nothing else.

2. It is not only natural, but sweet, to such men as we, to retaliate ill usage, though never so justly deserved, with ill language, and ill offices, to complain of injustice and cruelty, and even to call for vengeance from heaven on our pretended oppressors. But I advise you, whatever betide us, to let your behaviour breathe nothing but the most surprising patience, meekness, resignation, and charity to your worst enemies, and in the midst of the most exquisite racks and tortures, and even with your last breath, to pray to heaven for them. You'll perhaps ask how human nature can be capable of such heroic courage? But remember only your character and reputation, as apostles, will rise or sink, according as you follow this rule; and then I doubt not but that will enable you to go through all this, and much more.

Many other such-like directions will occur in the course of our race, which I shall take care to communicate to you as often as opportunity offers. But one main one I must not omit before we set about the work: for without this, you will be apt, in your preaching or writing the history of our late master, to aggravate every word and action of the *Jews* against him, to exclaim against the pretended injustice and impiety of the sanhedrin for condemning him; on the baseness and cowardice of *Pilate* in ratifying their bloody sentence; on the cruelty of the *Roman* soldiers for their inhuman treatment of him; and on the obstinacy and perverseness of the *Jews* for not believing our report concerning him. And you may think yourselves intitled to do so from the example of the ancient prophets, of the baptist, and even of our master, who made no scruple to reprove our nation in the severest terms.

But I absolutely forbid all such invectives and aggravations, as derogatory to our honour, and to that hitherto unexampled plainness and simplicity, to which, I insist, every one of you shall confine himself in the relation of those facts, without betraying the least resentment, or indeed any other emotion, but what shall seem to flow from the deepest concern, pity and charity to all the actors in that scene. You may perhaps at first not be aware of the usefulness and expediency of this caution; but a little experience will soon convince you, that nothing will preserve or raise your character more. And now men and brethren, &c.

We shall go no further with this supposed scene, because we think it clearly appears by this time that a man must be capable of believing any thing that can think it possible for one or all of these twelve fishermen to concert, much less to execute with such surprising success and efficacy, a plot and imposture of so black and hellish a nature under all those difficulties and disadvantages.

But here it will perhaps be pretended, that the whole story of the gospel, acts, &c. was made a long time after, and the characters, facts, and other advantageous circumstances teigned at leisure. But then the question will be, by what miracle, enchantment, or fascination, they could be introduced into the world, be universally received, believed and attested by a series of men, of all ranks and qualities, by men of learning and probity, who sealed those truths with their blood? How and in what age or generation after Christ or his apostles these things were introduced? a succession of prelates, preachers and martyrs, together with a great number of their pretended writings, the decrees of councils, and other records, each quoting their predecessors up; to the sacred writers, toiled in with the whole concomitant chain of evidence, which has hitherto eluded the attempts of the subtlest enemies of christianity? When, we say, the bare possibility of such an universal imposition, with all these circumstances, can once be shewed, it will be then time enough to turn sceptics; and if ever that should prove the case, where we shall stop, God alone can tell.

earth,

earth, disclaiming all property, selling all they had, and cheerfully laying it at the apostles feet, to be distributed to the relief of their brethren; and being even in their worldly goods, as well in their hearts and affections, so perfectly united, that they became the wonder of the world, even of their very enemies. Thus were the divine oracles fulfilled, the promises of Christ performed, and his church miraculously planted, and propagated by that heavenly Spirit; to continue under his direction to the end of the world, maugre all the oppositions of *Jews* and *Gentiles* ^a.

BUT the malice of the priests and rulers did not expire with the death of its divine author. This new and signal miracle on the impotent man; the number of converts it drew after it; the zeal, boldness, and eloquence of the apostles, all contributed to awaken their fears with their wonder, and to put them upon fresh means to suppress what they called this new and dangerous sect. The apostles and the cripple were brought before them, and *Peter* in an elegant speech assured them, that it was by the name and power of their great master, now gloriously enthroned in heaven, that they had wrought this miraculous cure; demonstrated to them from the scriptures, that he was that chief corner stone, which was long since foretold to be rejected by the builders ^b, and was now become the foundation of the new covenant, since there was no name given under heaven, by which men might be saved, but that of *Jesus Christ*, crucified indeed by them, but raised again by his own victorious power. The sanhedrin, having nothing to oppose to these pregnant proofs, and yet ashamed to be convinced, and afraid to use violent means, by reason of the admiring multitude, contented themselves for the present with forbidding them to preach any more in that name; to which *Peter* replied, We have received a contrary command from God, and you may easily judge which of the two ought to be obeyed ^c.

*Peter's speech
to the san-
hedrin.*

Peter, upon his return to his colleagues, acquainted them with what had past, and the orders they had received from the *Jewish* chiefs; upon which they joined unanimously in prayer to God, to strengthen their faith, courage, and miraculous power, that they might boldly go on in their ministry, and preach his crucified Son in spite of all opposition and discouragements; upon which they felt their upper room violently shaken, and their hearts inspired with such zeal, that neither threatenings nor persecutions, racks, tortures, or cruel deaths, could put a stop, either to their preaching, or to its miraculous success: for such it really was, being still attended with some fresh miracle (I), which at once confirmed the believers, and still added fresh ones to their number. In the mean while the sanhedrin, which consisted chiefly of *Sadducees*, finding their endeavours ineffectual, began to think it high time to try some severer means; and to that end ordered them to be seized, and cast into a common gaol. But before the next morning, an angel had opened the prison gates to them, and bid them return to their preaching, which they did accordingly. By that time the council was set to determine something concerning them, word was brought to them that the prisoners were escaped by some miracle; for that on that morning not one of them was to be met with, though the prison gates were found closely shut. Whilst they were debating about this new prodigy, the news came that they were preaching as usual at the temple. Their fears now increasing with their surprise, they sent for them, yet without violence; and *Caiaphas* having expostulated with them, how they dared transgress their command, they boldly answered for themselves, that as obedience ceased to be due to magistrates, as soon as it began to contravene that which was due to God, they had strictly followed their duty in preaching the resurrection of Christ, and the remission of sins through him, and giving the same irrefragable proofs of those saving truths, which they themselves had of them ^d.

*His second de-
fence.*

*Gamaliel's ad-
vice to the
sanhedrin.*

THIS noble answer, which gave them to understand, that they were not to be frightened into a base compliance, did raise their indignation to such a degree, that they were just ready to vent it in some severer manner, when *Gamaliel* (K), one of their members, ^e

^a Act. iii. 1, & seq.

^b Pl. cxviii. 22.

^c Act. iii. & iv. pass.

^d Ibid. & ch. v. 17.

(I) These miracles, we are told (24), became so frequent and known by this time, that they drew multitudes of people from all the neighbouring cities and countries to *Jerusalem*, who brought their sick friends paralytics, lunatics, demoniacs, &c. to be healed by the apostles. Inasmuch that the very

shadow of *Peter* passing by cured many of them, who by reason of the throngs that followed him, could not by any other means get access to him.

(K) This was the person at whose feet *St. Paul* had been brought up (25); some add also *Stephen* and

(24) Acts v. 15, & seq.

(25) Ibid. xxii. 3.

- a members, a person of greater coolness, and a learned *Pharisee*, stood up, and moderated their resentment for the present, by reminding them, that if this council was merely human, it would soon be crushed, as many others of the like nature, which he named, and they knew had lately been; but if it was of God, it was vain as well as impious in them to oppose it. Wherefore, concluded he, my opinion is, that we let these men alone, and wait the event, lest we should be found at length to contend with an almighty power. His counsel was readily agreed to, and the apostles being called in, after having received a severe correction and rebuke for their contumacy, were dismissed, and joyfully rejoined their colleagues ^b. About this time the tetrarch *Philip*, the brother of *Herod*, died at *Julias*, in the thirty-seventh year of his reign, ^{Year of the flood 4037. Of Christ 34 and 37.} from the death of *Herod the Great*. He was buried in a magnificent tomb, which he had erected during his life; and as he left no heirs of his own body, his tetrarchy was resumed by *Tiberius*, and annexed to the province of *Syria*, then under the government of *Flaccus Pomponius*; but with this restriction, that the revenues of that country should still be kept within the limits of it. *Josephus* tells us, that *Philip* was of so opposite a disposition to his father or brother, that his government was mild and quiet; that he went always attended with a small number of servants, some of whom carried a chair after him, which served him as his tribunal, to be ready to receive every petition or complaint, and to do justice every-where upon the spot ^c.
- c ABOUT the same time the apostles, at the complaint of some *Grecian* proselytes, ^{Seven deacons chosen.} ordained seven deacons from among the number of believers, to be overseers of the ministry in the relief of the necessitous members. We know little of five of them, besides their names, which the reader will find in the margin (L). But *Stephen*, who is mentioned at the head of the rest, was a man of extraordinary faith, learning, and zeal, and full of the Holy Ghost, who wrought such wonders among the people, that he gave great umbrage to the *Jews*. He had confuted several of the heads of them in their respective synagogues ^d, concerning their notion of the perpetuity of the *Mosaic* law, for which he was accused before the sanhedrin. Here the high-priest having given him leave to speak for himself, he began his defence with an historical deduction of the true worship of God, exclusive of the *Mosaic* rites; which last he shewed by authentic proofs were to be done away to make room for a more spiritual religion under the promised Messiah. This speech was accompanied with such powerful eloquence, angelic majesty, and with such a severe reproof for their constant resisting the Holy Ghost, and persecuting those who delivered his divine oracles to them, that not being longer able to bear what they called his blasphemy, they condemned him to death, and hurried him, as was usual in such cases, out of the city; where the witnesses, who were to throw the first stones, laid their upper garments at the feet of young *Saul*, then a zealous *Pharisee*, and enemy to christianity, but since the great apostle of the *Gentiles*; and having, according to the *Mosaic* law, laid their hands on condemned person, overwhelmed him with stones, whilst he called on God to forgive them ^{Stephen stoned.} his death, and on *Jesus* to receive his departing soul ^e. Authors are not agreed about the exact year of his death, but most of them after *Usher*, *Pearson*, and others, place it about this time, that is, about a year after that of his divine master.

THE death of this glorious protomartyr was soon followed by a more grievous persecution against the christian converts, which yet the divine providence turned into a means of propagating the gospel far and wide, by the dispersion of a great number

^b Acts, *ibid.* ver. 33. ad fin. ^c Antiq. l. xviii. c. 6. ^d Acts vi. 9, & seq. ^e *Ibid.* vii. per tot.

and *Barnabas* (26); he is affirmed by an ancient writer to have been already converted to christianity (27); others pretend that he was not till after the martyrdom of *Stephen*. But we have no certainty of any of these facts, nor of several others that are said of him, concerning which the reader may consult *Basnag* in the place last quoted.

(L) These were, *Stephen*, *Philip*, *Prochorus*, *Nicanor*, *Timon*, *Parmenas*, and *Nicolas*; this last is there called a proselyte of *Antioch*. The rest being also all Greek names, shews them to have been *Hellenists*, and that this new order was made in favour of the con-

verts from them.

Some have affirmed this last to have been the author of the beastly *Nicolaitan* sect, that sprung up in the earliest age of the church (28); others have strenuously vindicated him from it (29). We can gather nothing certain concerning it. *Philip* is probably the same who converted the *Samaritans* (30), baptised the eunuch of queen *Candace* (31), and had four daughters endowed with the gift of prophecy (32). As for the other five, we know no more of them than what has been mentioned above.

(26) *Vid.* *Lucian. Rev. de S. Steph. Basnag. hist. des Juifs, Tom. 2. l. iv. c. 3.* (27) *Recogn. c. 65.*
 & seq. (28) *Vid.* *Epiphani. heres. 25. & not. Corelor.* (29) *Clem. Alexandr. Stromat. l. iii.*
Euseb. Theodoret. August. & al. (30) *Acts viii. 5. & seq.* (31) *Ibid. ver. 26. ad fin.* (32) *Ibid.*
 xxi. 9. & seq.

of them, who after *Stephen's* death, left *Jerusalem* and *Judæa*, according to our Saviour's advice, *When you are persecuted in one city, flee into another* ^f. So that few but the apostles stayed at *Jerusalem*, whilst the rest went and preached, some at *Samarina*, some at *Cyprus*, and others elsewhere; but still among the *Jews*, for the time for the conversion of the *Gentiles* was not yet come. One of the chief instruments of this new persecution, was the young *Saul* mentioned a little higher, who observing with what zeal the sanhedrin endeavoured to crush the growing church, got a commission from them to seize, bind, and imprison all its members where ever he met them; pursuant to which, he made a terrible havock among them, without regard to quality, age, or sex, till being himself miraculously converted in the midst of his bloody career, as he was going to *Damascus*, he became as zealous a promoter of it ^g. During this persecution, *Samarina* having received the gospel by the preaching of *Philip*, and *Simon Magus*, who had formerly bewildered them with his sorceries, being himself become a convert, the apostolic college at *Jerusalem* deputed thither *Peter* and *John*, who being come, imparted the Holy Ghost unto them by their prayer, and imposition of hands. *Simon* observing the wonderful efficacy of this last ceremony, would have purchased the same power of the apostles at a large sum; for which profane proposal *Peter* sharply rebuked him ^h, and after-ages have branded his memory by giving that new and unheard-of sin the name of *Simony*.

The Samaritans converted.

Vitellius's kindness to the Jews.

ABOUT the beginning of the next year, *L. Vitellius*, being sent by *Tiberius*, proconsul of *Syria*, came to *Jerusalem* about the feast of the passover, where he was honourably received by the magistrates of that metropolis, in requital of which he remitted to its inhabitants the whole duty of the fruits that were set to sale. He likewise put all the pontifical habits, which used to be kept in the fortress of *Antonia* under the custody of a *Roman* officer, into the possession of the *Jewish* high-priest, to be thenceforth kept and disposed of at their pleasure; after which, having deposed *Caiaphas* from the pontifical chair, and raised *Jonathan* the son of *Annas* or *Ananus* to that dignity, he departed for *Antioch*, his capital ⁱ. Soon after this a tumult happened at *Samarina*, in which *Pilate* acted with such arbitrariness and cruelty, that it proved a main step to his ruin. There had appeared there a certain impostor, some think the *Simon* lately mentioned, who persuaded the *Samaritans*, that if they would repair to their sacred mount *Garizzim*, for such they held it above all mountains, as we have often seen in this chapter, he would direct them to the sacred vessels, which *Moses* had formerly buried there. The credulous people came in shoals armed to him, and incamped before a village called *Tirathaba*, waiting for others to join them there, till they could make a sufficient body to go up and take possession of the pretended holy treasure. *Pilate*, who had timely notice of it, sent a strong body of horse and foot, who attacked them with such fury, that they killed a great number of those deluded wretches, took many of them prisoners, and dispersed the rest; after which he ordered those of the best rank and quality to be beheaded without mercy or delay. The *Samaritans* had immediately recourse to *Vitellius*, and complained of the massacre done among them, assuring him at the same time, that their assembling in arms was not with a seditious view, but to secure themselves from the intolerable oppressions of the *Jewish* governor. *Vitellius*, who was well acquainted with his cruel and rapacious character, upon this complaint, dispatched his friend *Marcellus* to take the government of *Judæa* upon him, and sent orders to *Pilate* to repair immediately to *Rome*, there to answer the *Samaritans* accusation before *Cæsar's* tribunal. *Pilate* was forced to obey, but being detained by contrary winds, *Tiberius* was dead before he could reach *Rome*. This deposition, which was but the fore-runner of much greater evils to that cruel oppressor, happened in the tenth year of his tyrannic government ^k (M).

DURING

^f MATTH. x. 23.

antiqu. l. xv. 14. & xviii. 6.

^g Vid. ACT. viii, ix, & seq.

^h Antiqu. ibid. c. 5.

ⁱ Ibid. viii. 14, & seq.

^k Conf. JOSEPH.

(M) The acts of *Pilate* have made so much noise among the learned, that it will doubtless be expected we should give our *English* readers some idea of them, since they are so confidently quoted by a great num-

ber of ancient fathers (33), and have been as strenuously opposed or defended by learned moderns (34). It seems indeed very probable, that every governor of a province of the *Roman* empire was obliged

(33) De his vid. Just. Mart. Apol. 2. Tertul. Apolog. 5. Euseb. Eccl. Hist. l. ii. c. 2. Oros. l. vii. c. 4. Chrysost. Epiphani. her. 50. Greg. Turon. & al. mult. (34) Vid. int. al. Casaub. Exercit. 16. Baron. annal. Fabric. apocryph. N. T. & al. ab eo citat.

- a DURING these transactions in *Judæa*, *Herod* had been carrying on his unsuccessful war against *Aretas*, of which we have already spoken; and *Tiberius*, vexed at the success of the latter, had sent express orders to *Vitellius* to invade his country, and either to take him prisoner, or send his head to *Rome*. *Vitellius* in his march into *Arabia*, designed to have passed through *Judæa*, but was happily diverted from it by the *Jewish* heads, on account of the *Roman* standards. Upon this condescension *Herod* and he came to *Jerusalem*, where they were highly honoured, and offered the usual sacrifices, and removed *Jonathan* from the priesthood to give it to his brother *Theophilus*¹. Here they received the news of *Tiberius's* death, and of the installation of the emperor *Caius*, of which a fuller account shall be given in its proper place; and *Vitellius* stayed to receive the oath of fidelity from the people to the new emperor.
- b *Jerusalem* was the first eastern city, it seems, that heard the news of his succession, and offered up sacrifices for him^m. By this time *Artabanus* having succeeded *Aretas* in *Arabia*, *Vitellius* went and made an alliance with him near the *Euphrates*, where *Herod* gave them a magnificent entertainment under a stately pavilion, which he had reared for that purpose near the banks of that river. The *Roman* general sent immediately an account of this transaction to the emperor, and was surprised to find by his answer, that *Herod*

¹ Antiq. ibid. c. 8. Vid. & Dio. l. lix.^m Vid. Philo. legat. ad Caium.

obliged to send an account, at least, of the most material transactions that happened in his time; and if so, the crucifixion of a person of the Messiah's character, through the tumultuous malice of the *Jews*, and contrary to *Pilate's* own inclination, was of too signal a nature not to be transmitted to *Rome* by him, though but to disculpate himself of that unjust deed, and to throw all the odium of it on the sanhedrin.

It is true, those acts that have been transmitted to us vary in many particulars, according to the several hands they have passed through; and some of them carry such a face of forgery, that they cannot be reasonably supposed the same with those which those ancient writers speak so positively of, and have given us such seemingly authentic fragments of. So that to conclude them all to be forged by some pious zealors, is to carry scepticism beyond its due bounds. For who can think, that men of such sense, learning, and integrity, as the apologists were, should dare to appeal to those records in favour of the persecuted christians, which if once found to be forged, must have done their cause the greatest prejudice? How could they speak of them, not only as of things commonly known and acknowledged, but with the same confidence, and seeming exactness, as if they had seen them, consulted, and copied them out of their archives? Is it not more reasonable to believe that there were such records, though sadly blended and corrupted in those after-ages, which through the baseness of arch-heretics, and the blind zeal of others, produced such numbers of other apocryphal writings? *Eusebius* tells us, that even the *Pagans* did, in the beginning of the fourth century, trump up a new account of the *assn* *Plasli* (35), doubtless to oppose to those cited by *Justin* and *Tertullian* in the foregoing one. Another mongrel sect, called *Quatuordecimans*, had likewise a set of them quite different from the rest, and from which *Epiphanius* tells us (36), they defended some of their tenets. And where is the wonder that records of such important nature should be corrupted and altered, by designing men, so long after? Is it not rather a greater one, that those of the two apologists above-mentioned, who wrote as if they had had the autic copies of the true ones before their eyes, should have been preferred to us? We shall now give our readers the substance of them in as few words as we can.

Pilate to Tiberius, &c.

"I have been forced to consent at length to the

"crucifixion of *Jesus Christ*, to prevent a tumult from the *Jews*; though it was very much against my will. For the world never saw, nor probably will, a man of such extraordinary piety and uprightness. But the high-priest and sanhedrin fulfilled in it the oracles of their prophets, and of our sybils. Whilst he hung on the cross, a horrid darkness, which covered the earth, seemed to threaten its final end. His disciples, who pretend to have seen him rise from the dead, and ascend into heaven, and acknowledge him for their God, (37), do still subsist; and by their excellent lives shew themselves the worthy disciples of so extraordinary a master. I did what I could to save him from the malice of the *Jews*; but the fear of a total insurrection made me sacrifice him to the interest and peace of your empire, &c."

There is nothing in all this that can appear inconsistent with the character of such a governor as *Pilate* was, if we except his saying there, that *Christ's* death had been foretold by the prophets and sybils; and *Josephus of Arimathea*, when he went to beg his body, might in all likelihood inform him of the one, and the other he might either know, or be told by some of his own people. As for the rest, the fear he was in of being called to an account for his unjust sentence, might make him the more diligent in sending such a favourable relation of the transaction, as might best prejudice that ticklish emperor in his favour. Some apocryphal writings tell us, that he was forced to do it in his justification; and that *Tiberius*, who had long lingered under a decay, which eluded the skill of his physicians, had been advised to send for *Jesus* from *Judæa*, to cure him by his miraculous power. They add, that when he received this account from *Pilate*, he not only highly resented it from him, but much more from the *Jewish* sanhedrin, whose court he ordered the former to demolish, that, being the only place where they were allowed to sit in council, they might never more pronounce another sentence from it. But this story we would be far from putting on the level with the acts of *Pilate* in point of evidence. As for that prætor, there is no record what became of him after his being sent to *Rome*. Only an ancient tradition, supported by some seeming authentic monuments, says, that he was banished to *Vienne* in *Dauphiné*, where his misery forced him to kill himself with his own sword.

(35) *ubi supra*, l. ix. c. 4.
Euseb. ubi supra.

(36) *Harif. 50.*

(37) These last particulars are only in *Tertullian*, and

had

had been before-hand with him, and had acquainted him with all the particulars of it ; a for which he bore him a mortal grudge ever after ⁿ.

ALL this while the christian church increased to a surprising degree, not only in *Judæa*, but in all other parts of the world ; to which the apostles themselves, after having left *James the Less* bishop of that of *Jerusalem* (N), dispersed themselves, either about or soon after this time. It is out of our province, not only to follow them out of *Judæa*, but even to enter into many transactions of theirs within it, which have no concern with the *Jewish* history we are upon. Such as their councils held at *Jerusalem*, their converts, miracles, ordination of bishops, and many more of that kind ; which regarding only the first propagation and planting of the christian church, we shall refer our readers for them to those christian annalists, historians, and other authors, who have wrote on the subject, and which are too numerous and too well known to need being mentioned in the margin.

THAT we may therefore resume and finish our history without any further digression, we shall conclude what relates to the christian church with the miraculous conversion of *Cornelius* the *Roman* centurion, the first-fruits of that of the *Gentile* world ; because it is there that we formerly fixed the final departure of the poor remains of the *Jewish* sceptre or power †. We there observed, after the learned Mr. *Mede*, that the words of *Jacob* might, and by the event, ought to be read, *The sceptre shall not depart, &c. till Shiloh come, and to him the nations be gathered* ; which could not therefore be totally removed, till this promised conversion of the *Gentiles* was in some measure accomplished. It had indeed began to dwindle long before, but there were still some remains left ; they were still governed by their own laws, their sanhedrin had

ⁿ JOSEPH. & DIO, ubi supra.

† See before, Vol. I. p. 462, note (G).

(N) When this choice or installation was made, whether immediately after the descent of the Holy Ghost, or after the death of the protomartyr, or in any intermediate space between, is not easy to guess ; and that he was made bishop of *Jerusalem*, and that this metropolis was made the first christian see, we have not from any sacred writers, but from the fathers (38), and ancient tradition ; and both add, that he wore a golden plate on his forehead, probably in imitation of the *Jewish* high-priest †. It is supposed, that both St. *Peter*, and the two sons of *Zebedee*, gave him the preference of being the first bishop, on account of his being so nearly related to Christ. For he was the brother of *Cleophas* or *Alpheus*, the brother of the blessed virgin, from whom he was therefore his first cousin, and hence called his brother, according to the *Hebrew* custom (39).

This his preference is further confirmed by his being mentioned by the apostle before *Peter* and *John*, who are there called the two other pillars of the church (40), and especially by his sitting as president at the first council at *Jerusalem*, when the question about the circumcision of the heathen converts was condemned (41). For there *Peter* having opened the point to the assembly, and *Paul* and *Barnabas* related the main particular of their conversion, *James* stood up and summed up the whole debate ; and having delivered his own opinion, and backed it with scripture authority, he gave the definitive sentence, which was assented to by the rest (42).

The fathers above-mentioned speak very much of his great sanctity, mortified life, miracles, &c. for which he was surnamed by *Jews* as well as christians, *The Just*. They add, that he had also that of *Obliah* or *Ophiah* given him, which signifies the fortress of God ; and that he was even allowed to enter into that part of the temple which was only permitted to the priests, though he was not of that order, and that the people crouded about him to

kiss the hem of his garment (43).

Baronius quotes a story out of the talmud (44), that a *Jew*, named *Eleazar*, having been bit by a venomous serpent, *James* was sent for to cure him in the name of *Jesus*, the son of the carpenter, which was strenuously opposed by a *Jewish* rabbi there present ; and that whilst they were debating about the lawfulness of the cure, the venom grew to such a head, that the patient died ; upon which the stiff-necked rabbi congratulated him for dying without breaking the rules of the *Jewish* doctors.

Some apocryphal writings were attributed to St. *James*, but were condemned by the church, which receives none but the epistle that bears his name, and which he is supposed to have written a little before his death, which happened about the year of Christ 62 ; when his great sanctity having rendered him obnoxious to *Ananus* the son of *Annas* the high-priest mentioned in the gospel, he drew him into the following snare. He sent for him to declare unto the mistaken people what they ought to think of *Jesus*, concerning whom they had, he pretended, conceived some wrong notion. For the better conveniency of his being heard, he was placed in some gallery, or high balcony of the temple, where the people from below inquired of him concerning the crucified *Jesus*, to which the good old bishop answered, That *Jesus*, whom you crucified, sits now at the right hand of God.

As the populace below were of the *Jewish* leaven, the priests and *Pharisees* that headed them, expected them to have broke out into invectives and blasphemies, instead of which they all broke out into *Hozannahs* to him ; upon which the chiefs cried out, *The Just*, alluding to his surname, is also in the delusion, and ordered him to be thrown headlong down. His fall not having made an end of him, they fell a covering him with stones, whilst he prayed to God for them, for which one of them came and knocked his brains out with a club (45).

(38) Clem. Alexand. Hægesip. ap. Euseb. Eccles. hist. l. ii. c. 1. Epiphani. hæres. 29. & 78.

quo vid. Vol. I. p. 636, b, c, &c.

(39) Vid. Galat. i. 19. Joseph. antiq. l. xx. c. 8.

(40) Galat. ii. 9.

(41) Acts xv. 4. & seq.

(42) Ibid. ver. 13. & seq. Vid. & Lestley's case stated.

(43) Vid. Hieron. in

Galat. i.

(44) Annal. an. 63.

(45) Euseb. ubi supra, l. ii. c. 23.

† De

- a still a great power, even of life and death, as we observed in the case of *St. Stephen*. The reader may see some further tokens of it in the margin (O). But from this time it was so curtailed and reduced, that no footstep was to be seen of it, even before the last siege of *Jerusalem*, which was to give the finishing stroke to that and several noble prophecies. As this conversion of the *Roman* centurion was to usher in a new and singular epoch, it is no wonder it was accompanied with such remarkable and miraculous circumstances. Of this sort were the extraordinary piety and charity in that new proselyte, and the vision that appeared to him, and directed him where to send for *Peter*, who was to preach Christ to him; the surprising vision, which that apostle had about the same time; the explanation and the command which he received from the Spirit, the great readiness with which *Cornelius* and his company received the word preached; and their being endowed with the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost, even before their baptism. All which are so well known, that we shall not dwell longer upon them; but only observe, that there was a further necessity of some such extraordinary and miraculous circumstances to determine *Peter*, and satisfy the rest of the apostles and *Jewish* converts; since it plainly appears, that notwithstanding Christ's repeated commission to them to convert all nations, yet they so little dreamed of the heathen being to be brought into this fold, that the former would never have gone to proselyte this or any other heathen, nor the rest have been pacified for his so doing, if these remarkable occurrences had not reminded them, that a happy entrance was to be thereby opened to the rest of the *Gentile* world.

We return now to the *Jews*, who soon after the death of *Tiberius*, received a new governor from *Rome*, named *Marullus*, instead of *Pontius Pilate*, or rather of *Marcellus*, to whom the care of *Judaea* had been committed after his deposition. At the same time *Caius Caligula* gave his old friend *Agrippa*, the son of *Aristobulus*, and grand-

• De hoc vid. Act. x. & xi. pass. & alib.

(O) We have a pregnant instance of this in the assault which was made on *St. Paul* in the temple (36), where he was seized, and was going to be carried before the high-priest, but was rescued by *Claudius Lysias*, the commanding officer of that place. This is the first instance we meet with of the *Romans* interfering in a case of this nature; and accordingly, when the prisoner was brought before the governor, *Tertullus*, the *Jewish* orator, complained of the violence done to them, in these words (37): We found this pestilent fellow, meaning *Paul*, raising sedition through the world, a ring-leader of the *Nazarine* sect, who went also to profane our temple: whom we therefore laid hold on, and would have judged according to our law. But the chief captain *Lysias* came, and by main violence rescued him from our hands, &c.

What judgment they designed to have passed upon him, is easy to know, both by what the people cried out when he made his defence (38), and by the accusation they brought against him, sedition and sacrilege; for such they deemed the profanation of the temple, which was made capital by their law. Accordingly, we have taken notice in a former section of certain inscriptions fastened to certain pillars of the building, forbidding all strangers, and polluted *Israelites*, to enter beyond the court of the *Gentiles*, under pain of death †. It may be likewise gathered from the judgment which *Festus*, *Agrippa*, and others made of him, that he had done nothing worthy of death (39); by the reason which *Festus* gave for not delivering him into their hands; *It is not the custom*, said he, *for the Romans to deliver a man to die, before, &c.* (40) and by the *Jews* laying in wait to kill him by stratagem, since they could not get it done in a judicial way.

As this seems further confirmed to us by his appeal to *Cæsar*. He knew the crime alledged against him to be capital, and chiefly of a religious nature; and

yet refuses to be tried by the sanhedrin, and affirms that he ought not to be judged by any other tribunal than that of *Cæsar*. Doth not this imply that the power of life and death, even in religious cases, was by this time taken away? Doth not the defence he made there before *Festus* (41) seem to amount to this? Though the new governor, out of a desire to ingratiate himself to the *Jews*, offers to make them judges of my cause; and if they should condemn me, has still the power to put a negative upon their sentence; yet for as much as all capital cases are now to be tried only before *Cæsar's* tribunal, I appeal to that, and protest against his compliance to them as contrary to the present law.

Upon the whole we have an instance of the sanhedrin's trying, condemning, and executing *Stephen* by their own authority about a year after Christ. Twenty-six years after they endeavoured to do the same by *St. Paul*, and were prevented by the *Roman* captain. Being hindered from doing it by their own authority, they endeavoured to prevail first upon the old, next upon the new governor, to consent to his being put to death, and are refused by both, unless after a fair trial and conviction at the *Roman* tribunal. At length they found means to persuade the new one to recede in some measure from his prerogative, and let them try the pretended criminal themselves; and this last protests against it, and appeals to *Cæsar* as the only tribunal where he can be lawfully tried. What can this argue, but that between the death of *St. Stephen*, and the trial of *St. Paul*, the *Jews* had lost all their power of trying criminal causes; and since this instance of the latter is the first we meet with, of their being divested of that power, about twenty years after the conversion of *Cornelius*; seems it not to follow, that the *Jewish* sceptre was not totally departed, till after the *Gentiles* had been gathered to that of the *Shiloh* there prophesied?

(36) Acts xxi. 27. & seq. p. 146, sub not. (B).

(37) Ibid. xxiv. 5. & seq.

(38) Ibid. xxii. 22, 23.

† Vid. sup.

(39) xxvi. 31.

(40) Ibid. xxv. 16.

(41) Acts xxv. 9. & seq.

son of *Herod the Great*, of whom we have formerly spoken *, the tetrarchy of his late uncle *Philip*, and added to it that of *Abylene* in *Syria*, which had formerly belonged to *Lysanias*. *Agrippa*, whom *St. Luke* calls by the common name of *Herod* †, had been brought up at *Rome* with *Drusus* the son of *Tiberius*, and by his extreme generosity, or rather profuseness, had gained himself many friends at court; but they were of the courtly mould. For after *Drusus's* death, the emperor having removed all the friends of that young prince from him, lest they should revive the memory of his son, *Agrippa* found himself reduced to the greatest extremities, indebted over head ears, penniless, and almost friendless. In this condition he came into *Judaea*, and shut himself up in a castle in *Idumea*, resolved through shame, vexation, and misery, to starve himself to death. His wife *Cyprus*, the daughter of *Phasaël*, did what she could to assist him, writ to his sister in his behalf; and these two furnished him with some present subsistence, but all too little for a prince of his extravagant temper. To this *Herod*, *Herodias's* husband, added some further favours to him, made him a magistrate of *Tiberias*, assisted him with some small sums. But this kindness was soon at an end, and *Herod* having one day upbraided him with it at some banquet, *Agrippa*, who could not brook the affront, retired to *Flaccus*, governor of *Syria*, where he had not stayed long before he disoblige him, and was forced to retire again into *Italy*. After many other rubs and misfortunes, which the reader may see in *Josephus* ‡, he was at length, through the ill offices of one of his freedmen, thrown into prison, and loaded with chains, by *Tiberius*. He continued in this miserable condition till that prince's death, when *Caius*, with whom he had formerly contracted an intimate friendship, sent for him from his prison to his own palace, arrayed him in purple, exchanged his iron chain for one of gold of the same weight, put a diadem on his head, and gave him the two tetrarchies above-mentioned, with the title of king. *Agrippa* did not however come immediately into his new dominions, but continued about a year longer at *Rome* with the new emperor. He obtained at length leave of him to come and visit his *Jewish* territories, and to set things in the best order, and took *Egypt* in his way. He embarked at *Puteoli* at the end of *July*, and came a few days after in sight of *Alexandria*. The magnificence of his entry into that city, though he chose to make it in the night to avoid its being too much observed, drew the envy of the *Alexandrians*, who could not behold this new upstart *Jewish* king in such splendor, without offering several indignities to him, though at a distance (P); and *Flaccus* their governor, who was no lover of the *Jews*, not only winked at it, but beheld it with a secret pleasure. He was likewise there informed of the indirect means which *Flaccus* had taken to render the *Jewish* nation odious to the emperor. All which made him willing to leave the place as soon as possible. The great oppressions, persecutions, and horrid butcheries, which the *Alexandrian Jews* suffered from this base governor, for refusing to worship the new mad emperor, and his behaviour to the ambassadors, sent to him to represent their loyalty in all other cases that were consistent with their law, are out of our province; the reader may see a full account of it in *Philo* above-mentioned §; and we shall see by-and-by, that those of *Judaea* were like to have suffered as much from him, though they had such a powerful advocate as king *Agrippa* to intercede for them, had not *Caius's* death put a happy period to his impious project of being acknowledged as a deity.

Agrippa raised by Caius.
Year of the flood 3037.
Of Christ 43.

Jews persecuted at Alexandria.

Flaccus's cruelties punished.

Herod Antipas's ambition.

WHILST these horrid cruelties were acting at *Alexandria*, *Agrippa*, who had left that city to get into his new kingdom, took care to acquaint the emperor with them, who dispatched *Bassus* immediately to seize that bloody governor, and bring him to *Rome*, where he was stripped of all his riches, banished into an island of the *Archipelago*, and at length put to death there.

IN the mean time *Herod Antipas*, who had formerly treated *Agrippa* with such contempt, could not now behold his glory, and his being in such favour with *Caligula*,

* See before, sect. v. p. 152. in fin. not.
† In *Flaccus*.

‡ *Act. xii. 1, & seq.*

§ *Antiq. l. xviii. c. 7.*

(P) One of them was the setting up a poor foolish fellow that used to go naked about the streets, dressing him in a kind of mock royalty, and making him ride through the great places of the city with a tattered life-guard like himself, and huzzaing of

him with the word *Maris*, which means the same as, God bless the king; whilst others came to present their petitions, demanded justice, &c. and exposed his royalty to the most audacious ridicule (42).

(42) *Philo in Flaccum Joseph. antiq. l. xviii. c. 8.*

a without the deepest envy. His wife, a haughty woman, could not brook that he should be contented with the bare title of tetrarch, whilst her brother was now raised to that of a king; and did not cease teasing him, till she made him take a journey to Rome to obtain the same title from the emperor. She even accompanied him thither, in hopes that her presence would greatly influence that monarch; but Agrippa, who was timely acquainted with their ambitious designs, had taken care to send thither one of his freedmen, named *Fortunatus*, to accuse Herod with having had a hand in *Sejanus's* late conspiracy, and as a proof of it, to mention the arsenals which he had filled with arms, sufficient to furnish seventy thousand men. As soon therefore as Herod was entered into the presence, and had paid his respects to the emperor, *Fortunatus* presented him with Agrippa's letter. Caius having read it, asked Herod whether he had really such a great reserve of arms? He was forced to confess it; upon which he was stripped of his tetrarchy, and sent into banishment to Lyons in France. *Caius* understanding however that *Herodias* was Agrippa's sister, he offered to pardon her, and to procure her the payment of all the sums she had lent her brother; but she refused his generosity, and since she had been the cause of her husband's disgrace, she chose to accompany him, and to share the same fate with him (Q); upon which Caius gave both his tetrarchy, and all his treasure, to Agrippa, after Herod had enjoyed the former forty-three years.

Accused to Caius.

Banished.

c In the mean time, Caius having taken it into his head to cause his statue to be set up in the very sanctuary of the temple, sent orders to *Petronius*, then governor of Syria, to see it executed, and to have a number of troops ready to prevent any obstruction from the Jews. *Petronius*, who knew the zeal of these, as well as the impetuosity of his master, could not set about such a command without some dread; and to gain time, sent for the best statuarys and materials from distant parts, whilst he gathered his army into the neighbourhood of *Ptolemais*. This last action having alarmed the nation, he was forced to tell them the orders he had received; upon which he was addressed by all the heads of the Jews, who in the humblest manner assured him, that they would sooner hazard the loss of all that was dear to them, even their lives, than suffer their temple to be thus profaned. The governor strove to bring them into a compliance, by reminding them of the danger of their opposing, or of his not obeying the emperor's command, and that their resistance would be interpreted as a downright rebellion. They answered him, that the prayers and sacrifices they offered daily for the emperor were a sufficient token of their loyalty. However, added they, we are so far from designing to rise up in arms upon this occasion, that we will suffer ourselves to be butchered in the most cruel manner; and this will be all the resistance you will meet with from us, if you go on with your design.

A new storm raised against the Jews. Year of the flood 3038. Of Christ 33.

d Soon after this, *Aristobulus* the brother of Agrippa, accompanied with some of the royal family, came to *Petronius*, and begged that they might have leave to try to mollify the emperor by an embassy, and that he would second it with a letter to that monarch in their behalf. *Petronius* at length consented to write to the emperor, but forbade them to send any embassy, or let their reluctance be so much as suspected at the Roman court. He wrote accordingly to the emperor, that he had met with difficulties in the execution of his orders, through want of proper hands; and that the statue, which he designed should be a masterpiece of its kind, was not yet reared, because he feared lest the taking so many men from their other labours, should bring a scarcity in the land, lower the tribute, and such other reasons, which instead of appeasing, greatly exasperated the emperor. He was just reading the letter, and in the height of his resentment, when king Agrippa, who was then at Rome, came into his presence. He was greatly surprised to see such a mixture of passions in his looks and gestures, and began to fear he had either offended, or been in some way misrepresented to him; when Caius, who easily observed his disorder, broke the secret to him in words to this effect: Your Jewish subjects are strange creatures to refuse to acknow-

Agrippa intercedes for them.

* Antiq. l. xviii. c. 9. Vid. & Dio, lib. lix. Puzo, ubi supra.

(Q) Josephus tells us elsewhere, that he was banished into Spain (43), and that he died there; so that he must either have fled thither afterwards, or, which is more likely, he was sent thither from Lyons, when Caius and Agrippa came to this last place, and made some stay in it. This was the Herod before whom Christ was brought before his death.

ledge me for a god, and to provoke my resentment against them ; I had commanded a the statue of *Jupiter* to be set up in their temple, and they have, it seems, opposed it, and raised a kind of universal insurrection.

Obtains his
suit.

A T these words *Agrippa*, like one thunder-struck, after having in vain tried to keep himself up, fell into a swoon, and was carried off into his own palace, where he continued in that condition till the third day, when having taken a little sustenance, he set himself about writing to the emperor the letter which the reader may see at full length in *Josephus* ^c, and the substance of it in the margin (R). *Caius*, instead of being moved at the king's concern, was rather the more exasperated against the *Jews*, and against him, for his concern for such an ungrateful race, as he called them, whom all his favours could not work into a compliance to his will. However, he b began to relent when he read the letter, and *Agrippa*, who drew a good omen even from his not answering it, took the liberty to invite him to a sumptuous entertainment, which *Caius*, who really loved him, easily accepted. Here the *Jewish* king, having well warmed his guest with wine, began to extol the great and signal favours he had heaped upon him ; and by his large encomiums, and expressions of gratitude, found means to get a fresh promise of whatever he should ask. To this *Agrippa* answered, Since it is your pleasure to add this new favour to all the rest, I will beg for such a one as will at once be an irrefragable proof of your goodness to me, and draw a plenty of heavenly blessings upon your head ; and that is, that you will set aside your resolution of setting up the statue in the temple of *Jerusalem*. This petition, which c shewed not only the greatest disinterestedness, but also the most unfeigned love for his country and religion, even at the hazard of his life, had such an effect on that emperor, that he wrote immediately to his governor, that if his statue was not already set up, he should forbear doing it ; adding, that he had altered his design out of friendship to *Agrippa*. However, the lightness of his temper soon made him repent of his complaisance to him ; so that he designed to have made a second attempt, unknown to him. At the same time his resentment against *Petronius* being kindled afresh, he sent him an order to dispatch himself ; but *Caius* was assassinated time enough to prevent either mischief taking effect ^a (S).

Agrippa's policy at Rome.

Agrippa, who was still at *Rome*, did not a little contribute to the succession of d *Claudius* (T) ; in consideration of which, this last confirmed to him all *Caligula's* grants,

^a Antiq. l. xviii. c. 11. Vid. & legat. ad Caium.

^c Antiq. ubi supra. Sueton. in Caligul.

(R) He began with justifying the love he had expressed for his own country in their last interview, and to which he was bound, not only by the law of nature, but even by those of his own religion, he being descended from a race of such noble ancestors, as had during a long series of successions enjoyed the regal and pontifical dignity ; for so he really was by his grandmother *Mariamne*, the beloved wife of *Herod the Great*, who was of the race of the *Asmonean* princes, as we have often hinted in some former sections.

He went on with acquainting him, that he chose to intercede for his own nation in writing, rather than by word of mouth, as he thought it the most respectful way of the two ; and that the many signal favours he had received from him, gave him grounds to hope, that he should now obtain a favour, which would cost him nothing, but would be esteemed by the *Jews* as the greatest he could bestow on them : That *Jerusalem* could not but be thought worthy of his regard, since it was the first city of the east, which had proclaimed him emperor, and offered up sacrifices for him : That as to the temple of that metropolis, it had been highly revered by *Augustus*, *Tiberius*, and many others of his ancestors, for whose memory he professed a singular honour, and whose pious conduct, he hoped, he would imitate upon this occasion : That as to himself, the greatest favours he had heaped upon him would only increase his unhappiness, if he did not think fit to grant him this last : That it was impossible for him to outlive the profanation of that

sacred place, and the disgrace and ruin of his nation.

He concluded with reminding him, that he should be justly esteemed a traitor to both, if he should be wanting in using his utmost interest at this juncture, and that the world would not fail to think him discarded of his imperial favour, if he did not succeed in a petition of this nature. This long and pathetic letter was immediately sealed, and sent to the emperor ; and *Agrippa* waited with the utmost impatience for an answer, but in vain ; *Caius*, though mollified by it, not vouchsafing to take the least notice of it to him.

(S) During this interval, besides the raging persecution in *Alexandria*, there happened some others in other places, and upon other accounts, particularly in *Mesopotamia* and *Babylon*. But we chuse to refer our readers for them to *Josephus* (44), rather than swell this history with things that happened out of *Palestine*.

It will be sufficient to observe here, that as the *Jews* in other parts withstood the preaching of the gospel, where-ever the apostles and primitive converts brought it, and with the same vehemence as those of *Palestine*, they seldom, if ever, fail'd sharing in their punishment.

(T) It must be owned, that the part which *Agrippa* acted in this election between the new emperor and the senate, is not much to his honour, and was more becoming a consummate courtier than a king (45), as we shall see in the *Roman* history. But the wonder will cease, when we remember that he had been brought up at that court, had spent most of his life

(44) Antiq. ubi supra, c. 12. per tot.

(45) Vid. *Joseph. & Dio*, loc. sup. citat.

a grants, gave him *Judæa*, *Samaria*, and the southern parts of *Idumæa*, entered into a solemn alliance with him, and made several edicts in favour of the *Jews*. At his request, he gave likewise the kingdom of *Chalcis* to his brother *Herod*, who was also his son-in-law; *Agrippa* had the honours of the consulship, and *Herod* those of the prætorship, conferred upon them; both were intitled to enter into the senate, and to pay their compliments to the emperor in *Greek*, which was usually done in *Latin* ^w. All these grants were engraven on copper, and set up in the capitol; thus was *Agrippa* raised to the height of glory, his territories extended to the furthest limits of his grandfather *Herod the Great*, and his power and credit with the senate even much greater than his, when at the highest pitch.

b He returned soon after into his kingdom, where he shewed a more extraordinary attachment to the *Jewish* religion, than any of his predecessors, and began with the solemn performance of the vow of *Nazareat* †; after which he caused the golden chain, which *Caius* had given him, to be hanged up in one of the most conspicuous parts of the temple, to be a monument to posterity of the instability of human affairs. He deposed *Theophilus* from the high-priesthood, and gave it to *Simon Cantharus* the son of *Boethus*. He divested him of it soon after, to bestow it on *Jonathan* the son of *Annas*, who had already enjoyed it after *Caiaphas*; but he modestly refused it, telling the king, that he thought himself sufficiently honoured to have once enjoyed that dignity; upon which it was given to his brother *Matthias* ^r.

c *Agrippa* was not only a zealous observer of the *Jewish* religion, but he was likewise an excellent prince, delighting in acts of generosity and clemency (U). He had been at an immense charge in building, beautifying and fortifying a new quarter on the north side of the city, which he called *Bezetha*, or the new city, and in procuring the emperor's leave to surround it with a strong wall, which, if he had obtained, would have rendered that metropolis impregnable. But *Vivius Marsus*, who had this year succeeded *Petronius* in the government of *Syria*, represented the danger of such a design, which had already been carried on to some forwardness, in such lively colours, that *Claudius* immediately sent him an order to desist. So considerable was he, and esteemed by all his neighbours, that in one of his progresses to *Tiberias*, he had no less than five kings, who came to compliment him there. These were *Antiochus*, king of *Comagene*, *Samsigeran*, king of *Emesa*, *Coltis*, king of *Lesser Armenia*, *Polemon*, king of *Pontus*, and *Herod*, king of *Chalcis*. This meeting however gave *Marsus* such jealousy, that he came thither himself; and tho' *Agrippa* complimented him so far, as to go seven stades to meet him, yet that governor commanded them all to depart, and return to their respective kingdoms. This action did so affront the *Jewish* king, that he sent to desire the emperor to recall him from his government, and easily obtained it; but *Claudius* died just before the orders had reached *Syria* ^v.

d Upon his return to *Jerusalem*, he deposed *Matthias* the son of *Annas* from the high-priesthood, and gave that dignity to *Elionæus* the son of *Citbæus*; and as he was

^w Antiq. l. xix. c. 3, & 4. Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 18. Dio, lib. lx. † De hoc vid. Vol. I. p. 631, & seq. ^x Antiq. ubi supra, c. 5, 6, & 7. ^y Antiq. ibid. cap. ult. ad fin.

life there, and that the various vicissitudes his fortune had formerly led him through, would not suffer him to be over-nice at such a juncture, when his kingdom and all depended upon his securing the friendship of the next successor. In other things he really acted in a quite different character, as the sequel will shew.

(U) We have a signal instance of it in the case of one *Simon*, a surly fanatic lawyer, who had ventured to exclaim against him in a public assembly, as unfit to enter into the court of the *Israelites*, because he was an *Idumean* by the father's side. The king, who was then at *Cæsarea*, only sent for him to the theatre, made him sit down by him, and instead of reproving his boldness, mildly asked him, whether there was any thing in him, or his actions, which he thought contrary to the *Jewish* law. This behaviour so mollified the man, that he answered him in the negative, approved of all he did, (for *Agrippa* was very fond of those public shews) and in a submissive manner begged pardon for his former speech,

which was readily granted to him (46).

His treatment of *Silas*, whose great obligations he had already rewarded with the command of all his forces, has indeed been censured as favouring of ingratitude; but the abuse which that general had made of his power, his contemptuous behaviour towards him, and his public protesting that he would never cease upbraiding him with his former condition, and his own past services to him, might well deserve his resentment; which yet he carried no further than imprisoning him: for it was *Herod* that put him to death immediately after that of *Agrippa* (47).

Josephus, in the place last quoted, instances, as a monument of his magnificence, the stately theatre which he built at *Berytus* in *Phœnicia*; in which, among other spectacles he gave the people there, he caused fourteen thousand condemned criminals to represent a fight, which they did in such good earnest, that there was not one left alive of all that number.

(46) Antiq. l. xix. c. 7.

(47) Id. ibid.

Beheaded James,
and imprisoned
Peter.

very fond of pleasing the Jewish nation, he began to persecute the christians, who till then seem to have been very quiet at Jerusalem ever since St. Paul's conversion. The first who fell a victim to his popular zeal, was James the Less, surnamed Boanerges, whom he caused to be beheaded (W). The pleasure which this action gave to the Jews, encouraged him to imprison Peter also, with a design to cut him off also immediately after the feast, which was that of the passover, and fell on that year on the first of April, in the forty-fourth year after Christ. Peter was therefore strongly guarded, having four quaternions of soldiers at his prison door, and being fastened hands and feet with chains to his dungeon; whilst prayers were put up for him by all the christians in and about Jerusalem, and obtained him a miraculous deliverance. For on the very night before his designed martyrdom, an angel came and awaked him out of a sound sleep, knocked off his fetters, opened the prison door, and led him safe through some of the streets of the city, and left him to go and seek for some safe asylum; which he accordingly did, after he had gone and acquainted some of the brethren with his miraculous deliverance.

His dreadful
death.

Judæa made a
province by
Claudius.

Soon after this disappointment, Agrippa returned to Casarea, where he designed to have exhibited some public games in honour of Claudius Caesar, and was attended thither with a numerous train of the most considerable persons, both of his own, and of the neighbouring nations. He appeared early on the second morning of the festival at the public theatre, in a costly suit artfully wrought, so that the sun-beams darting upon the silver ground of it, were reflected with such an uncommon lustre, that the people beheld him with a kind of divine respect. He addressed himself in an elegant speech to the deputies of Tyre and Sidon, who had been some time in disgrace with him, and were now come to beg his pardon, and the continuance of his favour to their respective nations. Here the ambassadors, prompted perhaps by some of his court sycophants, as is usual in such cases, gave a great shout, crying out, that it was the voice of a god, and not of a man, and added some gestures of a kind of adoration. The king, too sensible of the people's praise, approved instead of checking their impious flattery; upon which the angel of the Lord smote him with a dreadful disease, under which having lingered five days, he expired in all the misery that can be expressed or imagined (X). He left a son of the same name, who was then but seventeen years old, and had been brought up at Rome, and three daughters, Berenice married to Herod, and then sixteen years of age, and Mariamne and Drusilla both young, and unmarried, though contracted the former to Julius Archelaus, the son of Chalcias, and the latter to Epiphanes the son of Antiochus, king of Comagene. He died in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the seventh of his reign. Claudius was going to bestow the kingdom on his son, according to a former promise; but was dissuaded from it by his courtiers, on pretence that he was too young to be trusted with the care of such a nation; upon which Judæa became again a province of the empire, and Cuspius Fadus was sent governor of it, with this particular order, that he should act nothing in concert with Marfus, that he should severely punish the inhabitants of Casarea and Sebaste, or Samaria, for the indignities they had offered

* Act. xii. per tot.

* Ibid. ver. 30. ad fin. Antiq. ubi supra.

(W) This was not the James whom we mentioned a little higher to have been a near relation of Christ, and on that account chosen bishop of Jerusalem, and was not martyred till many years after; but one of the sons of Zebedee, and brother of John.

Eusebius adds (48), upon the testimony of Clemens, bishop of Alexandria, that the soldier or captain that was to lead him to execution, was converted to christianity, by the noble defence which that apostle made at his trial, and that they were both martyred together. Some other particularities concerning his austere life, great piety, &c. are added, which tho' they may be true enough, we dare not vouch for upon the bare testimony of ancient tradition (49).

(X) The sacred historian says, that he was eaten of worms (50), and Josephus, that he was seized with such violent pains in his heart and bowels, that he could not but reflect on the baseness of his

flatterers, who had but lately complimented him with a kind of divine immortality, who was now going to expire in all the torments and agonies of a miserable mortal.

The latter adds, that whilst he was as yet in his prison, an owl happened to perch over his head; upon which a German, who was there, foretold him his future rise and happiness; but bid him take notice, that the next time that he saw that bird, it would prove ominous to him, and that he would live but five days after it; which happened accordingly. For whilst he was applauding himself with the shouts and compliments, which the assembly were paying to him, on occasion of his oration, the same bird appeared over his head, perching upon a rope, from which he concluded that his life and glory was at an end (1).

(48) Eccl. Hist. l. ii. c. 9.

(49) Vid. Epiph. heres. 58. c. 4. & seq. & al.

(50) Act. xii. 23.

(1) Conf. antiq. l. xviii. c. 8. & l. xix. c. ult.

- a to the memory of the late king (Y) ; and that he should send the troops that were kept in *Judæa* away into *Pontus*. But he was soon after persuaded to let them abide still in the former, which proved a source of new troubles and miseries ^b. It was about this time that the famine foretold by *Agabus*, a christian prophet ^c, began to rage ; against which the new churches planted at *Antioch*, and other places, sent the believers at *Jerusalem* a liberal relief, by the hands of *Paul* and *Barnabas* ; whilst *Helen*, queen of *Adiabene*, is said to have relieved the *Jews*, and afterwards the christians, in the pious and plentiful manner we have spoken of in a former volume [†].

- Fadus*, upon his arrival into *Judæa*, was forced to suppress the banditti, which were by that time grown very numerous and powerful ; and to quell an insurrection ^{Fadus sent into Judæa.} which the *Jews* had raised against the inhabitants of *Philadelphie*, which was the same city with *Rabbah*, the capital of the *Ammonites* ^d. In the mean time *Claudius*, having recalled *Marcus* out of respect to the late king, had sent *Cassius Longinus* into that government, who came immediately to *Jerusalem*, and insisted upon the pontifical vestments being put into his possession, in order to be kept, as formerly, in the fortress of *Antonia*. The *Jews* surprised at this new demand, begged leave that they might send a deputation to the emperor against it, and did not obtain it from that governor, till some of the heads of the nation had put their sons as hostages into his hands. But upon the ambassadors applying to *Claudius*, in which they were backed by the young *Agrippa*, they obtained a grant, that those sacred robes should be kept in the possession of the high-priest, in the manner *Vitellius* had granted it, six years before. ^{Year of the flood 3043. Of Christ 45 or 48.} At the same time *Herod* king of *Chalcis* obtained of that emperor the superintendency of both the temple and sacred treasury ; together with the authority of naming whom he would to the pontifical dignity ; in pursuance to which, he deposed *Cantbaras*, and raised *Joseph* the son of *Cami* to it. After *Herod's* death, young *Agrippa* obtained the same grant for himself, and enjoyed it till the time of the *Jewish* war ^e.

- DURING *Fadus's* government there arose a notable impostor, named *Theudas* (Z), ^{Theudas an impostor be-headed.} who drew great numbers of the deluded *Jews* after him, bidding them follow him beyond *Jordan*, and promising them that he would divide the waters of that river, as *Joshua* had done, by his single word. *Cuspius* sent some troops of horse and foot against him and his followers, killed some of them, took others prisoners, and amongst them *Theudas* himself, whom he caused to be beheaded, and his head to be brought to *Jerusalem*. This, according to *Josephus*, is the most remarkable thing that happened during *Fadus's* government ^f : he was soon after succeeded by *Tiberius Alexander*, an apostate *Jew*, of sacerdotal race, and nephew to the famous *Philo*, often quoted in this chapter ^g. One of his first exploits was the crucifying *James* and *Simon*, the sons of *Judas*, surnamed *Galileus*, head of the *Gaulonitish* sect, spoken of in a former section ; and about the same time *Herod*, king of *Chalcis*, having deposed *Joseph* the son of *Cami*, gave the high-priesthood to *Ananias* the son of *Nebedeus*, and died soon after, in the eighth year of *Claudius*. That emperor gave his kingdom to young ^e *Agrippa*, in prejudice of *Aristobulus*, the eldest son of the deceased.

Ventidius Cumanus succeeded *Alexander* in the government of *Judæa*, and it was in his time that those troubles began, which ended in the ruin of the *Jewish* nation. The great concourse of people, which their festival brought to *Jerusalem*, obliged the *Romans* at such times to keep a guard before the gates of the temple, to prevent tumults. It was now the passover, when one of the *Roman* soldiers upon duty, had the impudence to expose his nudity to open sight ; this indignity raised the resentment of the *Jews* to such a height, that they went and complained of it to *Cumanus*, and in an insolent manner told him, that the affront was offered by his order, not only to the nation, but to God. He tried at first to appease them by fair means, but

^b Antiq. ubi supra. & 2.

^c Act. xi. 27. ad fin.

^e Ibid.

^f Id. ibid.

[†] Vol. III. p. 849, & seq.

^g Antiq. l. xx. c. 1.

^h Ibid. c. iii. & bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 11.

(Y) These ungrateful wretches, not contented with making the greatest rejoycings at *Agrippa's* death, and blackening his memory with the vilest outrages, had pulled down the statues of his three daughters from the theatres, and other public places, and carried them into their public stews ; where they prostituted them in such a manner, as is unfit to be mentioned (1).

(Z) We must take care not to confound this *Theudas* of *Josephus* with another mentioned by St. Luke, and said to have appeared just after the death of *Herod the Great*, and has been taken notice of in a former section [†] ; and is supposed to be the same with the son of *Exechias* mentioned by *Josephus* under the name of *Judas*.

(1) Antiq. l. xx. c. 1.

[†] Pag. 188. c, d, & (3).

Year of the
flood 3050.
Of Christ 55
or 52.

finding them to grow more tumultuous, he ordered all his troops to come to the place ; the sight of which alarmed them so, that they fled in the greatest fright and confusion, insomuch that upwards of ten thousand were stifled to death in their flight, by running over one another in the narrow passages that led to and from the temple. The copies of *Eusebius* and *St. Jerom* say thirty thousand. Soon after this disaster another happened in *Samaria*, where some *Galilean Jews*, going to one of the feasts, were insulted, and one of them killed. This brought on a terrible skirmish, in which a great number of the *Jews* were killed, and the rest went to complain to *Cumanus* against the *Samaritans* ; but he, being bribed by these, refused to do them justice ; upon which the matter was brought before *Quadratus*, governor of *Syria*, who sent both parties to *Rome*, and *Cumanus* with them, to answer for themselves there (A). The *Samaritans* were cast, and condemned to die, *Cumanus* sent into banishment, and *Celer*, one of his tribunes, who had been involved in the same guilt, condemned to be dragged through the streets of *Jerusalem*, and then put to death ^b.

Felix made
procurator of
Judæa.

In the year following *Claudius Felix*, the brother of *Pallas*, the emperor's chief favourite, being then in *Judæa*, succeeded *Cumanus* in the government of it, under whom the *Jewish* affairs went still from bad to worse (B). The land swarmed without with robbers and banditti, and within with false prophets, and pretended miracle mongers, who were still blowing the coals of discontent and sedition ; so that there passed scarcely a day in which there was not some dreadful execution made upon some of those miscreants ^c. To these we may join the *Sicarii* or assassins (C), which crouded themselves into all the cities and towns of the kingdom, and committed the most horrid murders and butcheries, under covert and pretence of zeal for their religion and liberties. Among the false prophets, and pretended saviours, by whom that infatuated nation was seduced, there was a signal one that came from *Egypt*, and had drawn above thirty thousand men after him, by the large promises he made to them of a speedy deliverance. He was however soon dispersed by the *Roman* troops ; but one was no sooner gone, but there started up another, so that the most violent remedies did rather inflame than assuage their seditious disease. But *Felix* did not exert his cruelties on the rebellious rout alone, but on all others indiscriminately, whom his avarice or resentment marked out for destruction. This obliged the good old priest *Jonathan*, who had been most instrumental in procuring him the government, to expostulate often with him, and to complain of his ill conduct. *Felix* at length, unable to bear his just cen-

His character.

^a *Antiq. ubi supra*, c. 4, & 5.

^b *Ibid.* c. 6. *Bell. Jud.* l. ii. c. 12.

(A) They were all sent in chains thither, though they were the heads of each of the contending nations. Those among the *Jews*, were *Annas*, and *Jonathan*, who had been both high-priests, *Ananias* the present pontiff, and his son the captain of the temple, or rather chief of the *Levites*, who were the keepers of it, with some others. Those of the *Samaritans* were likewise considerable persons, and these joined interest with *Cumanus* ; but the credit of young *Agrippa* at the *Roman* court easily turned the scales in favour of the *Jews*.

Those in *Judæa* had not met with so favourable a judge, and *Quadratus*, who had the power to try and condemn even the governors themselves, if he found them guilty, though he remitted the grand trial to *Cæsar's* court, had caused a great number of the most stirring among them to be, some crucified, and others beheaded, besides those that had been killed in the several engagements, especially in the canton of *Acrabatene* (3).

(B) *Josephus* says, that the *Jewish* nation, especially *Jonathan* the late high-priest, had desired him for their governor. He had been the year before chosen one of the judges by *Quadratus*, in the dispute between them and the *Samaritans*, and had perhaps ingratiated himself to them by his mild behaviour towards them ; but after he became their governor, he behaved like a tyrant. *Tacitus* says rightly of him (4), that he governed them with the arbitrariness of a

monarch, and with the genius of a slave. He was the brother of *Pallas*, and therefore made no difficulty of committing the greatest oppressions and cruelties, till the flame broke out into an open rebellion, and ended in the most dreadful ruin and misery that ever nation felt.

(C) These were another kind of robbers, who came and mixed themselves among the crowds and assemblies, with short daggers under their cloaks, and stabbed all that came near them in open day, and then were the first to cry out murder ! They not only, by this vile method, rid themselves of their enemies, but would hire themselves to murder any others for a small sum. So that it became extremely dangerous to go into any places of public resort.

They are supposed to have been the spawn of the *Gaulonitish* faction, which began near fifty years before, as we have seen in a former section ^{*} ; and in spite of all the severities which the *Romans* made them feel, still kept up their seditious spirit, and daily increased in number. They were afterwards better known by the name of zealots, and under that specious title committed such unheard-of crimes as hastened the total ruin of their city and nation. We have seen in a former volume [†], whence they pretended to derive their origin ; though by their actions one would rather think it came from hell, as we shall see in the sequel.

(3) *Antiq.* l. xx. c. 5.
[†] See Vol. I. p. 675, c. 6c.

(4) *Hist.* l. v. c. 9. *Conf. cum antiq. ubi supra*, c. 6.

^{*} *Pag.* 169, &

- a fures, hired one *Doras*, a person in whom *Jonathan* put great confidence, to assassinate him, which was accordingly done (D). This murder going unpunished, because the person who should have revenged it was the chief actor in it, proved the source of an infinite number of others, which were committed every-where, the temple not excepted; and the Jewish chiefs and even the pontiffs made no scruple to hire the assassins above-mentioned, to rid them of any persons that were obnoxious to them^k.

We have already taken notice, that *Drusilla*, *Agrippa's* daughter, had been con-
 tracted to *Epiphanes*; but he refusing the circumcision, her brother gave her to *Azizus* king of *Emessa*, who consented to that ceremony out of love to her, she being one of the finest women of that age. But as her virtue was far enough below her beauty,

- b *Felix*, who was become enamoured with her, did easily persuade her to forsake her husband, and to be married to him, though a *Pagan*, and one of the worst of that kind^l (E). He was himself made perhaps more sensible of it than ever he had been, when the apostle *St. Paul* was brought before him, and made that noble discourse on justice, temperance, or chastity, and a judgment to come; which threw him into such a fit of remorse and trembling, as made him cry out to him, *It is enough, go thy ways for this time; and when I am more at leisure, I will send for thee*^m. It proved however but of short duration. *Felix* did afterwards send for him indeed more than once, but it was rather in hopes of a bribe from him, than a desire of being made better acquainted with those important truths, which he had heard of him; so that after near two years, finding himself disappointed, and ready to be recalled from his government, he chose to leave his prisoner in bonds, to ingratiate himself to the exasperated Jewsⁿ.

He was accordingly succeeded by *Portius Festus*, who upon his coming found the nation in that distressed condition we have been speaking of; and, which was still worse, the very priesthood had begun a civil war among themselves ever since the last year of *Felix's* government, the occasion of which seems to have been the frequent depositions of the pontiffs, and their pretensions after it to a greater share of the tythes than the inferior priests could afford them (F). *Agrippa* had the year before deposed *Ananias*, and put *Ismael* in his room; there were still several more such discarded pontiffs alive, who all pretended to the same income of the

- d tythes, which they enjoyed with that dignity, which must of course impoverish the inferior sort, who therefore refused it to them. The rancour arose at length to such a height, that each party used to go along accompanied with a troop of the sicarii, and upon every rencounter fell foul on each other, killing all that opposed them, and filled both city and country, and even the very temple sometimes with

Marries Drusilla.

Festus succeeds Felix. Year of the flood 3056. Of Christ 63 or 59.

A civil war among the priests.

* Id. ibid. l Id. ibid. & seq. m Act. xxiv. pass. & antiq. ubi supra, c. 7. n Act. ubi supra, ad fin.

(D) It is impossible to guess from *Josephus*, in what year this murder was committed; only by his expressions it seems to have been done about the beginning of *Felix's* government (5).

(E) Her two sisters did not prove much more virtuous than she. *Berenice* the eldest, and formerly married to her uncle *Herod* king of *Chalcis*, being become a widow, was shrewdly suspected of holding an incestuous intercourse with her brother *Agrippa*. To suppress that suspicion, she married *Polemon* king of *Pontus*, and of part of *Cilicia*; but she soon after broke off with him, and by her loose behaviour confirmed the reports that had been spread concerning her unlawful intrigues. Her husband on the other hand, who had embraced judaism on her account, was no sooner forsaken by her, than he cast off her religion, and returned to his paganism.

Mariamne the youngest had been married betimes to *Archelaus* the son of *Chelcias* or *Elchias*, probably of the *Herodian* family; but she likewise forsook him to marry one *Demetrius*, an *Alexandrian Jew*, and one of the richest and most considerable of that city, and was then their *Alabarea* or chief (6).

(F) We have observed in a former volume*, that the *Levites* were to gather in the tythes from the people, and to allot a tenth part of them to the priests. These allowed the high-priest a proportion

of it suitable to his dignity, and divided the rest among themselves. When therefore the number of deposed pontiffs began to increase to such a degree, as to leave the inferior ones too small a quantity for their sustenance, it bred a mutiny among them. The latter refusing them their competency, they sent their armed men to force it from them, to plunder their houses and barns, and to kill all that opposed them. This obliged them to hire the sicarii to repel force by force, and those that could not stand thus in their own defence, were stripped of all they had, and left to starve.

Josephus says, that *Felix* had sent a good number of them in chains to *Rome* to answer for their crimes, which yet he adds were of a light nature; and might therefore be some of this oppressed sort who had armed themselves against the cruelty of those tyrants. He adds, that they were kept prisoners some years, till he came himself thither on purpose to procure their freedom, which he did by the interest of *Poppa*, who was a lover of their nation, and was soon after married to the emperor *Nero*. He highly applauds the piety of those priests, who, says he, were content to live upon nuts, and dry figs, rather than pollute themselves with the usual food of the *Gentiles* (7).

(5) *Antiq. ubi supra, c. 6.*
 Vol. IV. N° 4.

(6) *Ibid. c. 5.*

* Vol. I. p. 627, & seq.
 Y y y

(7) *In visa sua.*
 blood.

blood. *Festus* was therefore forced to begin his government with the greatest severity, ^a in order to suppress this treble butchery; namely, that of the priesthood against each other; that of the seditious laity against the *Romans* and those that contentedly submitted to them; and that of the banditti abroad, who infested the whole country, and robbed, plundered, and massacred every-where without mercy°. The suppression of all these different parties, and the severe examples he made of their leaders, impostors, and of the most stirring and mutinous of the rebels, was what took up the greatest part of his time and labour during his short government.

Paul brought
before Festus,

THREE days after his arrival in *Judæa*, he went to *Jerusalem*, where *Ananias* the late high-priest, and the rest of the *Jewish* chiefs, came to demand justice against *Paul*, who was still kept prisoner at *Cæsarea*. As soon therefore as he was returned ^b thither, he caused him to be brought before him, and after a full hearing of both sides, especially of the prisoners defence, pronounced him innocent of any capital crime. But his enemies still insisting that he was worthy of death, and *Festus* being willing to oblige them with a second trial at *Jerusalem*, *Paul* took hold on the privileges which the law then gave him, to appeal to *Cæsar*, and prevent thereby the effects of their further malice. *Agrippa* and his sister *Berenice* being come to *Cæsarea* to compliment the new governor, and having expressed a desire of seeing this celebrated prisoner, *Festus*, who knew that prince to be thoroughly versed in the *Jewish* laws and customs, readily agreed to have him brought once more to the bar. Here *Paul* being permitted to speak for himself, made such a noble defence, that *Festus* acquitted ^c him of every fault, except that of having turned his brain with too much learning; whilst *Agrippa*, conscious of the truth and force of his reasoning, owned himself almost convinced by him, and after some private conference with the governor, it was declared that he might have been released, if he had not appealed to *Cæsar* ².

And Agrippa.

Agrippa dis-
pleases the
Jews,

IN the mean time *Agrippa*, who came often to *Jerusalem*, and had a lodging near the temple, of which he had the superintendency given him after his uncle *Herod*, took it into his head to build him a palace there, of such a height, that he could oversee all that was done in the innermost court of it. The *Jews* were the more displeased at it, because *Festus* and the *Romans* would likewise come and take a view of it from thence; for which reason they built a partition wall high enough to cover ^d that sacred place, which the king and governor taking as an affront, ordered it to be pulled down. The *Jews*, after much opposition, obtained leave at length to send deputies to *Rome*; and these by the intercession of *Poppea* (G), got a grant from the emperor for the keeping up of the wall. *Ismael* the then high-priest, being at the head of this embassy, was for his laudable zeal deposed by *Agrippa*, who bestowed that dignity on *Joseph*, surnamed *Cabbis*, the son of the late pontiff *Cantbaras*. *Josephus* adds, that *Poppea* detained *Ismael* and *Chelcias* as hostages at *Rome* ³.

Festus dying towards the latter end of this year, *Nero* nominated *Albinus* to succeed him; in the mean time *Agrippa*, having given the high-priesthood from *Cabbis* to *Ananus*, a proud *Sadducee*, this last took that interval before the arrival of the new ^e prætor to call a council, and to have *James* the apostle and bishop of *Jerusalem*, and some other christians, condemned and stoned to death (H). Upon the governor's arrival at *Alexandria*, complaint was made to him of this presumptuous and unlawful step. *Albinus* resented it, and sent the new pontiff a very threatening letter; and *Agrippa*, who feared the consequence of his anger, took care to depose him, and to put another in his room, viz. *Jesus* the son of *Damneus*, before the governor was got to *Jerusalem*. *Judæa* gained nothing by the change of either governor or pontiff. As for the former, he was such a cruel rapacious monster, that *Felix* and *Festus*, bad as

° Antiq. ubi supra, c. 6.

² Act. xxv, & xxvi. pass.

³ Antiq. ubi supra, c. 7. ad fin.

(G) *Josephus* highly commends that empress's piety, though, setting aside her love to the *Jewish* nation, she had not one virtue that could intitle her to this compliment. On the contrary, she was known to be a leud princess, the promoter of a great number of murders, which she made her husband commit on the greatest persons of the empire, and prevailed at length on that mad monarch, to repudiate, banish, and at length put to death, his virtuous wife *Octavia*, to marry her, as we shall see more at large

in the *Roman* history.

(H) So says *Josephus*; but we have related the manner of his death according to the testimony of some ancient fathers in a late note, to which we refer the reader.

This *Ananus* was the fifth son of that *Ananus* or *Annas* mentioned by the evangelists, that had enjoyed the high-priesthood after their father, an honour and happiness that never happened to any but him, says that *Jewish* historian (S).

(8) Antiq. l. xx. c. 3.

a they were, were honest men to him ; and yet he was still in one respect better than his successor, in that he endeavoured at least, either to hide or to colour his ill actions by some pretext or other.

His first care was to suppress the sicarii, robbers, and banditti, which were now grown more numerous, and bolder than ever. He punished with the utmost severity as many as came into his hands, and they only became the more impudent by it ; infomuch that they ventured one night, during one of their feasts, to enter into the city, and to carry off *Eleazar* the son of *Ananias*, the late high-priest, who was secretary of the temple, and to send his father word that they would not release him, till he had procured the enlargement of ten of their associates, whom *Albinus* kept in prison. *Ananias*, who was a very opulent person, easily bribed with a round sum the rapacious governor to consent to it ; but his compliance was attended with very bad consequences ; being forced still to redeem some near relation at the same price, as often as any of the banditti were got into the governor's hands ^r. On the other hand *Agrippa*, having given the high-priesthood from *Jesus* the son of *Damneus* to *Jesus* the son of *Gamaliel*, those two pontiffs got each of them a strong escort of armed men, and committed the vilest outrages ; not only against each other, but against the inferior sort, who were often plundered of all they had, and reduced to the lowest misery. About this time the *Levites* and singers, who, as we have formerly observed ^{*}, had no particular dress to distinguish them from the laity, obtained leave of *Agrippa* to wear white robes like the priests, and some other privileges, which were contrary to the Jewish law, and did not a little displease the better sort of the Jews, as well as the whole priesthood. *Agrippa* was likewise become odious to his subjects, on account of his high taxes on them, to support his extravagance, sumptuous building, public spectacles, games, and such-like profusions [†].

ABOUT this time all the work of the temple being quite finished, and eighteen thousand hands at once discharged, as we observed in a former section [†], a proposal was made to that prince to employ them in the taking down an old stately gallery of the temple, four hundred cubits high, which was in danger of falling, and rebuilding it anew ; but *Agrippa*, considering the expensiveness and length of the work, absolutely refused it, and told the Jewish chiefs that they might employ those hands in paving the city with white stones ; but that not being agreed to, the greatest part joined themselves with the banditti for fear of starving. *Albinus* after a two years government was recalled by *Nero*, and succeeded by *Gessius Florus*, the last and worst governor that ever *Judea* had. *Josephus* seems at a loss for words bad enough to describe him by, or a monster to compare him to [†] ; his rapines, cruelties, conniving for large sums with the banditti, and in a word, his whole behaviour, was so open and bare-faced, that he was looked upon by the Jews more like a bloody executioner sent to butcher, than as a magistrate to govern them. His design was to provoke them to such an open rebellion, as might either give him the brutish pleasure of seeing them destroy each other, or prevent his oppressions, murders, and other hellish works being inquired into. He succeeded but too well in it ; and a war was kindled accordingly through his means, which ended not but with the total ruin of the Jewish nation. This great event, so plainly foretold by Christ, so punctually fulfilled, and so lively described and related by a Jewish historian, and an eye-witness, might well deserve a larger place in this chapter ; but as it is so very well known, and abounds with such dreadful murders, cruelties, and other circumstances, fit only to fill a reader with horror, we shall content ourselves with giving some of the most remarkable strokes of it, to avoid drawing this chapter to too great a length.

ABOUT four years before this dreadful war broke out, and about seven before the siege of *Jerusalem*, whilst the Jews did still enjoy some kind of peace, a country fellow, named *Jesus*, came to the feast of tabernacles, and was on a sudden seized with a kind of phrensy, as the Jews thought it, which made him cry out without ceasing ; *Wo to the city, Wo to the temple : A voice from the four corners, a voice against Jerusalem, a voice against the nation, &c.* and in this lamentable tone he ran through all the streets of the city night and day, and on the sabbaths and other festivals, was heard to speak those words louder, and in a more dismal tone, without ever losing his voice, or even being hoarse with crying ; and, what was still more surprising,

Gessius Florus's bloody government. Year of the flood 3065. Of Christ 24.

A prodigious warning to the Jews.

^r *Etl. c. 8. 145, a. & (Z).*

^{*} Vol. I. p. 644. & seq.

[†] *Antiq. ibid. c. 9. Bell. Jud. ubi supra.*

[†] *Antiq. ubi supra. Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 1, 3.*

[†] pag.

neither threats, nor the most severe punishments that could be inflicted on him (I),^a could make him desist or utter a groan or complaint, or any other words than those dreadful woes, till he saw his predictions begin to be fulfilled by the siege of the city, when he cried out in a more dismal tone, *Woe also to myself*; and was in that instant killed by a stone thrown in by the besiegers^u. There were several more such prodigious warnings sent to that unhappy nation in the sequel, which though all too little to bring them to a better mind, are sufficient to convince us, that God did not doom them to this dreadful destruction, till their impiety and hardness of heart had forced that severe punishment from him.

Complaints
made to Cestius
Gallus.
Year of the
Jews 3064.
Of Christ 32.

Judæa being thus distracted within and without, and groaning now more than ever under a tyrant, who openly promoted those mischiefs he should have remedied; vast numbers of *Jews* forsook it to seek an asylum among foreign nations, whilst those that stayed behind applied themselves to *Cestius Gallus*, the then governor of *Syria*, who was then at *Jerusalem* at the passover, and besought him to pity their wretched state, and free them from the tyranny of a man who had totally ruined their country. *Florus*, who was present when these complaints were preferred against him, made a mere jest of them; and *Cestius*, instead of making a strict inquiry into his conduct, dismissed them with a bare promise, that *Florus* should behave better for the future, and set himself about computing the number of *Jews* that were then at *Jerusalem*, by that of the lambs that were offered at that festival (K), in order to send an account of it to *Nero*; and by that computation the whole was found to amount to two millions five hundred and fifty-six thousand. *Josephus* thinks they rather amounted to three millions^w.

Soon after this, the contest between the *Jews* and *Syrians* about the city of *Cæsarea*, which had been kept in suspense ever since the time of *Felix* (L), being at length decided in favour of the *Syrians*, the decree was no sooner brought to *Judæa*, but, as if it had been agreed, that this should be the signal for a revolt, the *Jews* every-where resolved to take up arms; and thus began the fatal war in the second year of *Florus*'s government, in the twelfth of *Nero*'s reign, the seventeenth of that of *Agrippa*, and in the sixty-ninth year of Christ^x. *Agrippa*, who was at this time at *Jerusalem* at the beginning of this revolt, strove in vain to assuage them by a long and elaborate speech, as well as by other proper means; they only listened to him, till he came to insist on their submitting to *Florus*, till a new governor could be obtained from *Rome*; this single proposal exasperated them to such a degree, that they began to pelt him with stones, and forced him to leave the city, which was immediately in a flame. *Florus* beheld all this with an inhuman pleasure, and without putting the least help to quell the sedition, though earnestly intreated to it by the *Jewish* heads. *Agrippa* sent them indeed three thousand men; but what could they do now against such an enraged multitude as were then up in arms? The evil soon spread all over the kingdom, and though the *Jews* were every-where the sufferers, yet did not their desperate rage abate in the least. Nothing was now to be seen but robberies, murders, and all manner of cruelties; cities and villages filled with dead bodies of all ages, sexes and quality,

^a Bell. Judaic. l. vii. c. 12.
Jud. l. ii. c. 14.

^w Ibid. l. ii. c. 13, & alib.

^x Conf. antiq. l. xx. c. ult. & Bell.

(I) *Josephus* adds, that some of the *Jewish* heads, being highly displeased at this poor fellow, caused him to be severely whipped; and that this not proving sufficient either to silence him, or to make him answer to other questions; they had him brought before *Albinus*, who ordered him afresh to the whipping post; where they gave him so many and severe lashes, that his ribs were quite uncovered, without forcing a word or groan from him. And lastly, that being dismissed as a madman, he continued his dreadful outcries, without taking the least notice by word or gesture, either of those that hurted him, or gave him food.

(K) This computation could not be very certain, because, though none but *Jews* offered these lambs at the feast, yet those who had contracted any legal pollution were excluded from it. Besides, one lamb might serve for twenty persons, though never for less than ten. However, they took this last number for each lamb; and found that of the lambs to amount

in the whole to two hundred and fifty-five thousand. But as, among the poor, one of them might serve for more than ten, and as far as for twenty, *Josephus* rightly guesses that there must have been a much greater number, though, considering the bigness of the place, one would wonder how it was possible for it to contain even that.

(L) This contest, in which the *Jews* maintained that that city belonged to them, because it had been built by *Herod*, and the *Syrians* pretended that it had been always esteemed a *Greek* city, since even that monarch had reared temples and statues in it; grew to such a height, that both parties came at last to blows, and took up arms against each other. *Felix* at length put an end to it for a time, by sending some of the chiefs of each nation to *Rome* to plead their cause before the emperor, where it hung in suspense till this time, when *Nero* decided it in such a manner as caused this insurrection.

- even down to the sucking babes. The *Jews* on their part neither spared *Syrians* nor *Jews* terribly *Romans*, but retaliated their cruelties where-ever they got the better of them, for which *persecuted*. vast numbers of their peaceful brethren were butchered in their places of abode. The *Cæsareans* fell suddenly on those of their city, and massacred twenty thousand of them, two thousand were murdered at *Ptolemais*, and fifty thousand at *Alexandria*. In a word, there was neither town nor city, where the *Pagans* proved either stronger or quicker than they, where they did not commit the same horrid butcheries. At *Jerusalem* *Florus* caused one day his troops to go and plunder the high market, and to kill all they met; and they murdered accordingly three thousand five hundred persons, men, women and children. Among those that were brought prisoners to him, b there were some men of quality, and who had been even honoured with the *Roman* knighthood; yet this did not save them from his cruelty; on the contrary, he caused them to be whipped before his tribunal, and then crucified †.

- Berenice*, who had stayed at *Jerusalem* after her brother, being bound there by a *Berenice inter-* vow of *Nazareat* thirty days, spared neither prayers, messages, nor visits to mollify *cedes in vain*. the brutish prætor, till at length she was likely to have lost her life by it, and with great difficulty recovered her palace before his hellish instruments could reach her. Yet not discouraged by it, she went barefoot to him on the very next day, threw herself at the foot of his tribunal, and in the most submissive terms intreated him to put a stop to the shedding of so much blood. The brute did not so much as c vouchsafe her the least token of common respect, so that she ran a second risk of being torn in pieces before she could get home †. This may serve to give a sketch of that governor's character, who, because he was depending on that of *Syria*, failed not to write to *Cestius*, and throw all the fault on the *Jews*; insomuch that this last knew not well which to believe *Florus*, or *Agrippa*, *Berenice*, and other considerable *Jewish* heads, who gave him a quite different account †.

- IN the mean time a great number of assassins having joined themselves to the sedi- *The zealots* tious, beat the *Romans* out of the fortresses of *Massada*, *Antonia*, and the towers of *beat the Ro-* *Phasael*, *Mariamne*, and others; killing all that opposed them. They began next to set fire to the palaces of *Agrippa* and *Berenice*, of the high-priest *Ananias*, and of d his brother *Ezechias*; and these two last, who had hid themselves from their fury, being discovered, were murdered without mercy. *Menabem*, one of the sons of the late *Judas*, chief of the *Gaulonites*, had now put himself at the head of the sicarii, who now called themselves zealots; and being come to *Jerusalem*, was chosen chief of the seditious there, but was soon after massacred by them, with a great number of his men. His nephew *Eleazar* succeeded him as chief of the zealots, and besieged the *Romans* so close in their castle, that they capitulated at length to retire only with their lives; which being promised to them, he caused them all to be massacred on the spot, though it was on the sabbath †. This treachery was cruelly retaliated on the e generous *Jews* of *Scythopolis*, or *Bethshean*, who had offered the *Greeks* of that city to stand by them against their brethren, who were besieging them. But their sincerity being unhappily suspected by their townsmen, these obliged them to retire into some neighbouring wood, where on the third night they came upon them, when they were asleep, and killed thirteen thousand of them, and seized upon all their wealth (M) †.

- BY this time the revolted *Jews* had carried their conquests beyond *Jordan*, and had taken the fortresses of *Macheron* and *Cyprus*; this last they rased to the ground, after having put all the *Romans* to the sword; so that *Cestius Gallus*, who had hitherto kept himself an idle spectator of all these mutual devastations, began to think it high time to bestir himself. He marched into *Judæa* with a powerful army, burned f all the towns and villages in his way, massacred all the *Jews* he could come at, and *Scythopolitan* *Jews* *massa-* came and incamped before *Gibeon* (N), about the feast of tabernacles. The people *cred.*

† Ibid. * Ibid. c. 15. † cap. 16. † Ibid. c. 17, 18. † cap. 19.

(M) It was on this dreadful occasion, that a considerable *Jew*, named *Simon*, who had signalized himself in the defence of *Scythopolis* against those of his own nation, observing what bloody returns the *Greeks* made them for their friendship, in a fit of rage and despair, instead of standing in his own defence, fell on his father, mother, wife, and children,

who clung round about him, and killed every one of them; after which, getting on the heap of their dead bodies, he ran himself through with his own sword (9).

(N) This city, the capital of the ancient *Gibonites* †, was distant about fifty stades or seven little miles north of *Jerusalem*, and situate on an eminence,

Year of the
Jews 2064
Of Christ 63.

Cestius de-
feated.

Escapes with
loot.

Jews and
Christians
leave Jeru-
salem.

Vespasian sent
into Judæa.

at *Jerusalem* no sooner heard of his approach, than they forsook the solemnity, and a though on the sabbath, armed themselves, and came out against him with such fury, that they had in all likelihood defeated him, had not his foot been timely succoured by his cavalry. He lost above five hundred men, and the *Jews* but twenty-two. The latter having seized on all the passes round about, *Cestius* was forced to stay three days near *Bethoron*, where *Agrippa* joined him, and assisted him with his troops, his person, council, and good offices. He tried once more to bring the *Jews* to some temper, by sending two of his chief captains to offer them a pardon, and some terms of peace; but the revolvers, instead of hearkening to their proposals, killed one of them, and wounded the other, who narrowly escaped with his life. This base action, which was highly condemned by the more moderate *Jews*, caused a dissension between them, b which *Cestius* failed not to improve, by sallying suddenly against them, and pursuing them almost up to *Jerusalem*. He stayed three days at *Scotus*, a small mile from it, to try whether their fright would make them relent, and then advanced towards them in order of battle on the thirtieth of *October*, and put them into such consternation, that they abandoned all the outer quarters of the city, and retired into the inner cincture near the temple. *Cestius* set fire to the former, and began himself to besiege the latter, and took up his head quarters in the royal palace d.

HAD the governor vigorously pushed on the siege, it is likely he might have put an effectual end to the sedition; but that sinful nation was now reserved for greater evils, and the siege was on the sudden shamefully raised, at the instigation of some of *Cestius's* generals, whom *Florus* had corrupted; which gave a new life to the sedi- c tious. They pursued him to his camp at *Gibeon*, harassing him in the rear, whilst those that kept the passes attacked him in flank. His army in despair not being able to move forward or backward, made the mountains echo with their hideous cries, and after a loss of four thousand foot, and four hundred horse, and of a great part of their baggage, being assisted by the intervening night on the eighth of *November*, happily got down through the narrow streights of *Bethoron*, and escaped e. The *Jews*, after this success against the Syrian governor, set themselves about the properest means to carry on the war against the *Romans*, and chusing some of their bravest chiefs to command in the several cantons and fortresses of *Judæa*, *Josephus* the writer of these wars, a brave Jewish priest, of considerable rank, was appointed governor of the two d *Galilees*. *Joseph* the son of *Gorion*, and the high-priest *Ananus*, had the government of *Jerusalem*; and *Eleazar*, the chief of the revolvers, that of *Idumæa*; soon after which they departed to take care each of their particular commands. All this while there reigned such a dissension among the *Jews*, that great numbers of the better sort, foreseeing the sad effects of the *Romans* resentment, forsook the city, as men do a sinking vessel, and the christians, mindful of their Saviour's warning (O), retired into *Pella*, a small city on the other side *Jordan*, in the tetrarchy of *Herod*, whither the war did not reach f.

WHILST the new chosen governors were putting their respective cantons in the best posture of defence, the son of *Gorion* in repairing the fortifications of *Jerusalem*, e *Josephus* in fortifying a vast number of places in the upper and lower *Galilee*, and raising of forces to the number of a hundred thousand, preparing arms and ammunition, and *Eleazar* was doing the same in *Idumæa*; the news came to *Nero* of all these preparations, as well as of the ill success of *Cestius* against the *Jews*. *Vespasian*, who had already signalized himself in *Germany* and *England*, being then with the emperor in *Achaia*, was nominated to march with all speed against *Judæa* with a powerful army g. He came accordingly into *Syria*, gathered all his forces, and those of his auxiliaries,

d Ibid. c. 20, 21, & seq.

e cap. 23, 24.

f cap. 25, & seq.

g lib. iii. c. 1.

as its name properly imports (10). *Josephus* says elsewhere, it was but forty stades from that metropolis (11).

Cestius's army consisted of the whole twelfth legion, two thousand men picked out of the other legions, six cohorts of foot, four of horse, besides three thousand horse, and six thousand foot sent him by *Agrippa* and *Antiochus*, and four thousand from *Seamus*; in

the whole about twenty thousand foot, and five thousand horse.

(O) *Eusebius* assures us (12), upon the testimony of some ancient fathers, that God was pleased to direct them to this flight even before the beginning of the war; and *Epiphanius* adds (13), by the ministry of an angel sent on purpose to the church of *Jerusalem*.

(10) *Joseph. ubi supra. Euseb. loc. Hebr.*
(13) *Haref. 29, & seq.*

(11) *Antiq. l. vii. c. 10.*

(12) *Hist. Eccl. l. iii. c. 5.*

among

- a among whom *Agrippa* did not fail to meet him at the head of a considerable reinforcement of his own, whilst *Titus* was sent by his father to fetch the fifth and tenth legions from *Alexandria* into *Judea* ^b. It is likely, *Cestius* did not long outlive his disgrace, for we hear no more of him; and the *Jews*, elated at his defeat, if not also at his death, took it into their heads to go and besiege *Ascalon*. *Antony*, who commanded there, came out against them, and killed ten thousand of them; they made a second attempt, and were surprised in the way, and cut off to almost the same number. *Niger*, who headed the *Jews*, fled into a tower, to which *Antony* set fire; and not doubting but he was burnt in it, left the place; but upon the *Jews* coming three days after to bury their dead, they found him in a cave under-ground, where he had saved himself from the flames ^c.

^b Year of the flood 3065. Before Christ 67.

- b *Vespasian* on the very beginning of the next year, having sent *Placidus* to succour the inhabitants of *Sepphoris* (P) against the *Jews*, advanced towards *Ptolemais* with *Agrippa*, and was there joined by *Titus* at the head of another body of troops, with whom he had marched thither even in the very depth of winter, and came much sooner than was expected. Their whole forces of horse and foot consisted now of upwards of sixty thousand men, besides servants, all excellently disciplined, with which they entered *Galilee*, and having burnt *Gadara*, were marching to besiege *Jotapa*. *Josephus*, now governor of that province, having timely notice of it, went into that place, and defended it with great bravery and vigour forty-seven days, in spite of all the Roman efforts and bravery. It was at length taken by assault about the beginning of July (Q), and put to fire and sword; not one *Jew* escaped to carry the dreadful news, but they were all either murdered, or made prisoners. There were reckoned forty thousand of the former, and but twelve hundred of the latter, among whom was *Josephus*, who had hid himself in a deep cavern, but was at length discovered, and by *Vespasian's* generous offers and intreaties, though much against the consent of those *Jews* that were with him (R), went and surrendered himself prisoner to him. When he was brought before *Vespasian*, the whole army crouding about to see him, he was put under a guard, with a design to be sent to *Nero*; which when the *Jewish* general understood, he desired to have the liberty to speak to him; which being granted, he addressed himself to him in words to this effect: My message to you being from the God of heaven, is of much greater concern to you, than the disposal of me as your prisoner, or sending me to the emperor; and as a *Jewish* commander, I should have preferred death to this surrender, had it not been to deliver his divine commission to you. The interval between *Nero's* end, and your succeeding him, is so small, that I already look upon you as emperor, and your son *Titus* as your happy successor. Keep me only as your prisoner, and if you find I have abused God's name in promising you from him the empire of the world, then punish me with the severest

^c *Vespasian enters Judea.*

^d *Jotapa taken by Vespasian.*

^e *Josephus surrenders himself.*

^f *His speech to Vespasian.*

^b cap. 2, & 3.

^c *Ibid.* c. 1, & seq. pass.

(P) We have already observed, that this city was the metropolis of *Galilee*, and was very considerable for its strength, situation, bigness, and opulence. It was now become obnoxious to the revolted *Jews*, by reason of its adherence to the *Romans*, so that it would have undergone a dreadful fate, had not *Vespasian* sent timely succours to it (14).

(Q) The reader may see the strength of this place in *Josephus* (15), with the many other remarkable particulars of this obstinate siege (16), wherein the *Romans* were terribly pestered by the valour and conduct of the besieged, and the general himself wounded in the heel (17). This stout resistance occasioned the great slaughter he made of them, and the vast disproportion between the number of the slain, and of the prisoners, the latter being in all probability only women and children.

(R) This cavern was cut into the rock by the side of a well, and well stored with provision; and there *Josephus* found forty of his own men. He went out the first night to see whether there was any possibility of escaping; but finding none, he resolved to abide there as long as he could. He was

discovered on the third day by a woman, and *Vespasian*, who had a great desire to see him, sent him two of his tribunes to promise him his life and friendship. Upon his refusal to surrender himself, he sent a third, named *Nicanor*, and an old acquaintance of his; but he returning likewise without him, the *Romans* were for burning him and his men out of it, but were hindered by their brave general.

At length finding it dangerous to resist any longer, he proposed to the rest to accept of *Vespasian's* generous offer; for which they upbraided him with treachery and baseness, and threatened to kill him, if he presumed to stir out. He tried once more to remonstrate to them the unlawfulness of self-murder, which he saw them now fully bent upon; he was forced at last to propose to them to draw lots, who should kill the next, and so on, till the last man; which being agreed to by the rest, providence so ordered it, that there were but two left, viz. *Josephus*, and one more; so that being loth either to kill him, or be killed by him, he at length persuaded him to a surrender, which was accordingly done (18).

(14) *Bell. Jud.* l. iii. c. 3.

(15) *ubi supra*, c. 7.

(16) *Ibid.* c. 8. ad 13.

(17) *Ibid.*

(18) *Bell. Jud. ubi supra*, c. 14.

death.

Kept close prisoner.

A prophecy of St. Peter and Paul.

Jotapa and other cities taken.

Galilee reduced.

death. *Vespasian* took him at his word, used him with great respect and generosity, ^a but caused him to be kept close prisoner, having a design to make some further use of him in his war against the *Jews* ^k. This prediction of the *Jewish* historian to the Roman general, is likewise confirmed by *Suetonius* ^l and *Dion Cassius* ^m. Something like this, but with a more dreadful prospect to the *Jews*, *Lactantius* ⁿ tells us ^o, had been foretold at *Rome* about the same time by the two great apostles, *Peter* and *Paul*; the substance of which the reader will find in the margin (S). As soon as the news of *Jotapa's* being taken, had reached *Jerusalem*, the *Jews*, who heard also that *Josephus* had been killed in it, made the greatest mourning and lamentations for him for a whole month; but when they came to hear that he had surrendered himself prisoner to the *Romans*, they, who had till then retained a singular esteem and regard for him, began now to look upon him as a base betrayer of his country, and to persecute him with the most irreconcilable hatred and disdain, of which they gave him many singular proofs, as we shall see in the sequel. ^b

WHILST *Vespasian* was besieging *Jotapa*, *Trajan* (T) had been sent to form that of *Jatpha*, in the neighbourhood, and took it on the twentieth of *June*, but complimented young *Titus* with the honour of it, who came accordingly upon the last assault. Upon their entering the place, the *Japbians* held out a bloody and obstinate street fight during six whole hours; but being at length overpowered, all the men were put to the sword, and the women and children carried away prisoners ^c. A week after, the *Samaritans*, who had assembled upon mount *Garizzim*, with a design of defending themselves, having been closely surrounded by *Cerealis* at the head of a Roman detachment, were ready to perish for want of water. Many of them suffered themselves to die with thirst, and those who refused to surrender, were all butchered to one man ^d. *Joppa*, which had been lately laid waste by *Cestius*, being again repeopled by a great number of seditious *Jews*, who infested the countries about, *Vespasian* sent some troops to take it, which they soon achieved. Above four thousand *Jews* endeavouring to escape the massacre, by betaking themselves to their ships, a sudden tempest drove them back, so that they were all either drowned, or put to the sword. *Tarichea* and *Tiberias* were taken next (U): the former of these being situate on an eminence, and by the lake of *Genezareth*, was besieged by land and by water, and made a desperate defence, till a dissension happened within; which being overheard by *Titus*, who commanded at the siege, the town was taken by storm, and all the seditious condemned to die ^e.

AFTER the reduction of those two places, all the other cities of *Galilee* submitted themselves to the *Romans*, except those of *Gisbala* and *Gamala*, and the mountain of *Itabyr* (W). Against *Gamala*, which was situate over-against *Tarichea*, on the same lake,

^k Id. ibid. cap. 12, 13, & 14. ^l In vit. Vespas. ^m lib. 1x. ⁿ lib. iv. c. 21. Vid. WESSE, sub an. Chr. 67. ^o Bell. Jud. ubi supra, c. 11. ^p Ibid. c. 12. ^q Ibid. c. 15, & seq.

(S) That God should in a little time send a prince against the *Jews* that should overcome them, and level their metropolis with the ground: that during the siege of it, they should pine with hunger and thirst, even to the eating of one another: that after it was taken, they should see their women grievously tormented before their eyes, their virgins disflowered, their young men torn asunder, and their babes dashed in pieces, themselves reduced to the lowest misery, their country wasted with fire and sword, and the whole nation banished out of their own land, because they had exalted themselves above the most gracious and approved Son of God.

These two apostles, according to the records of both eastern and western churches, suffered martyrdom on the twenty-ninth of *June*, the last day of which month falls within the reign of *Nero* (19); and an ancient father affirms, that the day of *St. Paul's* death was more certainly known than that of *Alexander the Great* (20); and *Dionysius* bishop of *Corinth* tells us, that *St. Peter* suffered death on the

same day (21). *St. Paul* was beheaded; but *St. Peter* was, according to our Saviour's prediction (22), crucified, but with his head downward at his own desire, and out of respect to his divine master (23).

(T) Probably the same, who was afterwards emperor; but at present he was only a colonel of one of the legions.

(U) These two cities belonged to *Agrippa*, but had revolted; the latter was divided; some of the citizens, being for peace, were opposed by the seditious party. *Vespasian* sent some officers to persuade them to submit, but they were repulsed, and forced to flee for their lives; for which he would have burnt the city, but the peaceable citizens having represented their case to *Agrippa*, he interceded for them, and obtained their pardon (24).

(W) The same with *Itabyr*, spoken of in a former volume (25), with a spacious plain near twenty stades in square on the top, with a city of the same name upon it. The area was encompassed with a large wall, built by *Josephus* in about forty days (26). As

(19) Usser's annal. sub an. Chr. 67.

(20) Homil. 26. in 2 Corinth. ap. sund.

(21) Ap. Euseb.

Ecel. Hist. l. ii. c. 24.

(22) John xxi. 18, & seq.

(23) Orig. comm. in Gen. tom. 3. Vid. Euseb.

ubi supra, l. iii. c. 1.

(24) Bell. Jud. l. iii. c. 16.

(25) Vol. I. p. 571.

(26) Bell. Jud.

l. iv. c. 2.

a lake, as *Agrippa* had in vain carried on a siege of near seven months; the *Romans* were forced to come and assist him. He tried however by a set speech to persuade them to surrender, before they were reduced to greater streights. The only answer they made him was with stones from their engines, one of which wounded him in the arm. The *Romans*, provoked to behold the little regard which those wretches paid to their monarch, made such a desperate assault against them, that they had got possession of the town; but being inferior in number, they were soon driven out of it with considerable loss. It was renewed afresh with greater fury, and as obstinately opposed by the besieged, who put the *Roman* courage and strength to the severest proof they had as yet felt. At length three stout *Romans* having beaten down one of the towers, the army entered in at the breach, and put all they met to the sword, to the number of four thousand. But a much greater number perished by their own hands, flinging themselves down from the rocks, walls, and by other violent means. During this siege *Placidus* was sent to take *Itabyr* mentioned in the last note. He went and sily drew the *Jews* down into the plain by a pretended flight, faced about, and defeated them, and got possession of the mountain[†].

b AFTER this stout siege was over, *Vespasian* sent his son *Titus* to form that of *Giscebala*; *Giscebala taken*. and this last, who was now beginning to relent at the great slaughter made at *Gamala*, earnestly exhorted them to prevent, by a timely surrender, involving themselves in the same fate. The citizens were inclinable enough to take his advice; but a seditious *Jew* of that town, named *John*, the son of *Levi*, head of the faction, and a vile fellow, opposed it, and having the mob at his beck, overawed the whole city. That day being the sabbath, this wretch begged but of *Titus* to forbear hostilities till the morrow, and then he would accept of his offer; but instead of that fled to *Jerusalem*, where he committed an infinite deal of mischief. On the morrow the citizens came and surrendered themselves, and told the *Roman* general of *John's* flight, begging of him that he would spare the guiltless, and only punish the factious, which he readily consented to, and only sent some of his horse after the fugitives. But *John* had reached *Jerusalem*; before they could overtake him; they killed however near six thousand of his followers on the road, and brought back three thousand women and children prisoners. The taking and garisoning of this last place completed the conquest of *Galilee*, and *Titus* rejoined his father at *Cesarea*, where they gave their troops some respite before they went to besiege *Jerusalem*[‡].

d THE *Jewish* nation by this time was divided into two very opposite parties: The one, foreseeing, that this war, if continued, must end in the total ruin of their country, were for putting an effectual end to it, by a speedy submission to the *Romans*: The other, which was the spawn of the *Gaulonitish* incendiary, and breathed nothing but war, confusion, and cruelty, opposed all peaceable measures with an invincible obstinacy. This party, which was by far the more numerous and powerful, consisted of men of the vilest and most abandoned profligate character that ever history could parallel. They were proud, ambitious, cruel, rapacious, and committed the most horrid and unnatural crimes, under pretence of religion. In a word, if *Josephus's* character of them may be credited, they acted more like incarnate devils, than like men, who had any sense left of goodness and humanity. They covered however their hellish brutality with the specious title of zeal for the glory of God, affirming every-where, that it was offering the greatest dishonour to him to submit to any earthly potentate, much more to *Romans* and heathens; and that this was the only motive that induced them to take up arms, and to bind themselves under the strictest obligations, not to lay them down, till they had either totally extirpated all foreign authority, or perished in the attempt (X)[§]. This obliged the contrary party to rise f up likewise in arms in their own defence against those hell-hounds, from whom how-

Two parties in Judæa

A character of the zealots.

† Ibid. l. iv. c. 1, & seq.

‡ Ibid. c. 4.

§ Bell. Jud. l. iv. c. 6. ad fin. l. v. c. 1, & seq.

As for the town of *Sephoris*, which was extremely rich and strong, it never once rebelled during all this war, but kept constant to their subjection to the *Romans*, so that *Gamala* and *Giscebala* were the two last towns in *Galilee* to be reduced.

(X) This dreadful dissension was not confined to *Jerusalem*, but had infected all the cities, towns,

and villages of *Palestine*. Even houses and families were so divided against each other, that, as our Saviour had expressly foretold in the dreadful picture he made of this final war (26), a man's greatest enemies were often those of his own family and household (27).

(26) *Matth.* xxiv. *pass.* *Mark* xiii. *Luke* xxi. 5, & seq.

(27) *Matth.* x. 36. *Luke* xii. 52, & seq.

ever they suffered unspeakably more, than they did even from the exasperated Romans, as we shall soon see.

Their horrid
butcheries.
Year of the
flood 3065.
Of Christ 32.

THE zealots began to exercise their cruelty in robbing, plundering, and massacring all that opposed them in the countries round about; after which they easily entered Jerusalem with Zechariah and Eleazar at their head. Here they were, at first, strenuously opposed by the late high-priest Ananus (Y), whose zeal upon this occasion Josephus highly commends. That pontiff made a pathetic speech to the people, exhorting them to take up arms against those factious villains, who had by this time seized upon the temple, and made it their garison, from which they sallied out to commit the vilest outrages and butcheries. He easily persuaded them to follow his advice, upon which they went and armed themselves, and returned in a strong body, and made a vigorous attack against them. The engagement was fierce and obstinate on both sides, and lasted a considerable time. At length, Ananus forced them out of the outer cincture of the temple, whence they retired into the inner, where he held them closely besieged. We have already taken notice of a vile demagogue, John de Guisbala, who had fled lately from this last place to Jerusalem, and was at the head of the seditious; this wretch under pretence of taking the interest of the peaceable party, was actually betraying them to the zealots. Ananus, not suspecting his treachery (Z), sent him to offer the besieged some fair terms of accommodation; instead of which, when he came to them, he persuaded them to hold out, and call the Idumeans to their assistance. They did so, and procured twenty thousand of them to come to their relief; but when these approached the metropolis, Ananus refused them entrance, and exhorted them in a civil and friendly manner to retire into their own country; at which they were so exasperated, that they accused him of being in the Roman interest, and just going to betray the city to them. They set down before the walls for that day, threatening Ananus and Jesus the son of Gamaliel, another deposed high-priest, in the severest terms, if they did not open their gates to them.

Seize the temple.

Invite the Idumeans.

Horrid butcheries committed.

ON that very night there happened such a dreadful storm, accompanied with thunder and lightening, and a violent earthquake, that the zealots from within the inner court, sawed the bolts and hinges of the temple gates, without being heard, forced the guards of the besiegers, and sallied into the city, and let in the Idumeans. These two parties, thus joined and strengthened, began to commit the most horrid and unheard-of murders and butcheries on the opposite side. Barely to put them to any speedy death, was what they thought too mild a punishment; they must have the pleasure to murder them by inches; so that they made it now their diversion to put them to the most exquisite tortures that could be invented, neither could they be prevailed upon to dispatch them, till the violence of their torments had rendered them quite incapable of feeling them. Twelve thousand persons of noble extraction, and in the flower of their age, were butchered in that horrid manner, and among them the brave Ananus (A), and Jesus the son of Gamaliel, who had so nobly opposed them. In a word, the zealots fury and cruelty was grown to such a height, that the whole nation

* Ibid. l. iv. c. 5, 6.

w cap. 7.

(Y) He had been deposed about six years before, as we have already seen, and succeeded by several others. Matthias the son of Theophilus was now in that dignity, to which he had been raised a year or two before by king Agrippa (18); but the seditious in the temple took it into their heads to chuse another in his stead, which they did by casting lots first for the twenty-four classes, in which the twelfth was taken, and in that, upon one Phannias, a man wholly unfit for it, and whom they were forced to teach the manner of performing his office.

This unprecedented boldness, joined to their massacres, and other pollutions of the temple, and even of the very sanctuary, gave such offence, not to the priests only, but to all the religious Jews, that they sought from that time for some means of ridding themselves of their tyranny, whilst the zealots crew made a jest of them, and of every thing that was sacred, serious, or humane.

(Z) Such was their insatiation, that this wretch, who had skrewed himself into all their councils, and betrayed them to the zealots, had behaved with such an affected integrity, that few of them suspected him; and when some of the council began to question his counterfeited zeal, they were overruled by the rest, who contented themselves with making him swear, that he would be true to them; which gave him all the opportunity of ruining them that he could desire.

(A) We have observed elsewhere, that he was the son of Ananus mentioned in the gospel: It was he that caused St. James to be cast down from the battlements of the temple, and to be put to death. In other cases, he was a brave man, and the only person almost that had courage and conduct enough left to stem the tide, and to restore peace to the nation; and it was for this reason that the zealots cut him off.

(18) Bell. Jud. l. iv. c. nit.

trembled

- a trembled at their very name; none dared be seen or heard to weep or cry for the murder of their nearest relations, nor even to give them burial *.

THE *Idumeans* crying out shame at length at the massacring such numbers of worthy persons indiscriminately, the zealots began to set up a kind of court of judicature, to judge those they should think guilty with some shew of justice: *Zechariah* the son of *Baruch* (B) was one of the first who was brought before this mock court, which consisted of seventy-two persons. They brought a black catalogue of accusations, against him, which he not only refuted with great ease and plainness, but reminded them of their own black and hellish crimes with such noble courage, and in such lively colours, that the consciousness of their guilt made them pronounce him innocent; at

- b which the zealots were so exasperated, that they murdered him on the spot, bidding him at the same time to take that absolution at their hands, which would prove surer to him than that of his judges; after which they drove these out of their seats as persons unfit for their purpose. They threw the body of *Zechariah* out of the temple down into the deep valley that was by the side of it; and the *Idumeans*, ashamed to act any longer in concert with such bloody assassins, retired into their own country, after having set at liberty two thousand of their prisoners; and left the zealots to reign in their cruelties without any further restraint. From this time these bloody hell-hounds, who were glad at heart to see their backs turned upon them, gave themselves a loose to all manner of barbarities; and as nothing rendered a man more dreadful to them than the bare suspicion of his being honest or virtuous, so they made the greatest havoc among all that had the least pretence to that character *.

Zechariah murdered in the temple.

THEIR rage did not stop there; but after having butchered all the persons of any distinction or character, they began to wreak it on the common people. It was a capital crime to have once seemed to oppose them: to be unactive, was to be a spy on them; and not to applaud their vilest actions, was to be disaffected; and to be either rich, or suspected to be so, or even having the misfortune of being disliked by them, was crime enough to deserve death *. Thus obliged many of the *Jews* to forsake *Jerusalem*, and take shelter under the *Romans*, though the gates and avenues of the city were so closely guarded, that it was extremely hazardous to retire to them, and

- d as many as were caught doing so, were put to immediate death. All this while *Vespasian*, who was at *Cæsarea*, remained a kind of idle spectator afar off of the dismal condition of the *Jewish* nation. His officers, amazed at this so unusual inaction, took the liberty to remind him what pity it was he should thus neglect the most favourable opportunity of making himself master of *Jerusalem*, and all *Palestine*. *Vespasian*, who had a longer head than they, soon made them sensible that his continuing thus idle in *Cæsarea*, was the most probable means of effecting the conquest they were speaking of, with the least difficulty and hazard of his own troops; since the *Jewish* strength dwindled daily more and more by their intestine broils and massacres, whilst his own men, after enjoying so long a refreshment, would be the better able to crush them into submission or death * (C).

Vespasian stays at Cæsarea.

EVERY

* lib. v. c. 1.

* Ibid.

* Ibid. in fin.

* Ibid. c. 2.

(B) This brave and worthy person is by many christian commentators supposed the same with the *Zechariah* the son of *Barachiah*, said by our Saviour to have been murdered between the temple and the altar (19). It is indeed objected, that he speaks there of him, as of a person long since put to death; but it is replied, that he spake prophetically, and according to the prophetic style, made use of the present for the future. And it must be owned, that unless these two historians speak of the same person, it will be difficult to find out the *Zechariah* mentioned in the gospel; the last of those just persons, the shedding of whose blood was to fill up the measure of the *Jews* iniquities.

We shall not enter into the merit of the controversy, but refer our readers to those who have writ upon it, and which the reader will find in the margin (30).

(C) The event shewed that he reasoned like a

consummate general; for those cruelties did not only thin the enemy, but forced a vast many of the zealots away to the *Romans* by reason of some dissensions which began to reign among them, and in spite of the danger of being caught in the way.

Among their cruel executions on these, there was one *Niger*, a *Peraite* or native of *Perea*, a person of distinction, who had signalised himself in their former wars against the *Romans*; who, together with the brave *Gorion*, was seized, and dragged shamefully out of the city; where the former, finding his death inevitable, only begged that his body might be afterwards buried. But the merciless wretches refusing to grant him even that, he addressed himself to heaven, and prayed that the *Romans* might at length come, and wreak their direct vengeance on those murderers. His words were looked upon as prophetically; but *Josephus* mentions some other oracles, which had long ago foretold the total ruin of that nation, so well

(19) *Matth.* xxiii. 35.

(30) *Id.* *Grot.* *Hamm.* *Le Chré.* *Beza.* *Tremel.* *L. de Dieu* & *Fabrie.* *Apoc.* N. T. not. in *Protev.* *Jacob.*

The zealots
divided into
two factions.

EVERY thing succeeded to his wish. The zealots, after having massacred or driven away the opposite party, began to turn their bloody swords against each other. *John of Gischala*, a wretch of unparalleled ambition, could not brook that any should share the command with him; and in order to make himself absolute, drew the most profligate of the zealots into his party. The other chiefs, who opposed him with no small heat, made another faction, so that they were ever either skirmishing each other, or plundering the poor remains of the people. Whilst things went thus on from bad to worse in the city, there arose a new gang of sicarii in the country, who having seized the strong fortrefs of *Massada*, made it their place of retreat. These plundered, burned and massacred every-where, and carried their plunder into that place. They had at their head one *Simon* the son of *Gorias*, a bold ambitious young man, a native of *Gelasa*, who to increase his party, caused a proclamation to be dispersed, in which he promised free liberty to all the slaves, and proportionable encouragements to all the freemen, that should come over to him. This stratagem had the desired effect; and he saw his party in a very little time swelled into a considerable army, and himself as respected and obeyed, as if he had been a monarch. Many Jews of distinction, as well as others of a meaner rank, were glad thus to put themselves under his protection from the cruelty of the other parties ^b.

Simon head of
the sicarii.

Nero's death.
Year of the
flood 3066.
Of Christ 33.

WHILST these things were transacting in *Judea*, *Nero* having been declared an enemy to *Rome* by the senate, left both it and the world to avoid the more shameful punishment decreed against him ^c, as shall be further shewn in the *Roman* history. *Vespasian*, who was yet ignorant of it, and did not give great heed to *Josephus's* prediction of his becoming emperor, was making great preparations against the revolted Jews, and for the siege of *Jerusalem*, whilst *Simon*, at the head of a good army, was making war against the zealots. These last, having notice what great magazines of arms and ammunition *Simon* had got, in order to come and invest them, began to think it high time to try to disperse his forces by a vigorous sally. They did so, and were defeated and put to flight; but *Simon* not thinking himself strong enough yet to besiege *Jerusalem*, went to invade *Idumea* with an army of twenty thousand men. The *Idumeans* marched against him with twenty-five thousand, which was all they could get in that short time. A fierce battle ensued, which lasted from morning till night, by which time it could scarcely be guessed which side had had the better. But *Simon* found means soon after to have that country betrayed to him by a treacherous *Idumean* (D), who having got the command of their forces, delivered them up to him, as had been agreed between them. *Simon* put all to fire and sword, and by the conquest of that province, became more dreadful than ever to the zealots; who from that time did not dare to come out against him, but contented themselves with laying ambushes against him in all the passes, in one of which they took his wife prisoner. They were on the sudden strangely elated at their success, not doubting but they should now easily force him to lay down his arms, in order to get her released to him. But it happened quite otherwise; for *Simon* no sooner heard the news, than he posted with his army to the very gates of *Jerusalem*, where he committed such cruelties, and threatened the enemy into such a fright, that they were glad to send him his wife again, after which he left them to go and ruin the sad remains of *Idumea*. These miserable wretches, seeing the devastations and butcheries which he committed there, left the country to his mercy, and went to take shelter at *Jerusalem*, and were pursued by his troops to the very walls of that metropolis ^d.

Idumea invaded
by Simon.

Betrayed to
him.

THUS *Simon* without, and *John* within, seemed to strive which should outdo the other in cruelties, and in the most unheard-of crimes; whilst those that fell into either

^b Ibid. c. 3. & seq.
e. 7.

^c SUTTON. in NERON. c. 40. TACIT. hist. l. i.

^d Bell. Jud. ubi supra,

well as destruction of the city and temple. Whoever reads the eleventh and following chapters of *Zechariah*, will be apt enough to think, that the Jewish historian had an eye to them (31), among the many others we could name to the same purpose.

(D) This miscreant, whose name was *James*, was one of the *Idumean* chiefs, and was sent by the rest to reconnoitre the enemy, and know the number of their forces. He set out from the *Idumean* camp

at *Olura*, and privately agreed with *Simon* to deliver up the army and country to him, on condition he should be treated with honour; which being promised, he returned to his camp, and there represented the enemy's army as vastly more numerous and strong than it really was; by which means he easily obtained the command, and compassed his treacherous design (32).

(31) Bell. Jud. ubi supra, in fin. cap. 1.

(32) Bell. Jud. l. 7. c. 7.

hands

- a hands were sure to be butchered without mercy; inasmuch that there was now no safe place either in city or country. *John* had hitherto tyrannised within at the head of his blood-hounds with uncommon success, when the *Idumeans*, who were left in the city, and were of his party, not being longer able to bear his tyranny, revolted against him, killed a great number of his men, plundered his palace (E), and forced him to retire into the temple. In the mean time, the people, having taken a notion that he would sally out in the night, and set fire to the city, called a council, in which they pitched upon a remedy far worse than the disease, which was to open the city gates, and let in *Simon* with his troops to oppose those of *John* and his zealots. *Matthias*, the then high-priest, against whom these last had set up an obscure priest into that dignity, promoted the design, without troubling himself about the consequences of it, and was sent to acquaint *Simon* with it. *Simon* was accordingly admitted into the city, where his chief care now was to render his strength as great, and authority as absolute as he could. To this end he looked indifferently on those that had invited him in, and those against whom he was called, and soon began to exert his cruelty against them equally, though the former had received him with great honours, and universal acclamations, as their future deliverer. But ingratitude and breach of faith were crimes of too light a nature to scare a wretch that had discarded all natural and civil virtues, to abandon himself to the most monstrous vices. He made however a bold assault against *John*, and his party; but being as stoutly repulsed, he contented himself for the present with keeping them closely besieged in the temple *.

- c THE *Romans* on the other hand had not stood idle all this last year; but being invited by the inhabitants of *Gadara*, one of the strongest places on that side *Jordan*, had sent *Placidus* to take possession of it. He was forced to fight his way through several stout bodies of the factious, who opposed him. He killed about fifteen thousand of them, as they were endeavouring to pass that river, besides a great number of others, whom he defeated at several encounters, and many more made prisoners. In a word, *Placidus* bestirred himself so well, that he soon reduced all that part of *Judaea* which lies on the east side of the *Jordan*, except the castle of *Macheron*. All this was done in the winter. In the beginning of the spring *Vespasian* marched out of *Casarea*, and penetrated near half of *Idumea*, plundering and burning every place he came through, except such as he thought expedient to leave with a *Roman* garison to keep the country in awe f. Gadara surrendered.

- SOME months before this time, *Vespasian* received the news of *Nero's* death, and of *Galba's* being chosen his successor; upon which he immediately dispatched his son *Titus* to *Rome*, to compliment the new emperor, and to receive his orders concerning the reduction of *Judaea*. *Agrippa* desired to bear him company, but the winter not being quite over, and their ships being of a large bulk, they sailed so slowly, that they were got no farther than *Achaia*, when they received the news of *Galba's* being murdered, after a seven months reign, and *Otho's* being proclaimed in his room. *Agrippa* resolved to continue his voyage, but *Titus*, as by some divine impulse, was now come back to rejoin his father at *Casarea*, whither he was returned after his *Idumean* expedition g. They left *Casarea* on the fifth of *June*, and led their army towards *Jerusalem*, and took every place in their way thither, except *Herodion*, *Macheron*, and *Massada*, whilst *Cerealis*, one of their chief generals, was laying waste the upper *Idumea* with a considerable number of troops. Year of the flood 3043. O' Christ

- WHILST *Judaea* was thus miserably torn with a foreign, and with their intestine wars, the *Roman* empire was in as bad a plight with their own. We shall not anticipate on the *Roman* history so far as to enter into the particulars of the murder of *Galba*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius*. *Suetonius* h compares *Rome* to a vessel tossed about by contrary winds, and ready at every moment to sink, when *Vespasian* was happily chosen emperor, and restored a calm to the empire. *Josephus* now reaped the benefit Vespasian chosen emperor.

* Ibid. c. 9.

f Ibid. cap. 3.

g TACIT. SUTON. ubi supra. bell. Jud. ubi supra, c. 8, & seq.

h In vit. Vespas.

(E) This palace had, it seems, been built there by the princess *Græna*, cousin to *Izates* king of *Adiabene*, of whom we have had occasion to speak in the last volume *.

As for the horrid crimes and bestialities of the

zealots within, as well as of *Simon* without, they are of so shocking a nature, that we shall pass them in silence. Those that can read them without horror may see them in the *Jewish* historian (33).

* Vol. III. p. 849, & seq.

(33) Bell. Jud. ibid. & seq. ad c. 9.

of his former predictions, and that emperor recalling them to mind, thought it high a time now not only to give him his liberty, but recompense him for his faithfulness to him with many signal favours¹ (F). As soon as *Vespasian* had received the news that his election had been confirmed at *Rome*, he left the best of his troops with his son, with orders to go and besiege *Jerusalem*, and to destroy it utterly; after which he prepared himself to return to the capital of his empire.

Three factions in Jerusalem. ALL this while the Jewish dissensions increased, and *Eleazar* the son of another *Simon*, a person of the sacerdotal order, and of great sense and courage, found means to form a new party, and to draw a considerable number of *John Gischala's* men to him, under pretence that this last was become so inhuman and tyrannic, that it was dangerous to let him lord it any longer over them. With this new party he seized on the court of the priests, and confined *John* into that of the *Israelites*. *Eleazar* kept the avenues so well guarded, that none were admitted to come into that part of the temple, but those who came thither to offer sacrifices, and it was by these offerings chiefly that he maintained himself and his men. *John* by this means found himself hemmed by two powerful enemies, *Eleazar* above (G), and *Simon*, who was master of the city, below. He defended himself against the former by his engines (H), out of which he kept still throwing of stones into his court; and when he sallied out against the latter, he set all on fire, where-ever he could reach, by which he destroyed great quantities of corn, and other provisions, with which they might otherwise have held out a siege several years. Thus were these three factions ever watching all advantages against each other. *Simon* had the greatest number of troops, and a store of arms and provisions, his army consisting of ten thousand zealots, and five thousand *Idumeans*; but he was the most disadvantageously situated of the three. *John* had the advantage over him in this last respect, but had but six thousand men, and was forced to get provisions for them by his constant sallies. He was superior to *Eleazar* in number of men; this last having but about two thousand four hundred. But he was more strongly situated, and was continually supplied with provisions, by the continual offerings which the people brought to the temple, and which they often abused by luxury and drunkenness².

Josephus set at liberty.

Their condition and advantages.

THIS was the sad distracted state of *Jerusalem*, when *Titus* marched his army against it. He had, besides the three legions which had served under his father, the fifth legion, which had been so sadly handled by the Jews in *Cestius's* time, and now burned with a desire of revenge. Besides these, *Agrippa*, *Soemus* and *Antiochus*, the two former of whom accompanied him in person, and some allied cities, had furnished him with twenty regiments of foot, and eight of horse, besides vast multitudes of *Arabs*, and a choice number of persons of distinction from *Italy* and other places, who came to signalize themselves under his standards. *Titus* ordered the fifth legion to take the road of *Emmaus*, the tenth that of *Jericho*, the other two legions marched

¹ ubi supra, cap. 12.

² Bell. Jud. l. vi. c. 1.

(F) *Vespasian* was then at *Berytus*, where vast numbers of embassadors came crowding to compliment him on his election, and to offer him the usual crowns and letters of submission. Here he held a grand council, wherein having highly extolled the courage of the Jewish chief, he related to them how he had foretold his coming to the empire even during *Nero's* life.

Titus, who was there present, and had conceived a great esteem for him, declared that it would be an action worthy his goodness and justice to grant him his liberty, to knock off his fetters, and to restore him to the rank and condition which he enjoyed before his captivity. It being the custom of the Romans to break the bonds of those who had been unjustly detained in them, *Vespasian* approved his proposal, and caused it to be put in execution out of hand; and *Josephus* not only gained his liberty by it, but got the reputation of a prophet, and was in high credit in the Roman army ever after (34).

(G) We have formerly observed in our description of this stately building, that the innermost court was raised considerably above the rest, having a ter-

race and nineteen steps to ascend to the area of it *.

(H) *John* had luckily found a great quantity of large cedar trees, which king *Agrippa* had caused to be brought from *Lebanus* at a vast charge, to raise the temple twenty cubits higher than it was, or perhaps that part which we observed in the note last quoted to have been sunk that number of cubits through the weakness of the foundation; but his project was set aside by reason of the war.

John having possession of this court, soon put this timber to other uses, and caused towers and other engines to be made with it, in order to besiege his competitor within; and indeed he ceased not harassing him, but whilst he was forced to defend himself against *Simon*, who besieged him from without. The flight of steps and terrace mentioned in the last note not permitting him to bring his towers near enough to the wall of the inner cincture, he was projecting to have removed them towards the western side, where the ground was all plain; but providence so ordered it, that *Titus* began the siege of the city before he could compass it, which made him set his project aside.

(34) Bell. Jud. l. vi. c. 2.

* See before, pag. 146. sub not.

after

- a after him in the order, which the reader will find in the margin (1)¹. It was now the beginning of *April*, and near the feast of the passover, to which there was a greater resort of *Jews* this year, than had ever been known, even from beyond the *Euphrates* (K).

Titus being advanced so near the city, went himself to reconnoitre its strength and avenues, attended only with six hundred horse; he seemed even to flatter himself, that upon his first appearance, the peaceable part of the *Jews* would open the gates to him; but to his surprise, the factious made so sudden and vigorous a rally against him, that he found himself quite surrounded with enemies, in a narrow defile, his cavalry severed from him, so that he had no other way left to escape their fury, but to make a desperate push, and break his way through them; which he at length, almost by a miracle, happily accomplished, even without receiving any wound, or losing more than two of his men ^m. After this narrow escape, he caused his army to draw nearer to *Scopas*, within seven stades of the city, in order to besiege it in form, whilst the factious within were applauding themselves for their late advantage, which they vainly interpreted as a good omen of their future success. His legion, which had come by the way of *Jericho*, being arrived, he ordered it to incamp on the mount of olives, which was parted from the town on the east by the brook *Cedron*, and where they were on the sudden so furiously assaulted by the besieged, that they were in danger of being cut all in pieces, had not *Titus* come timely to their rescue (L).

- c It was then that the three factions, seeing themselves besieged by so powerful an army, and so brave a general, began to think of laying aside all private feuds, and join together in a vigorous defence against the common enemy. This union however proved but short-lived; for on the fourteenth of *April*, which was ushering in the passover, when *Eleazer* had opened the avenues of his court to the great concourse that came thither to sacrifice, *John de Gischala* found means to slide in some of his men with

¹ Ibid. in fin. & cap. 1.

^m Ibid. ad fin.

(1) *Josephus*, who was an eye-witness of it, because he was still ordered to follow the emperor, gives it to us as follows *:

The auxiliaries marched first, and were followed by the pioneers, whose business was to level the ground as they went. After them came the general quarter-masters, who marked out their incampments, and were followed by the baggage of the chiefs of the army under a sufficient escort.

Titus came next, attended with his guard, and a select body of troops, followed by a body of horse, who marched just before the warlike engines; and after these came the tribunes and chiefs of the cohorts, attended with a chosen number of troops. Then appeared the *Roman* eagle, surrounded with the ensigns of the several legions, and preceded by a number of trumpets sounding, and followed by the main body, which marched in rank and file six in a front. Lastly, came the sutlers, handicrafts, &c. attended with a strong guard of soldiers, which closed the whole march. In this order they came to *Gophna*, which had a *Roman* garrison, and on the next day to *Gibbeth-saul*, about thirty stades, or three miles, and a half from *Jerusalem*.

(K) The chiefs of the *Jews* in *Palestine* had written, it seems, to invite all their brethren, every-where, not doubting but their presence and great concourse would contribute to quell the factions within, as well as oppose the *Romans* without; so that they came flocking to this solemnity from all parts of the world.

But it seems as if they were directed thither by the hand of providence to suffer the punishment of their sins, the bulk of the nation being there, as it were, shut up, in a prison, to add to that of the destroying sword, the dreadful plagues of famine and pestilence, which shortly after devoured them. *Josephus* reckons eleven hundred thousand that died during the siege.

They neither wanted arms, warlike engines, men

or courage, or any thing but experience to make a brave defence; but this they made up by their invincible obstinacy and despair. Their city was strongly situate by nature, surrounded with three stout walls, and many a stately and strong tower. The first, or old wall, which by reason of its vast thickness was looked upon as impregnable, had sixty of these towers, very lofty, firm, and strong. The second had fourteen, and the third eighty. The former of these, besides its extraordinary height and thickness, was raised on a high and steep mountain, and had a valley beneath it of a prodigious depth. The other two were high and strong in proportion. The circuit of the city was thirty-three stades, or four thousand one hundred and twenty-five geometric paces, or near four of our miles.

Besides these vast fortifications, there were several other castles of extraordinary strength, such as those of *Hippica*, *Phasael*, *Mariamne*, and *Antonin*; to say nothing of the royal, and some other stately and well-fortified palaces. The temple still exceeded all the rest in strength, both for situation, its walls, towers, and other buildings, and was at least equal to the best citadels then in being (35). Yet how insufficient did all these, and the vast quantities of arms, ammunition, &c. prove, to save a nation, whom the divine justice had doomed to the most dreadful destruction! Well might *Titus*, after he had taken the city, and came to view the incredible strength of it, cry out, that God must have certainly fought for him, since no human power or strength was equal to that which they had now overcome.

(L) *Dio* adds to what we read in *Josephus*, that *Titus* had many such a bloody encounter with the besieged under the walls, in which both sides fought so valiantly, that it was not easy to say which had the better; but that the *Jews* were at length repulsed, and gave thereby an opportunity to the enemy to open the siege (36).

* Ibid. c. 1. in fin.

(35) See *Josephus*, *ibid.* ch. 6.

(36) *lib.* lxvi. *Vid.* & *Tacit.* *hist.* l. v. c. 17.

swords

John and
Simon join
against the
enemy, and
then fight
against each
other.

swords hid under their cloaks among them, who immediately drew their weapons, ^a fell on Eleazar's party, and the rest of the people, filled the court of the priests with blood, and horrid outcries, and took possession of the place. By this bloody and impious stratagem the three factions were reduced to two, Eleazar's men being all either cut off, or after their flight were returned with their chief, and had submitted themselves to John, who had now no enemy but Simon within the walls. From that time this last renewed his hostilities against him with greater vigour: he held now the whole temple, some of the out-parts of it, and the valley of Cedron. Simon had the whole city to range in, in some parts of which John had made such devastation, that they served them for a field of battle; from which they sallied unanimously against the common enemy, whenever occasion served, after which they returned to their usual hostilities, turning their arms against each other, as if they had sworn to make their ruin more easy to the Romans. These in the mean time were drawing still nearer to the walls, having with great labour and pains levelled all the ground between Scopas and them, by pulling down all the houses and hedges, cutting down the trees, and even cleaving the rocks that stood in their way, from Scopas to the tomb of Herod, and Belbara, alias the pool of serpents; in which work so many hands were employed, that they finished it in four days ^b.

The siege began
in form.

WHILST this work was doing, Titus sent the besieged some offers of peace; Josephus was pitched upon to be the messenger of them, but they were rejected with indignation. On the morrow they made a shew of accepting them, insomuch that some of the Romans believing them in earnest, ventured, contrary to their general's order, to enter the city, and narrowly escaped with their lives. He sent a second time Nicanor and Josephus with fresh offers, and the former received a wound in his shoulder; upon which Titus resolved to begin the assault in good earnest (M), and ordered his men to raze the suburbs, to cut down all the trees, and use the materials to raise platforms against the wall. Every thing was now carried on with invincible ardour, the Romans began to play their engines against the city in good earnest, and it was by one of these that Jesus the son of Ananus, who had so long foretold the destruction of the Jewish nation, was killed ^c.

Offers of peace
rejected.

THE Jews had likewise their machines upon the walls, which they plied with uncommon fury: they had taken them lately from Cestius, when he retired so shamefully ^d from them, but they were so ignorant in their use, that they made little execution with them, till they were better instructed by some Roman deserters. Till then their chief success was rather owing to their frequent sallies; but the Roman legions, which had all their towers and machines before them, made terrible havock. The least stones they threw were near a hundred weight, and these they could throw the length of two stades, or two hundred and fifty paces, and with such force, that having overthrown those that stood in the first rank, they could still do mischief on those that stood at some distance behind them. Titus had reared three towers fifty cubits high on the terrafs above-mentioned; one of which happening to fall in the middle of the night, ^e did greatly alarm the Roman camp, which ran immediately to arms at the noise of it; but Titus, upon knowing the cause, dismissed them, and caused it to be set up again. These towers being platted with iron, the Jews tried in vain to set fire to them, and were at length forced to retire out of the reach of their shot; by which the battering rams were now at full liberty to play against the wall. A breach was soon made in it, at which the Romans entered, and the Jews abandoning this last inclosure, retired behind the next. This happened about the twenty-eighth of April, a fortnight after the beginning of the siege ^f.

The first wall
broken and en-
tered.

John defended the temple and the castle of Antonia, and Simon the rest of the city. Titus marched close to the second wall, and plied his battering rams against it so furiously, that one of the towers, which looked towards the north, gave a prodigious shake. The men that were in it made a signal to the Romans, as if they would surrender, and at the same time sent Simon word to be ready to give them a warm recep-

^a Ibid. esp. 7.

^b Ibid.

^c Ibid. c. 8, & 9.

(M) The place which Titus, after having taken a full view round the city, chose to begin his attack, was towards the tomb of the high-priest John, both because it stood on the lowest ground, and because the outer wall was low and not defended on that side by the

middlemost; so that when the breach was made on the former, it was easy to penetrate to the latter, and so come up to and make themselves masters of the upper city, and next of the temple, by means of the fortress Antonia.

a tion. *Titus* having smelt their stratagem, plied his work more furiously, whilst the *Jews* that were in the tower set it on fire, and flung themselves into the flames. The tower being fallen, gave them an entrance into the second inclosure, five days ^{The second wall taken.} after the gaining the first; and *Titus*, who was bent on saving the city, would not suffer any part of the wall or streets to be demolished, which left the breach and lanes so narrow, that when his men were furiously repulsed by *Simon*, they had not room enough to make a quick retreat, so that there was a number of them killed in it. This oversight was quickly rectified, and the attack renewed with such vigour, that the place was carried four days after their first repulse.

b The famine raging in a terrible manner in the city, was soon followed by a pesti- ^{Famine and pestilence.} lence, and as these two dreadful judgments increased, so did the rage of the factious, who by their intestine feuds, had destroyed such quantities of provision, that they were forced to prey upon the people with the most unheard-of cruelty. They forced their houses, and if they found any victuals in them, they butchered them for not appropriating them of it; and if they found nothing but bare walls, which was almost everywhere the case, they put them to the most severe tortures, under pretence that they had some provision concealed. *I should, says Josephus, undertake an impossible task, were I to enter into a detail of all the cruelties of those impious wretches; it will be sufficient to say, that I do not think, that since the creation, any city ever suffered such dreadful calamities, or abounded with men so fertile in all kind of wickedness.*

c *Titus*, who knew their miserable condition, and was still willing to spare them, gave them now four days to cool; during which he caused his army to be mustered, and provisions to be distributed to them in sight of the *Jews*, who flocked upon the walls to see it; and it is thought, that even the most flagitious among the zealots were so frightened at the sight of it, that they would have agreed to a surrender, could they have depended upon that pardon, which their black and horrid deeds made them quite despair of. *Josephus* was sent to speak to them afresh, and to exhort them not to run themselves into an inevitable ruin, by obstinately persisting in the defence of a place, which could hold out but a very little while, and which the *Romans* looked upon already as their own. The reader may see his elaborate and pathetic speech ^{Josephus' speech to them besieged.} in the chapter last quoted, and which, he tells us, drew a flood of tears from him. His stubborn people, after many a bitter invective, fell a darting their arrows at him; at which not at all discouraged, he went on with greater vehemence; but all the effect it wrought on them, was only that it prevailed on great numbers to steal away privately to the *Romans*, whilst the rest became only the more desperate and resolute to hold out to the last, in spite of *Titus's* merciful offers.

d To hasten therefore to their destined ruin, he caused the city to be surrounded ^{The city immured.} with a strong wall, to prevent their receiving any succours or provision from abroad, their escaping his resentment by flight (N). There was now nothing to be seen through the streets of *Jerusalem*, but heaps of dead bodies rotting above-ground, walking skeletons, and dying wretches. As many as were caught by the *Romans* in their sallies, *Titus* caused to be crucified in sight of the town, to inject a terror on the rest; but the zealots gave it out, that they were those that fled to him for protection, which when *Titus* understood, he sent a prisoner with his hands cut off to undeceive and assure them, that he spared all that voluntarily came over to him; which encouraged great numbers to accept his offers, though the avenues were closely guarded by the factious, who put all to death who were caught going on that errand. A greater mischief than that was, that even those, who escaped safe to the *Romans* camp, were miserably butchered by the soldiers, from a notion which these had taken, that they had swallowed great quantities of gold; inasmuch that two thousand of them were ripped up in one night to come at their supposed treasure. When *Titus* was apprised ^{Horrid butcheries within and without.} of this barbarity, he would have condemned all those butchering wretches to death; but they proved so numerous, that he was forced to spare them, and contented himself with sending a proclamation through his camp, that as many as should be suspected thenceforward of that horrid villainy, should be put to immediate death; yet did not

^a Ibid. cap. 10.

^b cap. 11.

^c Ibid. in fin.

^d Ibid. c. 12, & seq.

^e cap. 15.

(N) This wall, which was near forty stades, or five miles in circuit, was yet carried on with such speed, and by so many hands, that it was finished in

three days; by which one may guess at the ardour of the besiegers to make themselves masters of the city (37).

(37) Ibid. c. 13.

this deter many of them from it, only they did it more privately than before; so greedy were they of that bewitching metal. All this while the defection increased still more through the inhumanity of the faction within, who made the miseries and dying groans of their starving brethren the subject of their cruel mirth, and carried their barbarity even to the sheathing of their swords in sport on those poor wretches, under pretence of trying their sharpness.

*False prophets
set up.*

WHEN they found therefore that neither their guards nor severities could prevent the people's flight, they had recourse to another stratagem equally impious and cruel; which was to hire a pack of vile pretenders to prophecy to go about and encourage the despairing remains of the people to expect a speedy and miraculous deliverance; and this imposture proved a greater expedient with that infatuated nation, than their other precautions. We shall not so far disgust our readers, as to mention what miserable shifts these poor wretches made use of to prolong the sad remains of a life, which ought to have been more loathsome under such circumstances, than the filthy and unnatural aliments they picked up to support it*. It was upon this sad and pinching juncture

*A mother eats
her own child.*

(O), that an unhappy mother was reduced to the extremity of butchering and eating her own child. This lady, whose name was *Miriam* or *Mary*, had taken refuge with a vast number of others in this accursed city from the beginning of the war. As the famine increased, the factious zealots, who, as we observed before, lived now altogether upon the plunder of the helpless, had often forced into her house, and carried off such provisions as she had been able to procure. She had often tried either by prayers to prevail on them, or by the bitterest curses to provoke them to put an end to her miserable life; those inhuman monsters still thought it too great a mercy to be granted to her. Filled at length with fury and despair, she snatches her sucking child from her bosom, cuts his throat, and broils him; and having satiated her present hunger, she hid the rest. The smell of it soon drew those voracious carrions again to her house; they threatened to put her to the most excruciating tortures, if she did not discover her provision to them; upon which she goes and fetches them the sad reliëts of her mangled infant, and sets it before them, bids them eat heartily, and not be squeamish, since she, the once tender mother of it, had made no scruple to butcher, dress, and make a meal of it. At the sight of this horrid dish those bloody hell-hounds, who never had till then felt the least spark of remorse or humanity, were seized with such sudden dread, that they went off trembling out of the house, and left the astonished mother in full possession of her dismal fare†.

*Titus swears
the ruin of the
city.*

WHEN this news were spread through the city, the horror and consternation was as universal as it was inexpressible. It was then that they began to think themselves forsaken by the divine providence, and to expect the most terrible effects of his anger against the poor remains of their nation; insomuch that they began to envy those that had perished before them, and to wish their turn might come before the sad expected catastrophe. Their fears were but too just; since *Titus*, at the very first hearing of this inhuman deed, swore the total extirpation of the city and people. Since, said he, they have so often refused my proffers of pardon, and have preferred war to peace, rebellion to obedience and famine, such a dreadful one especially to plenty, I am determined to bury that cursed metropolis under its ruins, that the sun may never shoot his beams on a city where the mothers feed on the flesh of their children, and the fathers, no less guilty than they, chose to drive them to such extremities, rather than lay down their arms. In the like manner did that good-natured general expostulate with the Deity for the other cruelties which he saw and heard were committed in that wretched metropolis, especially at the sight of such vast numbers of dead bodies, which for want of burying room, they were forced to throw down from their walls

* Ibid. l. vii. c. 7.

† cap. 8.

(O) Nothing could be more dreadful than the famished condition they were now reduced to. The poor having nothing to trust to but the *Romans* mercy, or a speedy death, ran all hazards to get out of the city; and if in their flight, and wandering out for herbs, or any other sustenance, they fell into the hands of any of *Titus's* parties, sent about to guard the avenues, they were unmercifully scourged and crucified, if they made the least resistance.

The rich within the walls were now forced, tho' in the privatest manner, to give half, or all they

were worth, for a measure of wheat, and the middling sort for one of barley. This they were forced to convey into some private place in their houses, and to feed upon it as it was, without daring to pound or grind it, much less, to boil or bake it, lest the noise or smell should draw the rapacious zealots to come and tear it from them. Not that these were reduced to any real want of provisions, but they had a double end in this barbarous plunder, viz. the starving what they cruelly styled all useless persons, and the keeping their own stores in reserve.

into

- a into the adjacent vallies ; taking heaven to witness, that he was innocent of all those horrid calamities which that infatuated nation had brought upon themselves, and might have prevented by a timely submission ? (P).

THIS dreadful action happened about the end of *July*, by which time the *Romans* ^{Fort Antonia} having pursued their attacks with fresh vigour, made themselves masters of the for-^{taken.} tress *Antonia* ; which obliged the *Jews* to set fire to those stately galleries, which joined it to the temple, lest they should afford an easy passage to the besiegers into this last ^{2.}. About the same time *Titus* with much difficulty got materials (Q) for raising new mounds and terraces, in order to hasten the siege, and save, if possible, the sad remains of that once glorious city and nation ; but his pity proved still worse and worse bestowed, on those obstinate wretches, who only became the more furious and desperate by it. *Titus* at length caused fire to be set to the gates, after having had a ^{Gates set on} very bloody encounter, in which his men were repulsed with loss. The *Jews* were so ^{fire.} terrified at it, that they suffered themselves to be devoured by the flames without putting a helping hand, either to extinguish them, or save themselves ^{3.}. About the same time, *Matthias* the high-priest, who had encouraged the people to introduce *Simon* into the city, met with a requital worthy of that monster of cruelty, being first tortured, and then condemned to death, together with three of his sons, the ^{Matthias put} fourth having happily conveyed himself out of reach. The pretence was, their hold-^{to death.} ing correspondence with the *Romans*, and the reverend old pontiff only begged as the last favour, that he might be put to death before his sons, but was denied both that and common burial. *Ananias* with about seventeen persons more of rank and merit, were put to death after them ^b ; besides many more for having been caught weeping for their deceased friends. All this while *Josephus* did not cease exhorting them to surrender, to represent to them the dreadful consequences of an obstinate resistance, and to assure them, that it was out of his mere compassion to them that he thus hazarded his own life to save theirs : he received one day such a wound in his head by a stone ^{Josephus} from the battlements, as laid him for dead on the ground. The *Jews* sallied out ^{wounded.} immediately to have seized on his body, but the *Romans* proved too quick and strong for them, and carried him off ^c (R).

- d B Y this time the two factions within, but especially that of *John*, having plundered ^{The temple} rich and poor of all they had, fell foul also on the treasury of the temple, whence *John* ^{plundered.} took a great quantity of golden utensils he found there, together with those magnificent gifts that had been presented to that sacred place by the *Jewish* kings, by *Augustus*, *Livia*, and many other foreign princes, and melted them all to his own use. The repositories of the sacred oil, which was to maintain the lamps, and of the wine which was reserved to accompany the usual sacrifices, were likewise seized upon, and turned into common use, and the last of this to such excess, as to make himself and his party drunk

^a Ibid. in fin.

^b Ibid. cap. 5. & seq.

^c cap. 9.

^d cap. 15.

^e Ibid.

(P) We have thus epitomized at one view what *Josephus* has scattered in several chapters of this and the foregoing book, of the dreadful effects of this famine, that it might not for the future interrupt the thread of the siege, and destruction of the city, temple, and nation, which we shall now hasten to bring to a conclusion.

All that needs be added to make up the sad account of this calamity, is, that even those, who at the hazard of their lives, got safe to the *Romans*, and were well received of them, did for the generality meet with their deaths in the plenty of provisions which they found there. Many of them expired with the meat in their mouths ; others fell into droppies, and other distempers, or quite lost the use of their limbs.

(Q) The greatest part of those that had served hitherto for the siege, were either consumed, or rendered unfit for service. The suburbs, and adjacent parts of *Jerusalem*, which abounded with the most beautiful gardens, orchards, and greatest variety of fruit, and other trees, had been already stripped of all their ornaments to serve to the siege, and were now reduced into a wilderness. *Titus* therefore could

not carry on his works with the same speed and vigour, because he was forced to send his men for fresh timber, and other materials, at a great distance, even so far as ninety stades, or between eleven and twelve miles off.

(R) *Josephus*, by his own account, seems to have led but a sad life between the *Romans* and his own countrymen. These looked upon him as a vile apostate, a traitor to his God and country ; had imprisoned his (the *Greek* says, father, but the sequel shews it to have been his) mother, and made her suffer many hardships ; and would have spared no cruelties against him, if they could have caught him in their hands.

On the other side, the *Roman* officers looked upon him as a faithless wretch, who under pretence of going to exhort the besieged to surrender, did what he could to encourage them to hold out to the last extremity ; insomuch that several of them did not scruple to accuse him before *Titus* of this double dealing ; but, happily for him, that general had conceived too good an opinion of him to harbour any such suspicion, and still vindicated him against his accusers (38).

The besieged
still insat-
urated.

Josephus's
speech to them.

with it. All this while, not only the zealots, but many of the people, were still under such an insaturation, that though the fortress *Antonia* was lost, as we have hinted already, and nothing left but the temple, which the *Romans* were making ready to batter down, yet they could not persuade themselves that God would suffer that holy place to be taken by heathens, and were still expecting some sudden and miraculous deliverance. Even that vile monster *John*, who commanded there, either seemed confident of it, or else endeavoured to make them think him so. For when *Josephus* was sent for the last time to upbraid his obstinately exposing that sacred building, and the miserable remains of God's people, to sudden and sure destruction, he only answered him with the bitterest invectives, adding, that he was defending the Lord's vineyard, which he was sure could not be taken by any human force. *Josephus* did in vain remind him of the many ways by which he had polluted both city and temple, and in particular of the seas of blood which he caused to be shed in both those sacred places, and which he assured him from the old prophecies, were a certain sign and fore-runner of their speedy surrender and destruction (S). *John* remained as inflexible, as if all the prophets had assured him of a deliverance, which shews the sad effects of a judicial insaturation. However, a great number of the people were so moved by *Josephus's* discourse, that they fled presently after to the *Romans*, and amongst them some persons of rank and figure, particularly *Joseph* the son of *Cabbi*, and *Jesus* the son of *Damneus*, who had been both high-priests. *Titus* gave them a gracious reception, and sent them to *Gophna*, a place situate between *Samaria* and *Lydda*, till the conclusion of the war; but he was forced to send for them back, to contradict a report which the factious had cunningly spread, of their having been put to death ^d.

At length *Titus*, foreseeing the inevitable ruin of that stately edifice, which he was still extremely desirous to save, vouchsafed even himself to speak to them, and to persuade them to surrender. But the factious, looking upon this condescension as the effects of his fear, rather than generosity, only grew the more furious upon it, and forced him at last to come to those extremities, which he had hitherto endeavoured to avoid. That his army, which was to attack the temple, might have the freer passage towards it through the castle *Antonia*, he caused a considerable part of the wall to be pulled down, and levelled, which proved so very strong, that it took him up seven whole days, by which time they were far advanced in the month of *July*.

The daily sacrific-
ice interrupted.

It was on the seventeenth day of that month, as all *Josephus's* copies have it (T), that the daily sacrifice ceased for the first time, since its restoration by the brave *Maccabite* chief, mentioned in a former section †, there being no proper person left in the temple to offer them up. *Titus* caused the factious to be severely upbraided for it, exhorted *John* to set up who he would to perform that office, rather than suffer the service of God to be set aside; and then challenged him and his party to come out of the temple, and fight on a more proper ground, and thereby save that sacred edifice from the fury of the *Roman* troops *. When nothing could prevail on them, they began to set again on fire the gallery that yielded a communication between the temple and the castle *Antonia*. The *Jews*, as we have hinted before, had already

^d Cap. 16.

† Sect. III. p. 61, c.

* Ibid. l. vii. c. 4.

(S) He alluded probably to the eleventh and following chapters of *Zechary*, of which we have given in our hint a little higher; or it may be perhaps that he had an eye to the doom which Christ had pronounced against that murdering and apostate city, of which he saw the far greater part already accomplished enough to assure him of the rest. For, as we have elsewhere observed, it is scarcely to be supposed, but that such a man as *Josephus* had more than once conversed with some christians, who might have apprised him of it, or, as an historian, he might have read it in some one of the gospels.

(T) A modern critic supposes an error to be in that date, and that it was originally written the seventh or tenth of that month (39). But besides that it is seventeen in all copies of *Josephus*, the *Jews* have kept their fast in memory of this cessation on that very day ever since (40).

This daily sacrifice called by the *Jews* תמיד *Thamid*, by the *Greeks* ἐνδελαισμος, and by the *Latins* *juge*, consisted of two lambs, the one of which was offered in the morning towards sun-rising, after the burning of the sacred incense, and the other in the evening, or, as the *Hebrew* hath it, between the two evenings, that is, between three in the afternoon, and sun-setting. It was a burnt-offering, and was therefore set on a slow fire, that it might be the longer a burning. We have spoken of it in a former volume †, to which we refer.

All that we need to add is, that if the *Jews* have appointed their fasts right, the ceasing of it here was on the same day on which *Moses* broke the two tables, the city of *Jerusalem* was destroyed, the book of the law burnt by *Aphiasmos* (*Epistlemon*) and the statue of *Jupiter* set up in the temple, as the reader may see in the three authors last quoted.

(39) Tillemont. not. in ruin. *Jud.* 35.
Helcath, Tahanith, c. 5. *Buxs. Synag. Jud.* c. 30.

(40) *Vid. Mehillath, Tahanith*, c. 12. part. ult. *Maimon*,
† See Vol. I. p. 623, b, c. 629, 2, & (N).

burnt

a burnt about twenty cubits of it in length; but this second blaze, which was likewise encouraged by the besieged, consumed about fourteen more; after which they beat down what remained standing. On the twenty-seventh of July, the Jews having filled part of the western portico with combustible matter; made a kind of a flight, upon which some of the forwardest of the Romans having scaled up to the top, those set fire to it, ^{Romans out-} which flamed with such sudden fury, that many of them were consumed in it, and the ^{minded.} rest, venturing to jump down from the battlements, were crushed to death. *Artorius* was the only one that escaped by a stratagem (U) ^f.

On the very next day, *Titus* having set fire to the north gallery, which inclosed the outer court of the temple, from fort *Antonia* to the valley of *Cedron*, got an easy ^{Fire set to the temple gates.} admittance into it, and forced the besieged into that of the priests. He tried in vain six days to batter down one of the galleries of that precinct with an *helepolis* (W); he was forced to mount his battering rams on the terrace, which was raised by this time; and yet the strength of this wall was such, that it eluded the force of these also, though others of his troops were busy a sapping it. When they found that neither rams nor sapping could gain ground, they bethought themselves of scaling, but were vigorously repulsed, and with the loss of some colours, and a number of men. When *Titus* therefore found that his desire of saving that building was like to cost so many lives, he set fire to the gates, which being plated with silver, burnt all that night, whilst the metal dropped down in the melting. The flame soon communicated itself to the porticos and galleries, which the besieged beheld without offering to stop it, but contented themselves with sending whole volleys of impotent curles against the Romans. This was done on the eighth of August, and on the next day, *Titus* having given orders to extinguish the fire, called a council, to determine whether ^{Titus calls a council.} the remainder of the temple (X) should be saved or demolished. That general was still for the former, and most of the rest declared for the latter, and alledged, that it was no longer a temple, but a scene of war and slaughter, and that the Jews would never be at rest as long as any part of it was left standing; but when they found *Titus* still bent on preserving so noble an edifice, against which he told them he could have no quarrel, they all came over to his mind. The next day, August the 10th, was therefore determined for a general assault, and the night before the Jews made two desperate sallies on the Romans, in the last of which, these being timely succoured by *Titus*, beat them back into their inclosure ^e.

But whether this last Jewish effort exasperated the besiegers, or which is more likely, as *Josephus* thinks, pushed by the hand of providence, one of the Roman ^{The temple set on fire.} soldiers of his own accord took up a blazing fire-brand, and getting on his comrade's shoulders, threw it into one of the apartments that surrounded the sanctuary, through a window, and immediately set the whole north side on a flame up to the third story, in the second year of *Veaspasian*, the twenty-first of king *Agrippa*, and on the same fatal day and month in which it had been formerly burnt by *Nabuchadnezzar* ^b. *Titus*, who was gone to rest himself awhile in his pavilion, was awaked at the noise, and ran immediately to give orders to have the fire extinguished. He called, prayed, threatened, and even caned his men in vain; the confusion was so great, and the soldiers so obstinately bent upon destroying all that was left, that he was neither heard nor minded. Those that flocked thither from the camp, instead of obeying his orders, were busy, either in killing the Jews, or in increasing the flames. When *Titus* observed that all his endeavours were vain, he entered into the sanctuary, and the most holy place, in which he found still such rich and sumptuous utensils, and other riches, as even exceeded all that had been told him of it. Out of the former he saved the golden candlestick, the table of shew-bread, the altar of perfumes, all of ^{Titus enters into the sanctuary.}

^f Bell. Jud. lib. vii. c. 6.
c. 9. in fin.

^g Ibid. c. 9, & 10.

^h Conf. 2 Kings xxv. & Joseph. ubi supra.

(U) This soldier observing one of his companions below, named *Lucius*, promised to make him his heir, if he would catch him in his fall. He did so, and saved *Artorius*, but was himself crushed by his weight (41).

(W) This was a kind of battering engine, its name signifies a town-taker. We have described it in a former volume ^a.

(X) That is, the sanctuary, and most holy place, with all the chambers, galleries, &c. thereto belonging, as the reader may see them described in a former section. Among those who were for destroying it, was *Tiberius Alexander*, probably the same apostate Jew, who had been prætor of *Judea*, and was now commander of the Roman legions.

pure gold, and the book or volume of the law, wrapped up in a rich gold tissue; ^a but in the latter, he found no utensils, because, in all probability, they had not made a fresh ark, since that of *Solomon* had been lost. Upon his coming out of that sacred place, some other soldiers set fire to it, and obliged those that had stayed behind to come out; they all fell foul on the plunder of it, tearing even the gold plating off the gates, and timber work, and carried off all the costly utensils, robes, &c. they found in it, insomuch that there was not one of them that did not enrich himself by it ¹.

A horrid massacre.

A HORRID massacre followed soon after, in which a great many thousands perished, some by the flames, others by the fall from the battlements, and a greater number by the enemy's sword, which destroyed all it met with, without distinction of age, ^b sex, or quality. Among them were upwards of six thousand persons, who had been seduced thither by a false prophet, who promised them that they should find a speedy and miraculous relief there on that very day. Some of them remained five whole days on the top of the walls, and afterwards threw themselves at the general's mercy; but were answered, that they had out-stayed the time, and were led to execution (Y). They carried their fury to the burning of all the treasure-houses of the place, though they were full of the richest furnitures, plate, vestments, and other things of value, which had been laid up in those places for security. In a word, they did not cease burning and butchering, till they had destroyed all, except two of the temple gates, and that part of the court which was destined for the women [†]. In memory of this ^c destruction, and of that of *Nebuchadnezzar*, they keep a solemn fast on the ninth of the month *Ab*, answering in part to our *August*, which lasts full twenty-four hours, during which time they neither eat, drink, or use the least refreshment; but the strictest of them keep themselves barefoot, in prayers and tears, from sun-setting to the next sun-set ^k.

The factious Jews rejected.

IN the mean time the seditious having made such a vigorous push, that they escaped the fury of the *Romans*, at least for the present, and retired into the city, they found all the avenues of it so well guarded every-where, that there was no possibility left for them to get out; which obliged them to secure themselves as well as they could on the south side of it, from whence *Simon* and *John of Guisbala* sent to desire a parley ^d with *Titus*. They were answered, that though they had been the cause of all this blood-shed and ruin, yet they should have their lives spared, if they laid down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners. To that they replied, that they had engaged themselves by the most solemn oaths never to surrender, and therefore only begged leave to retire into the mountains with their wives and children; which insolence did so exasperate the *Roman* general, that he caused a herald to bid them stand to their defence; for that not one of them should be spared, since they had rejected his last offers of pardon. Immediately after this, he abandoned the city to the fury of his soldiers, who fell forthwith on plundering it, setting fire every-where, and murdering all that fell into their hands (Z); whilst the factious that were left, went and fortified ^e themselves in the royal palace, where they killed eight thousand *Jews*, who had taken refuge there ¹.

¹ *Ib. d. & seq.*

[†] De hac vid. *sect. v. p. 146.*

^{*} Vid. *Mehilath, Tahanith, sub Menf. Ab.*

Maimon, Buxtorf, & al. sup. citat.

¹ *Beil. ubi supra, c. 13.*

(Y) Probably to be crucified; for *Josephus* tells us there, that in his return from *Teconah*, he observed a number of them fastened each to a cross, and still alive; among whom were three of his acquaintance, whose lives he obtained of *Titus*, and ordered them immediately to be taken down, and their wounds to be put under the care of able surgeons. He adds, that only one of them outlived it, the other two died under their physicians hands.

(Z) *Josephus* tells us (42) however, that he spared the family of *Izates*, king of *Adiabene*, of whom we have already spoke, with several other persons of distinction, who came and surrendered themselves to his mercy, but he kept them still prisoners.

He likewise dismissed above forty thousand of the inferior sort, who came and implored his pardon,

and gave them leave to go and settle where they would. The truth is, that they had already gorged themselves with so much blood, that the streams which ran along the streets did even put the fire out. And as for the prisoners, they were so very numerous already, that they could not find buyers for them, tho' they offered them at the lowest prices (43); so that one would have thought it high time for a prince of that excellent character to have wreaked his fury only on the factious zealots, and to have spared the rest. But in all this he was acting more like a scourge sent from above, against a rebellious nation, than according to his own natural inclination; and it is what he rightly acknowledged, when his army congratulated him on this arduous and glorious conquest ^{*}.

(42) *In vita sua.*

(43) *Beil. Jud. ubi supra, c. 15.*

^{*} Vid. *Philostrot. in vit. Apollon. l. vi. c. 14.*

a In the mean time great preparations were making for a vigorous attack on the upper city, especially on the royal palace; and this took them up from the twentieth of August to the seventh of September, during which time great numbers came and made their submission to Titus, among whom were the forty thousand citizens mentioned in the last note, some of the Edomites, and two priests, who upon promise of being spared, discovered to him a private place in the wall of the temple, where they found two candlesticks, some tables, cups, and other vessels of massive gold, with many precious stones, rich garments, and other costly things. By this time the war-like engines plied so furiously on the factious, that they were taken with a sudden panic, and instead of fleeing into the towers of Hippicos, Phisael, or Mariamne, which Year of the Head 3 m8. Of Corist 73 or 70. **b** were yet untaken, and so strong, that nothing but famine could have reduced them; they run like madmen towards Siloab, with a design to have attacked the wall of circumvallation, and to have escaped out of the city; but being there repulsed, they were forced to go and hide themselves in the public finks, and common shores, some one way, and some another. All the rest the Romans could catch were put to the sword, and the city was set on fire. This was on the eighth of September, when the city was taken, and entered by Titus. He would have put an end to the massacre, but his men killed all, except the most vigorous, whom they shut up in the porch of the women mentioned a little higher. Fronto, who had the care of them, reserved the youngest and most beautiful for Titus's triumph, and sent all that were above seventeen years of age into Egypt, to be employed in some public works there; and a great number of others were sent into several cities of Syria and other provinces to be exposed on the public theatres, to exhibit fights, or be devoured by wild beasts ^m. The number of those prisoners amounted to ninety-seven thousand, besides about eleven thousand more of others, who were either starved through neglect, or starved themselves through fullness and despair (A).

d We have already had occasion to mention the number of the slain, as well as of the prisoners, according to Josephus. Suetonius and Cornelius Nepos do indeed make the former a great deal less; they reckon but six hundred thousand of them in all; but considering the distance of time and place in which they wrote, it will be easily granted, that they could not be so well acquainted with it as Josephus, who was a Jew, and an eye-witness. Whether this last has exaggerated it in compliment to Titus and the Romans, we will not pretend to say. A curious author has since taken the pains to make a fresh computation out of him, of all that perished in the several places throughout that kingdom, and out of it, from the beginning to the conclusion of the war [†]; in which we believe our readers will be glad to see the whole amount of the several bloody articles, as it were, at one view. They are as follows:

	At Jerusalem, by Florus's orders	630	Jews killed in
	By the inhabitants of Cæsarea in hatred to the Jews	20,000	and out of
e	At Scythopolis in Syria	30,000	Judæa.
	By the inhabitants of Ascalon in Palestine	1,500	
	By those of Ptolemais	2,000	
	At Alexandria in Egypt under Tiberius Alexander, an apostate Jew	50,000	
	At Damascus	10,000	
	At the taking of Joppa	8,400	
	In the mountain of Cabulo	2000	
	In a fight at Ascalon	10,000	
	In an ambush	8000	
	At the taking of Apbeck	15,000	
f	Upon mount Garizzim	11,600	
	Drowned at Joppa by a sudden storm	4,200	
	Slain at Tarichæa	6,500	
	Slain or killed themselves at Gamala, where none were saved but two sisters	9000	
	Killed in their flight from Gijchala	2000	
	At the siege of Jotapa, where Josephus commanded	30,000	

^m Ibid. c. 16, & 17.

[†] Justus Lipsius de Constantia, lib. ii. c. 21.

(A) Josephus was by this time in such high favour with Titus, that he obtained the liberty of several of his friends and relations, and in particular of his brother Matthias, without any ransom. That em-

peror had likewise given him leave to save what he thought fit out of the ruins of the city and temple, but he contented himself with the volume of the sacred writings.

Of the <i>Gadarenes</i> , besides vast numbers that drowned themselves	13,000	a
In the villages of <i>Idumea</i>	10,000	
At <i>Gerasium</i>	1000	
At <i>Macberon</i>	1700	
In the desert of <i>Jardes</i>	3000	
Slew themselves at <i>Mussada</i>	960	
In <i>Cyrene</i> by the governor <i>Catulus</i> , of which we shall speak by and by	3000	
Perished at <i>Jerusalem</i> by sword, famine, pestilence, and during the siege	1100,000	
According to this account the whole amounts to	1337,490	

Besides a vast multitude that died in the caves, woods, wildernesses, common shores, in banishment, and many other ways, of whom no computation could be made; and ten thousand that were slain at *Jotapa*, more than our author has reckoned. For *Josephus* mentions expressly forty thousand, but he but thirty thousand. b

To these, if we add the ninety-seven thousand prisoners, doomed in all appearance to a captivity infinitely worse than death, and the eleven thousand, which, as we hinted above, perished either through the neglect of their keepers, or their own sullen despair, the amount will be above one million four hundred and forty-five thousand. What still more aggravates this destruction is, that the far greatest part of them were strangers, that is, were *Jews*, who, as we observed a little higher, were written to, and invited from remote parts of the world, even from beyond the river *Euphrates*, by their brethren at *Jerusalem*, to come and assist them in the defence of their religion and liberties; their country, city, and temple; instead of which they met with the most dreadful deaths there, and shared in the common ruin. Thus did the divine providence order it, that they, who by their strenuous opposition of the gospel in all the parts of their dispersion, had shared in the guilt of the crucifiers of its divine author, should be involved in their punishment. c

Titus, as we have seen, acknowledged more than once the hand of providence, both in his extraordinary success against them, and in the invincible obstinacy with which they, to the last, preferred their total destruction to his oft repeated proffers of mercy. *Josephus* hath scarce a chapter in which he doth not ascribe all these dreadful calamities, and the final ruin of his nation, city and temple, to an over-ruling power, to the offended deity, or to the sins of the people: but no-where more pathetically than in that chapter in which, besides the old prophecies, he sums up a number of dreadful warnings sent before-hand, not so much to reduce them to obedience, as to let them discern the almighty hand that was now pouring down the most dreadful phials of his anger against them. We have already taken notice of that extraordinary country fellow *Ananus*, who had kept pronouncing woe and destruction to them during seven whole years. It will not be amiss to close this sad catastrophe with some other signal ones out of the same *Jewish* historian, which were no less remarkable than dreadful. d

Strange prodigies.

Of this class was that strange comet, which hung over *Jerusalem* one whole year, in the shape of a sword: the extraordinary light that was seen round the altar at the ninth hour of the night, upon the celebrating of the paschal feast, and which was looked upon by the ignorant as a good omen, but by the wiser sort as a forerunner of a dreadful war: a cow delivered of a lamb, as she was led to the altar to be sacrificed: the eastern gate of the temple made of solid brass, and so heavy, that it required twenty pair of stout hands to open and shut it, and was flung open in the middle of the night, though fastened with strong bolts and bars: the air before sun-set filled with chariots, and armed men, which passed all over that country, and for the truth of which *Josephus* appeals to several living witnesses, who beheld the dreadful sight; and lastly the voice, which after a kind of rumbling noise, was distinctly heard by the priests, who were going to officiate on the feast of pentecost, and uttered these words articulately, *Let us depart; let us depart* *. In spite of all which, the *Jews*, as we have seen, continued as hardened as ever, and listened only to those lying prophets, who flattered them with the hopes of a sudden and miraculous deliverer. But to return to the siege: e

Simon and John taken.

WHILST the soldiers were still busy in burning the remains of the city, and visiting all the sinks, jakes, and common shores, where they found and killed numbers of other poor creatures, who had hid themselves, *Simon* and *John*, the two grand

* Bell. Jud. ubi supra, c. 12.

rebels,

a rebels, were found, and brought to *Titus*, who ordered them to be reserved for his triumph. *John* being pinched with hunger, came out first, and having begged his life, obtained it, but was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. *Simon*, whose retreat was better stored, held out till towards the end of *October*, when necessity forced him out. He appeared on the sudden on the ruins of the temple in a white robe, and a purple cloak. The *Romans* were at first surprised at him; but understanding soon after who he was, *Terentius Rufus*, who was left commander, seized on him, and sent him to *Cæsarea*, whither *Titus* was got by this time, and from whence he was conveyed with his bloody colleagues to *Rome*, to adorn the conqueror's triumph *.

b As soon as the *Romans* had ended their destructive work of burning and massacring, *Titus* set them on to demolish the city, with all its noble structures, fortifications, palaces, towers, walls, and other ornaments and fortifications, down to the level of the ground, according to Christ's express prediction. He left nothing standing but a piece of the western wall, and the three towers of *Hippicos*, *Phasael*, and *Mariamne*, the former to serve as a rampart to his tenth legion, which he left there, and the three latter to give future ages some idea of the strength of the whole city, and of the skill and valour of its conqueror. His orders were so punctually executed, that except those few buildings above-mentioned, there was not so much as any remains left that could serve as an index, that that ground had been once inhabited (B). Inasmuch that when he came to pass through it, in his way from *Cæsarea* to *Alexandria*, in order to imbarque for *Rome*, he could not restrain himself from shedding plenty of tears at the sight of so dreadful a devastation, and cursing the wretches who had forced him to be the author of it °.

It is not our business to follow that emperor to his capital, or to describe the magnificence of his triumph, the greatest which that city ever saw: that will be best done in the ensuing *Roman* history. All that is proper to be said on that head here, is, that *John* and *Simon*, at the head of seven hundred of the handsomest *Jewish* captives, were made to adorn the triumphal chair; after which *Simon*, having been dragged through the streets with a rope about his neck, and severely scourged, was put to death with some other *Jewish* leaders, and *John* was sent into perpetual imprisonment (C) †.

d *Titus* had left three castles still untaken, namely those of *Herodion* and *Massada* on this, and that of *Macheron* on the other side *Jordan*. The first of them was soon after taken by capitulation by *Lucilius Bassus*, who had been appointed lieutenant of *Judæa*. He went presently after at the head of a good number of troops to besiege that of *Macheron*, which was a very strong place, and likely to have held out a long time. But a lucky accident, which the reader may see in the margin (D), obliged the besieged

Titus's triumph.

Simon and John's fate.

* Ibid. & seq.

† cap. 18, & seq.

‡ cap. 24.

(B) The *Jewish* tradition adds, that *Titus* caused the plow to be driven over it; which ceremony, according to the *Roman* law, condemned the ground to perpetual desolation. But that, as well as *Josephus's* account, seems exaggerated, since there is great reason to believe, there were still many considerable ruins to be seen even in the emperor *Adrian's* time, as we may have occasion to shew in the *Roman* history.

(C) *Titus's* triumph was further adorned with a great number of trophies brought from *Judæa*; among the principal of which, were those which had been taken out of the sanctuary, such as the golden table of shew-bread, which weighed several talents; the seven-branch candlestick, a rich and curious piece of art; the roll or volume of the law, covered with a costly gold cloth, which was carried the last of the three, as the most venerable of all the trophies. The two former *Titus* caused to be placed in the temple of *Peace*, which his father had built; the latter, together with several curious and costly veils of the temple, and other rich furniture, he conveyed into his own palace (45).

There are still some coins extant of that emperor, stamped with a trophy and triumphant chariot, and of his father, with the image of a woman sitting sorrowful under a palm-tree, with the inscription of

Judæa Capta; with some others coined in the twenty-first year of king *Agrippa*, with these words in *Greek*, *Vespasian emperor, and Cæsar*. *Judæa was taken in the twenty-first of Agrippa.*

To these medals we may add some fragments in bas-relief, representing *Vespasian* and his son *Titus's* triumph, and on which is still to be distinguished the seven-branch candlestick, with other sacred utensils; some have pretended also to discover the ark in it; but we have already seen, that there was no such thing in the most holy place; and it is most likely to be only the table of the shew-bread, which was not altogether unlike it; but the misfortune is, that time has so defaced this noble monument, that it is not easy to discover any thing in it with any certainty, except the candlestick above-mentioned.

(D) There was in that castle a young nobleman highly esteemed for his valour, who, after having given the besiegers a stout repulse in a silly, unfortunately strayed out of the gates to speak to the people on the wall by way of bravado. An *Egyptian* then in the *Roman* army, came swiftly behind him unperceived, took him up in his arms, and carried him off.

When *Bassus* had got the noble youth in his power, he caused him to be stripped naked, and severely scourged, in the view of the besieged, who filled

immediately

(45) Bell. Jud. l. vii. c. 24.

to surrender, upon condition that they should have liberty to retire whither they pleased; ^a which being readily granted to them, they went and joined some of their revolted brethren, who had sheltered themselves in the forest of *Jardes*. Hither *Bassus* came, and attacked them, and after a desperate combat on both sides, totally defeated them, with *Judas* their chief, who had saved himself out of *Jerusalem*, through one of the aqueducts of that city ^q.

DEATH having prevented *Bassus* from putting an end to the war, *Flavius Silva*, his successor, assembled all his forces to attack *Massada*, now the only remaining fortress in the rebels hands. The place was prodigiously strong both by art and nature, well stored with all provisions, and defended with a good number of sicarii and assassins; at the head of whom was one *Eleazar*, the grandson of *Judas the Gaulonite*, ^b often mentioned in this and a former section. *Silva* having in vain tried his engines and battering rams against it, bethought himself of surrounding it with a high and strong wall, and then ordered fire to be set to the gates. The wind favouring him, pushed the flame so fiercely against the *Jews*, that *Eleazar*, in a kind of despair, persuaded them first to kill all their wives and children, and next to chuse ten men by lot who should kill all the rest; and lastly, one out of the surviving ten to dispatch them and himself, which was accordingly executed out of hand; only this last man was ordered to set fire to the place before he finished this bloody tragedy. On the next morning the *Romans*, who were preparing to scale the place, were strangely surprized to see and hear nothing move; upon which they made such a hideous outcry, that ^c two women, who had concealed themselves from the massacre in some aqueduct, came out, and told them the tragical end of the besieged, which put an end to that dreadful war ^r. *Vespasian* ordered the *Jewish* lands to be sold to his own use (E), and all the *Jews* within the *Roman* empire to pay the usual tribute of half a shekel, or two drachmas, to his treasury, which they were before obliged to pay to that of the sanctuary ^s.

THE temple and holy city thus destroyed and levelled with the ground, and the whole nation either miserably buried under its ruins, or dispersed into other countries, might, one would think, have opened the eyes of the poor remains of that once favoured people, and crushed at once all hopes and expectation of any other deliverer, ^d but him whom they had rejected and crucified. Many of them did indeed do so, but the far greater part remained in their insatuated state, and, according to Christ's own prediction have been dispersed ever since over all the world to attest his truth, and their own obdurate blindness, till the happy time comes when the veil shall be taken off their eyes. When that will be, is one of those secrets which God has been pleased to leave as yet unrevealed; and which it would be vain and presumptuous to search too curiously after. *Eusebius* adds to their sad catastrophe, that after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, *Vespasian* caused all the remaining sprouts of the house of *Judah* to be cut off ^r, to deprive them at once of all hopes of a deliverer, or future Messiah. Notwithstanding which, the zealots made several attempts to regain their power, first in *Egypt*, ^e where it cost some of their heads, and caused their temple at *Alexandria*, mentioned in a former section [†], to be quite shut up (F) ⁿ. Next in *Cyrene* of *Libya*, where one

^q Cap. 25.

^r Cap. 28.

^s Ibid. c. 26. in fin.

^t Eccles. hist. l. iii. c. 12.

[†] See

pag. 79, c. & (T).

^u Bell. ubi supra, c. 30. ad fin.

immediately the air with their cries. *Bassus* perceiving them so moved at the sight, caused a cross to be erected, and gave them to understand, that he would crucify him, unless they prevented it by a timely surrender. The stratagem had the desired effect; and the *Jews*, not being proof against so doleful a spectacle, chose to capitulate, and soon after surrendered the place, on the conditions above-mentioned (46).

(E) He only reserved the town of *Emmaus*, which he bestowed on eight hundred of his best veterans, to plant a new colony there, and from that time that place took the name of *Nicopolis* (47).

(F) These wretches, which were undoubtedly the relics of the *Gaulonitic* faction, since even their children suffered the severest torments, rather than

acknowledge *Cesar* for their lord (48), met at first with a kind reception from their brethren of *Alexandria*. But they quickly became obnoxious to them by sowing their leaven of sedition. To prevent the ill effects of which, they were delivered up to the *Romans*, and six hundred of them put to death.

Vespasian being apprised of it, and fearing lest their *Alexandrian* temple should afford them a fresh pretence of assembling themselves, and raising some new sedition in *Egypt*, sent orders to *Lupus* his governor there to demolish it. But he contented himself with shutting it up. *Paulinus*, who succeeded him soon after, stripped it of all its ornaments, and rich furniture, and caused the gates of it to be quite shut up, to prevent any further worship being offered up in it (49).

(46) Cap. 25. ad fin.

(47) Cap. 26.

(48) Ibid. cap. 29.

(49) Cap. 30. ad fin.

- a of them, named *Jonathan*, set up for a prophet, and persuaded about two thousand of his brethren there to follow him into the desert, where he promised to shew them wonders, and where *Catullus*, the then governor, caused them to be pursued and defeated (G) ^w.

b FROM that time the *Jewish* nation has been dispersed through, despised and hated by, all the world, hath gone from one age to another through a series of the greatest miseries and persecutions. We have innumerable instances of crowned heads, and even commonwealths, who have spared neither the severest edicts, nor the cruellest butcheries against them. In a word, *Pagans* and *Mahometans*, as well as *Christians*, tho' so opposite in other things, have yet, as it were, joined their efforts in vain, to exterminate that unhappy people, whom the divine providence hath nevertheless upheld under all those disadvantages by a kind of miraculous power, and no doubt for a more glorious purpose; insomuch that, according to a late learned historian, there are still above three millions of them dispersed through almost every nation and kingdom of the world, and still impatiently sighing after that glorious time when God shall restore them to their pristine state. But this, and some other particulars relating to their dispersions, writings, and the like, will be fully seen in the appendix at the end of this volume.

c AFTER the reduction of *Jerusalem* and *Judæa*, *Agrippa* and his sister retired to *Rome*, probably with *Titus*, who was excessive fond of both, but especially of *Ber-nice*. We have seen through the course of this last war how serviceable the brother had been to that general, accompanying him in person, and assisting him with men and ammunition, for which we are told *Titus* got his kingdom enlarged by the emperor, and procured him prætorian honours. But his extraordinary friendship for that prince flowed chiefly from his special fondness for his sister, who now lived with him in his palace, and ruled every thing as if she had been his real wife. We have hinted some former reports publicly spread concerning her incestuous intrigues with her brother, and for which she had given but too good a foundation. *Titus* could hardly be ignorant of it; but her beauty had so captivated him, that he overlooked every thing else; insomuch that he had promised her marriage, and would in all probability have kept it, had he not found that the *Romans* were wholly averse to it, partly on account of her being a *Jewess*, and partly on that of her royal descent. To pave himself there-fore the way to the empire, he was forced to discard her *inventus invitum* ^x, as *Suetonius* expresses it. What became of her afterwards, is not worth inquiring. As for *Agrippa*, he was the last of the *Herodian* race that bore the royal title, and is supposed to have died at *Rome* about the seventieth year of his age, and in the ninetieth of *Jesus Christ* ^y. *Josephus* has this remarkable saying on the *Herodian* line, that they all failed within a hundred years ^z, though they were at first so numerous, as we have seen them in the genealogy of *Herod the Great*.

c THIS was the end of the *Herodian* family, and of the *Jewish* nation and polity, and is so much the more remarkable, considering that the succinct account we have of it is written by a *Jew* of such extraordinary character, and that the destruction of the city and people, especially of their temple, is found upon the whole so exactly conformable to the prophecies of *Christ*, denounced against them so long before. One might have expected that this should have opened their eyes, to acknowledge these as well as the many others we have mentioned in the course of this and the last section, which prove him the *Messiah*, since they had seen their sacrifices, ceremonial law,

^w Ibid. c. 31. pass.
bibl. cod. 33.

^x Vid. Sueton. in vit. Tit. & Xiphil. ex Dione. JUSTUS TIBERIUS apud Phot.
^y Tulemont, Ruin des Juifs, Art. 83, & not. 41.

^z Antiq. l. xviii. c. 7.

(G) *Jonathan* was taken presently after, and brought to *Catullus*, before whom he accused many of the richest *Jews* of having instigated him into this imposture, and whom that greedy governor caused to be put to death to the number of three thousand, and confiscated all their wealth.

He afterwards obliged that wretch to prefer the same indictment against those that were at *Rome*, among whom was *Josephus* the historian, whom he accused to have furnished him with arms and money. *Tiberias* made such a strict inquiry into the matter, that he easily found out the cheat, caused *Jonathan*

to be cruelly whipped, and then burnt alive, and acquitted the persons accused.

Catullus, though deep in the guilt, was yet pardoned by that emperor; but providence did not suffer him to go unpunished; for he was soon after seized with a panic phrensy, which made him fancy himself surrounded with the dreadful spectres of those whom he had unjustly put to death. He was at length seized with an inward intolerable heat, which consumed his very entrails, and he died in that miserable condition unpitied (50).

their temple, their royal stock of *Judab*, &c. which they till then thought were to last ^a for ever, buried, as it were, under the ruin of their metropolis. Instead of which, their chief aim and study has been to find salvos against these pregnant proofs against them; to depart from the expositions of their ancients, give a new sense to the prophets, and to invent new sceptres for their royal tribe in some unknown parts of the world, and in a word, to oppose every thing that we urge against them, as we shall shew in the appendix.

In the mean time, it will not be amiss to take notice, that the *Jews* are no less at variance with *Josephus*, than the christians have admired him. *St. Jerom*, among other praises he gives him, calls him the *Livy* of the *Jews* ^a. *Photius* and others have been equally lavish of their incense; and *Eusebius* adds to the rest, that he had a statue ^b reared to him in consideration of his writings ^b. We shall not repeat what we have often observed, of his partiality to his nation, and sacerdotal order, both in this chapter, and our first volume. But his countrymen have trumped up another *Josephus*, known by the name of *Bengorian*, whose history is compiled out of the *Rufinian* version of the true *Josephus*; for he doth not seem to have seen the original, and has stuffed it with the most absurd falsehoods and contradictions to him; and yet the *Jews* give him the largest encomiums. In particular *Rabby Tban*, who has published his history, is not ashamed to affirm, that all he wrote was just and true, without the least falsehood; that his writings come nearer to those of the prophets, than those of any other *Jewish* author; that the hand of God was upon him, whilst he compiled his ^c work, with some other commendations, which amount almost to blasphemy ^c. That fabulous author is so well known to the learned, that we shall spend no time in exposing him. The readers may see enough of them in that mutilated edition which *Munster* has given us of it; though he has concealed a great number of them. But those that have seen the full editions that have come out since, will find them so full of them, that he will readily own, nothing but the greatest degree of infatuation and perverseness could induce the *Jews* to prefer him to the true one, who, setting aside his partiality above-mentioned, hath all the marks of a judicious and exact historian.

^a De vir. illust. c. 13.
Constantinop. 1490.

^b Hist. eccles. l. iii. c. 13.

^c Præf. in Jossip. BENGORION, edit. Con-

C H A P. XII.

The history of the Parthians, from Arfaces, to the recovery of the kingdom by the Persians.

- a** *PARTHIA*, properly so called, was bounded on the east by *Aria*; on the south by *Parthia deserta* ^{described.} *Carmania Deserta*; on the west by *Media*; and on the north by *Hyrkania*. *Ptolemy* divides it into five districts or provinces, viz. *Caminisene* or *Camisene*, *Parthyene*, *Choroane*, *Atticene*, and *Tabiene*. The ancient geographers enumerate a great many cities in *Parthia*; but those of most note were, *Calliope*, *Iffatis*, *Europum*, known also by the names of *Raga*, *Europos*, and *Arface*, *Apamea*, *Heraclea*, *Crenonia*, *Cbarax*, *Ariacana*, *Aspa*, *Marriche*, *Rbagæa*, and *Hecatompylos*. The latter was the metropolis of *Parthia*, and the place where the first kings of that country resided; for after they had made themselves masters of *Affyria*, they abandoned *Hecatompylos*, passing the winter at *Ctesiphon*, and the summer at *Ecbatan*, or in *Hyrkania*. The city of *Ctesiphon* stood on the *Tigris*, a little below *Seleucia*, and on the opposite bank, in the province of *Cbalonitis*, which was the most southerly of all *Affyria*. This city was founded, according to *Ammianus Marcellinus* ^a, by one *Vardanes*, and embellished and fortified by *Pacorus*. Who *Vardanes* was, we know not; but *Valesius* takes *Pacorus* here spoke of to have been the son of *Orodes*, whom *Ventidius* defeated. *Polybius* ^b, *Tacitus* ^c, *Herodianus* ^d, and *Strabo* ^e speak of *Ctesiphon* as the metropolis of the whole *Parthian* empire; whereas *Hecatompylos* was only the metropolis of *Parthia* properly so called, but nevertheless a place of great note, and about nine miles in compass. It had a hundred gates, whence it borrowed the name of *Hecatompylos*, as *Polybius* informs us ^f. Most of our modern travellers are of opinion, that it stood on the very spot where the present city of *Isfahan* stands. *Parthia* is at present known by the name of *Arach* or *Erach*, and may be called the royal province of *Persia*, since the king always resides in it. The chief cities it contains at present, are, *Casbin* or *Caswin*, built on the ruins of the ancient *Arface*; *Sawa* or *Sava*, *Kom*, *Hamadan*, *Kasban*, and *Isfahan*, which *Holstenius* ^g takes to be the ancient *Aspa*, contradicting therein most of our modern geographers and travellers. The air of *Parthia* was anciently, and is still, very clear and healthy; but the soil barren, and not yielding wherewithal to maintain the inhabitants, who were once very numerous, and therefore obliged to transplant themselves into other countries. Upon the death of *Alexander the Great*, it was almost intirely neglected, and left as an appendant to *Media*,
- d** none of that prince's commanders caring for the government of so poor and barren a province. But we shall see this small and obscure province make a great figure in history, eclipse all the kingdoms of the east, and become formidable to the *Romans* themselves while they were at the height of their glory. But we must not here confound *Parthia*, or, as others call it, *Parthyæa* and *Parthyene*, with what the ancients understand by the *Parthian* empire. The former was comprised within the narrow bounds which we have described above; whereas the latter was of a vast extent, being bounded on the east by the *Indus*; on the west by the *Tigris*; on the south by the *Red-sea*; and on the north by mount *Caucasus* ^h; so that it comprehended *Arachosia*, *Parthia*, *Affyria*, *Persis* and *Media*. These wide-spreading dominions were, according to *Pliny* ⁱ, divided by the *Parthian* monarchs into eighteen kingdoms, which they distinguished by the names of the *upper* and *lower* kingdoms. The former were eleven, extending from the confines of *Armenia* and the *Caspian* sea, to the borders of *Scythia*. The other seven comprehended the remaining provinces subject to the crown of *Parthia*, and were known by the name of the *lower* kingdoms.
- SOME writers are of opinion, that this country was first peopled by the *Phetri* or *Patbri*, often mentioned in scripture ^k, and will have the *Parthians* to be descended from *Pbetrusim* the son of *Mizraim*. This may perhaps be true with relation to the

^a AMMIAN. MARCELL. l. xxiii. c. 20.^b POLYB. l. v. c. 45.^c TACIT. l. vi. c. 42.^d HERODIAN. l. iii. c. 9.^e STRABO. l. xvi. p. 512.^f POLYB. l. x. c. 25.^g HOLSTEN. in Orth.^h Vide OROS. l. ii. c. 2.ⁱ PLIN. l. vi. c. 25.^k ISAI. c. xl. JEREM. c. xlii. EZEC. c. xxxi.

first inhabitants of *Parthia*; but those *Parthians*, who are so famous in history, were, without all doubt, originally *Scythians*, as we are told by all the ancients who speak of them. 'Tis true, there is a great disagreement among authors as to the particular nation or tribe to which they belonged, some taking them to be originally *Dæ*; others to be *Getae*, *Massagetae*, or *European Scythians*. *Strabo* tells us, that *Arfaces*, the founder of this kingdom, was by birth a *Scythian*, and king of the *Dæ* or *Dabæ*. *Curtius* says, that the *Scythians*, known by the name of *Parthians*, came out of *Europe*¹. *Jornandes* will have them to be originally *Goths* or *Getae*; for these, according to him, are one and the same people². They were, according to *Justin*, driven out of their own country, and finding no other place to settle in, obliged to take up with this barren and inhospitable region. They called themselves, on their first settling here, *Parthians*, that is, in the old *Scythian* language, *exiles*; and hence came the name of *Parthia*.

Manners, customs, &c. of the Parthians.

THE *Parthians* were a courageous and warlike people, as we shall see in the sequel of this history, and not undeservedly esteemed the best horsemen and archers in the world. They were accustomed from their infancy, says *Dionysius*³, to the warlike and manly exercises of managing a horse, and handling a bow; and in both excelled all other nations. They had an art or method peculiar to themselves, of discharging their arrows with incredible address, dexterity and order, while they were retiring full speed, which gained them many victories, and rendered their retreat far more formidable to the enemy than their onset (A). To their great skill in archery alluded the consul *Crassus*, when being told by an astrologer, that his expedition against the *Parthians* would prove unsuccessful, by reason of the ominous aspect of the constellation *Scorpio*, the *Roman* returned answer, That he feared not *Scorpio*, but *Sagittarius*. To these exercises of horsemanship and archery the air and nature greatly contributed; for the dry air, as *Dion* observes, seasoned their bows; and their large plains afforded them sufficient room for the training up of their horses. From the age of twenty to fifty, they were all, without exception, obliged to serve in war, to attend the musters, learn the military exercises, and be ready, at a very short warning, to take the field⁴. Persons of any rank or distinction among them never appeared in public a-foot, but always on horseback, and armed with scymitars⁵; which custom seemed strange to the *Romans*, who used to lay down their arms when they quitted the *sagum* or military habit⁶. In war they did not use trumpets like other nations, but large, hollow vessels of brass covered with skins, such as our kettle-drums, which being beat with hammers, yielded a very warlike sound⁷ (B). They are said to have been very spare in their diet⁸, their country not affording any superfluities; but at the same time to have been great lovers of wine, and much addicted to all manner of lewdness, not respecting even their sisters or mothers, whom they were allowed to marry, and as many wives besides as they pleased, nothing being deemed more ho-

¹ CURT. l. vii. ² JORNAND. de reb. Goth. l. xv. ³ JUSTIN. l. xii. ⁴ OVID. Trist. l. v.

⁵ DIONYS. in poem. de situ orb. ⁶ STRABO, PLUT. in Crasso. ⁷ JUSTIN. l. xii. c. 3 & 9.

(A) This art, peculiar to the *Parthians*, of discharging their arrows with great dexterity, while they were retiring full speed, is much spoke of by the *Latin* writers, especially the poets.

(B) *Lucretius* tells us, that the *Parthians* carried lions about with them in war, which, in the beginning of the engagement, they used to let loose against the enemy.

Videntemque fuga Parthum, versisque sagittis (1).
Et versis animosum equis
Parthum dicere (2).
Ut celer averis utere Parthus equis (3).
Quid tibi nunc missi solita post terga sagitta,
Quid loca, quid rapidi profinis ejus equi (4)?
Nil opus est equis,
Nil armis, & inertibus
Telis, qua procul ingeris
Parthus, cum simulat fugas (5).
Vidis & versis equicis sagittas,
Terga fallacis metuenda Parthi (6).
Recipis Aethamnia scopulis, ubi versa sequentum
Pectoribus figis spicula pugna fugax (7). &c.

Et validos Parthi pra se misere leones
Cum ductoribus armatis, saevisque magistris,
Qui moderarier his possent, vincisque tenere:
Nequicquam; quoniam permixta cado calentes
Turbabant saevi nullo discrimine turmas,
Terrificas caput quatientes undique cristas (8).

But herein the poet deserves no more credit, than some too credulous historians mentioned by *Lucian*, who, mistaking the dragons which the *Parthians* carried in their colours for real dragons, wrote, that the king of *Parthia* was always attended in war with a great number of dragons, which made a dreadful havoc among the enemies troops (9).

(1) Virgil. georg. l. iii. (2) Horat. l. i. carm. od. 19. (3) Ovid. l. iii. de arte. (4) Idem
 Just. v. (5) Senec. in Thyest. (6) Idem in Oedip. (7) Boet. l. v. (8) Lucret. l. v.
 (9) Lucian. in lib. de conscrib. histor.

- a nourable among them than to have a numerous issue^c. They intirely neglected agriculture, navigation, trade, and all other callings, being wholly taken up in learning the arts of war, which alone were of any repute among them^a.

THEIR religion was much the same with that of the *Persians*; they worshipped the sun under the name of *Mitras*^a; believed, that those who fell in battle, enjoyed a perpetual and uninterrupted happiness, a tenet well suited to the genius of a warlike nation; and in most other points of religion intirely agreed with the *Persians*, of whose religion we have spoke at length in the history of *Persia*. They were most religious observers of their word, thinking it highly dishonourable not to perform their engagements, or to deceive those who had trusted them on their parole^a, whereof we shall give a glaring instance in the reign of *Artabanus*.

As to their government, it was, as is well known, monarchical, and absolute in the highest degree, no tyrants having ever required a more servile and blind submission from those who had the misfortune to live under them. They treated their subjects, says *Herodianus*^a, as the meanest of slaves, and scarce as men, while they put themselves on a level with the immortal gods. Their usual title was, *the king of kings, the great monarch, the brother of the sun and moon, &c.* These haughty titles they not only assumed in all the laws and edicts they enacted, but in their letters to other princes. Thus *Vologeses II.* in writing to the emperor *Vespasian*, used the following superscription: *Arfaces, king of kings, to Flavius Vespasian*. The emperor could not help smiling when he read it; and, to shew how little he valued such pompous and high sounding titles, he answered him in his own strain thus: *Flavius Vespasian to Arfaces king of kings*, giving the *Parthian* the titles he had assumed, but despising them himself. The same haughty stile *Phrabates II.* used in writing to *Augustus*; and *Phrabates III.* sent ambassadors to *Pompey*, on purpose to expostulate with him for omitting in his letter to him the title of *king of kings*, and giving him only that of *king*. Their whole conduct was answerable to the sublime and lofty titles they assumed; for, not satisfied with the respect paid to other crowned heads, they obliged all those whom they vouchsafed to see, to kiss the threshold on their first entering the royal palace, to prostrate themselves before them with their faces on the ground, and acknowledge their majesty with some offering, as if they appeared, to use the expression of *Dion*, before the great *Jupiter (C)*^a.

We can give no particular account of the state of *Parthia* before *Arfaces I.* the works of *Apollodorus*, *Artemisius*, *Creperius*, *Calpurnianus*, *Quadratus*, *Rbrianus*, and *Seleucus Emisenus*, who wrote of the *Parthian* affairs, and are quoted by *Strabo*^a, *Athenaeus*^b, *Lucian*^c, *Stephanus* and *Suidas*, not having reached our times. All we know of them is, that they were first subject to the *Medes*, afterwards to the *Persians*, and lastly to *Alexander the Great*, upon whose death *Parthia* fell to the share of *Seleucus Nicator*, whose successors held it till the reign of *Antiochus Theus*, when *Arfaces*, shaking off the *Macedonian* yoke, set up for himself, and founded a new kingdom, which, in process of time, became by far the most powerful in the east, and was held by his successors for the space of four hundred and seventy-five years; at the end of which the empire was transferred anew from the *Parthians* to the *Persians*, as we shall see in the sequel of this history.

Arfaces I. the founder of the *Parthian* monarchy, was, according to some writers, of the race of the *Achemenidae*; according to others, by birth a *Parthian*. *Strabo* says, that he was king of the *Dabæ* before the revolt of *Parthia*; and *Georgius Syncellus*, that he was a nobleman of *Bactria*. We have related elsewhere^d on what pro-

Kings of Parthia.
Arfaces I.
Year of the flood 1699.
Before Christ

^a Idem, l. xvi. AGATH. l. ii. PHILO de special. legib. p. 778. TERTUL. in Apologet. ^b DIONYS. 300. ubi supra. ^c STRABO, l. xv. SUID. HESYCH. DIONYS. AREOPAGIT. epist. 7. ad Polycarp. CYRILL. catech. 7. ^d JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xviii. c. ult. ^e HERODIAN. l. iv. c. 3. ^f DION, l. iv. JUSTIN. l. xvi. STRABO, l. xv. ^g Idem, l. ii, & xv. ^h ATHEN. l. xv. c. 12. ⁱ LUCIAN. de conscrib. histor. ^j Vol. III. p. 525.

(C) To this *Martial* alludes in the following epigram:

Frustra blanditia venis ad me, &c.
Ad Parthos proci iis pilentis,
Et turpes, humileque, supplice/qua,
Pictorum sola basiare regum (10).

(10) *Mars. l. x. epig. 71.*

And *Virgil*:

Præterea regem non sic Ægyptus, & ingens
Lydia, nec populi Parthorum, aut Medus Hydaspes
Observant, &c. (11).

(11) *Virgil. georg. l. iv.*

vocation

vocation he solicited the *Parthians* to revolt from *Antiochus Theus*, and what success attended him in his wars with *Seleucus Callinicus*, the son and successor of *Antiochus Theus**, whom he not only defeated, but took prisoner, and from that time assumed the title of king, having founded, and by that victory firmly established, an empire in the east, which in process of time counter-balanced the over-grown power of the *Romans* in the west. He reduced *Hyrcania*, and some other neighbouring provinces, and was at last killed in a battle against *Ariarathes IV.* king of *Cappadocia*†. From him all those, who reigned after of the same race, took the name of *Arfaces*, as the kings of *Egypt* did that of *Ptolemy*, and the *Roman* emperors that of *Cæsar*.

Arfaces II. HE was succeeded by his son *Arfaces*, who entering *Media*, made himself master of that country, while *Antiochus the Great* was engaged in a war with *Ptolemy Euergetes* king of *Egypt*. But *Antiochus* was no sooner disengaged from that war, than he marched with all his forces against *Arfaces*, drove him quite out of *Media*, and entering *Parthia*, obliged him to retire into *Hyrcania*, whence he soon after returned with an army of an hundred thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse. With these he put a stop to *Antiochus's* further progress; so that the *Syrian*, finding he could not overpower so valiant an enemy, began to give ear to the overtures which were made him for putting an end to so troublesome a war; and a treaty being set on foot, it was agreed, that *Arfaces* should hold *Parthia* and *Hyrcania*, on condition of his assisting *Antiochus* to recover the other provinces which had revolted‡, as we have related at length in the history of *Syria*§.

Priapatus. *Priapatus*, the son of *Arfaces II.* succeeded his father; but all we know of him is, that he reigned fifteen years, and left three sons behind him, viz. *Phrabates*, *Mitbridates*, and *Artabanus*. The crown he bequeathed to *Phrabates* his eldest son, who overcame the *Mardi*, one of the most warlike nations of the east, and never conquered before the reign of *Alexander*, who, with much ado, reduced them, as well as the other nations inhabiting *Media*¶. *Phrabates* left a numerous issue; but having more at heart the welfare of his kingdom than the advantage of his children, he left the crown to his brother *Mitbridates*, on account of his extraordinary merit; for he had given many instances of an uncommon wisdom, probity and courage. He reduced the countries of the *Bactrians*, *Persians*, *Medes*, *Elymæans*, and over-ran in a manner all the east, extending his dominions into *India*, beyond the boundaries of *Alexander's* conquests. *Demetrius Nicator*, who then reigned in *Syria*, endeavoured to recover the provinces of the east, which *Mitbridates* had taken; but his army was intirely cut off, and himself taken prisoner, as we have elsewhere related at length¶. After this victory, *Mitbridates* got possession of all *Babylonia* and *Mesopotamia*; so that he was now master of all the provinces lying between the *Euphrates* on the west, and the *Ganges* on the east¶. He entertained his royal captive with great humanity, allowed him a maintenance suitable to his rank, and sending him into *Hyrcania* to reside there, gave him *Rhodagune*, one of his sisters, in marriage¶. However, he kept him still in captivity, tho' with as much freedom as was consistent with the state of a captive; and at his death, which happened in the thirty-seventh year of his reign, left him in this condition to his son *Phrabates*, who succeeded him in the kingdom¶. The reign of *Mitbridates* is looked upon by authors as the epoch of the *Parthian* grandeur; for under him that empire was by far the most powerful and most extensive in the east, all the countries that lie between the *Euphrates* and mount *Caucasus* receiving law from him, and most of the princes of *Asia* being either subdued by him, or obliged to enter into an alliance with him on his own terms. He was a prince of great courage and resolution, and at the same time had a sweetness of temper, which rendered him amiable to all who approached him. As he conquered many nations, he is said to have carefully examined their various constitutions, and, out of the whole collection, to have formed a body of excellent laws for the regulation of his empire; so that he was both a great warrior, and wise law-giver¶.

Phrabates II. *Phrabates II.* had scarce taken possession of the throne, when *Antiochus Sidetes*, king of *Syria*, marched against him, at the head of a numerous army, under pretence of delivering his brother *Demetrius*, who was still kept in captivity. *Phrabates* marched

* Ibid. p. 529. † JUSTIN. l. xli. c. 5, &c. ‡ Idem ibid. § Vide Vol. III. p. 541. ¶ JUSTIN. l. xli. c. 5. * Vide Vol. III. p. 605, 606. † JUSTIN. l. xli. c. 6. ‡ OROS. l. v. c. 4. § JUSTIN. ibid. & l. xxviii. c. 9. ¶ Idem, l. xxxviii. c. 9. & l. xlii. c. 1. * DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. Valesii. p. 361.

a out against him, but was overcome in three successive battles, stripped of *Mesopotamia*, *Babylonia*, and all the other countries which his father had reduced, and confined within the narrow limits of the first *Parthian* kingdom. However, he had the good luck at last to retrieve his affairs, and cut off *Antiochus* with his whole army, in the manner we have related at length in the history of *Syria* ^p. *Phrabates*, flushed with this victory, resolved to invade *Syria*; but while he was making the necessary preparations for this enterprize, he found himself engaged in a war at home with the *Scythians* his neighbours. He had called them to his assistance against *Antiochus*; but that prince being overcome, and his army intirely defeated before their arrival, he refused to pay them the sum which had been promised them. Hereupon the *Scythians*, falling upon the country which they were come to defend, committed every-where most dreadful ravages ^q. *Phrabates*, having thus drawn upon himself a war with the *Scythians*, in order to strengthen his army against so brave and powerful an enemy, took into his service all the *Greek* mercenaries, who having followed *Antiochus* king of *Syria* in his *Parthian* expedition, had been taken prisoners in the late overthrow of that prince. As these *Greeks* had been treated by the *Parthians* with great haughtiness and cruelty during their captivity, they no sooner got arms into their hands, but they resolved to be revenged on them; and accordingly, in the first engagement, they went all in a body over to the *Scythians*, and, in conjunction with them, falling upon the *Parthians*, cut their army to pieces, killed their king, and laid waste their country ^r. After this, both the *Greeks* and *Scythians* returned to their own countries; and, on their departure, *Artabanus*, the third son of *Pampatius*, and uncle to the deceased king, took possession of the crown, which he held a very short time, being killed a few days after in battle by the *Togarians*, another nation of the *Scythian* race ^s.

Artabanus I.

Artabanus was succeeded by his son *Pacorus* I. who hearing of the great exploits of the *Romans*, sent ambassadors to *Sylla*, who was then in *Cappadocia*, to desire the friendship and alliance of so powerful a people. The *Parthians*, tho' the most warlike and wealthy nation in *Asia*, were at that time scarce known at *Rome*. *Sylla* therefore was overjoyed to hear, that their king had resolved to send ambassadors to him, and looked upon it as one of the most fortunate occurrences of his life, that he should be the first *Roman*, to whom so great and gallant a nation should apply for an alliance with the people of *Rome*. He was then only prætor, and had been sent by the senate to restore *Ariobarzanes*, king of *Cappadocia*, to the throne, whence he had been driven by *Tigranes* king of *Armenia*. However, to dazzle the eyes of the ambassadors with an air of grandeur, he took great state upon him in the audience he gave them; for in the place where he received them he ordered three seats to be put; one in the middle for himself, that on the right hand for king *Ariobarzanes*, and the other on the left for *Oromazes*, the chief of the embassy. This compliance of the *Parthian* ambassador cost him his life, *Pacorus* having caused him to be beheaded on his return, for debasing the majesty of the *Parthian* monarchy, by giving place to a *Roman* prætor ^t. However, *Pacorus* afterwards sent ambassadors to *Lucullus*, to renew the alliance he had concluded with *Sylla*. He was succeeded by his son *Phrabates* III. who taking under his protection *Tigranes*, the son of *Tigranes the Great*, king of *Armenia*, gave him his daughter in marriage, and invading *Armenia*, laid siege to *Artaxata*, with a design to drive the father from the throne, and place the son on it in his room. But, on the approach of *Pompey*, he thought fit to withdraw, and, by a solemn embassy, to renew the alliance which his father had concluded, first with *Sylla*, and afterwards with *Lucullus* ^u. He was, not long after, murdered by his own children, *Mitridates* and *Orodes*, in the twelfth year of his reign. Upon his death, *Orodes*, who was the elder brother, took possession of the throne; but was soon driven out by *Mitridates*, who making himself odious to the *Parthians* by his cruelties, was, in his turn, obliged to abandon the kingdom, and shelter himself with *Gabinus* governor of *Syria*. On his flight *Orodes* was replaced on the throne, by means of one *Surenas*, who, next to the king, held the first place of honour and power in the kingdom, and had always adhered to the interest of *Orodes*. *Gabinus* was easily prevailed upon to undertake the restoring of *Mitridates*; for as his heart was intirely bent upon gain, he wanted only a pretence to invade *Parthia*, knowing

Pacorus I.

Phrabates III.

Orodes.

Mithridates II.

^p Vol. III. p. 608, 609.
 in Syll. VELL. PATRUL. l. ii. c. 24.

^q JUSTIN. l. xlii. c. 1.
^r DION. l. xxxvi. p. 32.

^s Idem ibid.

^t Idem ibid.

^u PLUT.

^v LXX. epist. l. 100.

Mithridates
put to death
by his brother
Orodes.

that it was at that time a wealthy nation. Accordingly he set out on his march, ^a taking *Mithridates* along with him for his guide; but after he had passed the *Euphrates*, being accosted by *Ptolemy Auletes* king of *Egypt*, who offered him ten thousand talents, on condition he restored him to his kingdom, the corrupt governor, dropping his former enterprize, repassed the *Euphrates*, and marched directly into *Egypt*, leaving *Mithridates* to shift for himself. The *Parthian*, seeing himself thus abandoned by *Gabinus*, raised what troops he could, and returning into *Babylonia*, seized *Seleucia*, where he was closely besieged by *Orodes*, and in a short time reduced to such straits, that he was obliged to surrender at discretion. *Orodes* no sooner got him into his power, but considering him as an enemy, and not as a brother, he caused him to be put to death, and was himself an eye-witness of that cruel execution ^{w.} ^b We must not confound, as *Justin* has done, this *Mithridates* with *Mithridates II.* of whom we have spoke above, it being plain from *Plutarch*, *Dion*, *Florus*, *Xiphilinus*, and from the very prologue of the forty-second book of *Trogus Pompeius*, whom *Justin* has epitomized, that *Mithridates II.* and *Mithridates* the brother of *Orodes*, were two different princes. The former, by his many conquests and noble exploits, acquired the surname of *Great*; whereas the latter did nothing worth mentioning.

Orodes, by the death of his brother, became sole master of the whole *Parthian* empire; but did not long enjoy it in peace, a violent storm breaking out at a time, and from a quarter he least expected it. *M. Licinius Crassus* had been lately created consul at *Rome* the second time, with *Pompey*; and, in the partition of the provinces, had obtained, in virtue of a law made by *C. Trebonius* tribune of the people, *Syria*, with the neighbouring provinces. To *Pompey* the two *Spains* were assigned, with all the provinces of *Africa*. By the *Trebonian* law they were both empowered to hold their provinces for the space of five years, to raise what forces they should think proper, and to make peace or war with whom they pleased, according to their own judgment, without having recourse to the senate or people of *Rome*, as all other governors had ever before been obliged to do ^{z.} *Crassus* was, according to *Plutarch*, a man of known valour, and great experience in war, and had, on many occasions, given signal proofs of both in the armies of *Sylla*, under whom he had learnt the military art. He was likewise an eloquent orator, well versed in history, acquainted ^d with *Aristotle's* philosophy, and deemed one of the best antiquaries of his time. His obliging behaviour, his wonderful address and affability, prejudiced people at first in his favour, and gained upon their affections; but his insatiable avarice made all his good qualities in a manner overlooked; for tho' he was born of a rich family, and heir to a great estate, yet he let no means of increasing his revenues escape him, and often used such as were wholly unworthy his birth and rank, being of opinion, as he himself declared, that no citizen was to be accounted a rich man, till he was able to maintain an army at his own expence. As he had therefore used all his interest to obtain the province of *Syria*, so he was overjoyed when it was conferred upon him for such a term of years, and with so unbounded a power and authority, being resolved to carry the war into *Parthia*, in hopes of enriching himself with the spoils of that nation, which was deemed very rich, as never having been subdued by any foreign enemy. He was so transported with joy at the thoughts of the immense treasures, which he took for granted, he was to bring back with him from *Parthia*, that he could not forbear talking of his intended expedition in a manner unworthy of his age and character, even with persons whom he scarce knew. He did not confine his view to *Syria* alone, or *Parthia*, but flattered himself with achieving such things, as should eclipse the great exploits of *Lucullus*, *Pompey*, and *Sylla* himself, whose names had spread terror over all the nations of the east. He fancied himself already on the banks of the *Indus* and the *Ganges*, and over-ran in his thoughts *Bactria*, *India*, and ^e the most remote provinces of *Asia*, beyond the boundaries of *Alexander's* conquests. Intoxicated with these hopes, he began, towards the end of his consulship, to make his levies, and form the legions, which were to attend him into *Syria*. But some of the tribunes of the people, disapproving his design of making war upon the *Parthians*, who had entered into an alliance with *Rome*, and religiously observed their engagements, did all that lay in their power to reverse the *plebiscitum* or decree of the people, passed at the instigation of *Trebonius*, who was now out of office. *Ateius Capita*, one ^f

M. Licinius
Crassus resolves
to make war on
the Parthians.

^w DION. l. xxxix. APPIAN. in Parthic. p. 134, 140, 141, &c. in Syriac. p. 120. JUSTIN. l. xlii. c. 4.
^z LIV. l. cv. PLUT. in Crasso, Pomp. & Cat. Min. APPIAN. bell. civil. l. ii. p. 437, 438. DIO. l. xxxix.
^y PLUT. in Crasso.

- a of the tribunes, having stirred up the people, by representing to them how base and shameful a thing it was to disturb the tranquillity of a peaceable nation, who had done the Romans no injury, would have arrested *Crassus*, tho' consul, if eight other tribunes had not opposed the violence of their colleague, and rescued *Crassus* out of the hands of the officer, who had seized him. When the consul, after performing, as usual, his vows in the capitol, was ready to set out for his province, *Ateius* assembled the people, prepared to obstruct his departure; which *Crassus* being alarmed at, desired *Pompey* to accompany him to the gates of the city; which he did accordingly, keeping in awe by his presence, as he was greatly revered by the people, those who had most zealously opposed the consul's expedition. *Ateius*, seeing he could not prevent the departure of *Crassus*, hastened to the gate of the city through which he was to pass; and there having ordered a fire to be kindled, as soon as *Crassus* appeared, he threw some perfumes into it, and invoking the infernal gods, uttered a thousand imprecations against *Crassus*, which made all those, who heard them, tremble with horror. Tho' *Crassus* took no notice of these curses, yet the superstitious Romans ascribed to them all the misfortunes and calamities which befel him, and those who attended him in this fatal expedition (D); whereas they were owing, as we shall see anon, to a quite different cause.

Is opposed in vain by Capito tribune of the people.

- Crassus* having, with the assistance of *Pompey*, got safe out of Rome, pursued his march to *Brundisium*; where he immediately embarked his men on board several transports, and notwithstanding the wind blew then very high, set sail for Asia, and, with much ado, reached the ports of *Galatia*, having lost many ships in his passage. Soon after his landing he had an interview with *Dejotarus* king of *Galatia*, who, tho' stricken in years, was at that time employed in building a new city. *Crassus*, thinking this an unreasonable undertaking, said pleasantly, *You begin, O king, full late to build a city at the twelfth hour of the day.* The twelfth hour was, with the Romans, the last of the day. As *Crassus* was upwards of sixty, and looked older than he was, *Dejotarus* replied, *And you, O general, are not too early in your expedition against the Parthians.*

Sets out from Rome. Year of the flood 2944. Before Christ 55.

- FROM *Galatia* *Crassus* pursued his march into *Syria*, the province allotted to him; and being there informed, that immense treasures were lodged in the temple of *Jerusalem*, which *Pompey* had not ventured to touch, he marched thither with part of his army, in order to seize them. *Eleazar*, one of the priests, and at that time keeper of the sacred treasure, had under his charge, besides many other things of an inestimable value, a raster of massy gold, weighing three thousand Hebrew pounds, or seven hundred and fifty common pounds. This, for the better securing of it, he had inclosed into a beam made hollow for that purpose, and placed the beam over the entrance from the holy place into the holy of holies, hanging from it the veil which parted those two places. *Eleazar*, who was apprised of the motive of *Crassus's* march to *Jerusalem*, to save the other ornaments of the temple, and the riches which were deposited there by private persons, discovered the golden raster to *Crassus*, and suffered him to take it away, after having made him solemnly promise with an oath, that he would meddle with nothing else. But *Crassus* no sooner received it, than forgetting his oath, he seized on the two thousand talents which *Pompey* had left there untouched; and rummaging the temple, plundered it of every thing else which he thought worth taking away, to the value of eight thousand talents more; so that the whole booty, which he sacrilegiously took from thence, amounted to ten thousand talents^b; that is, to two millions and upwards of our money. *Josephus*,

Plunders the temple of Jerusalem.

^a DIO & PLUT. *ibid.* FLOR. l. iii. c. 15. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 46. APPIAN. *bell. civil.* p. 438.
^b PLUT. *ibid.* JOSEPH. *Antiq.* l. xiv. c. 12.

(D) *Florus* tells us, that *Crassus*, on his setting out from Rome, was cursed by *Micellus* tribune of the people (12); and *Valleius Paterculus* (13), *Appian* (14), *Dion* (15), that he was cursed by all the tribunes, but especially by *Ateius*, who signalized himself on that occasion.

Says Lucan (16). *Crassus*, the night before he set out for his province, supped with *Cicero*, in the garden of his son-in-law *Crassippus* (17). From thence *Cicero* removed to *Tusculanum*, and *Crassus* hastened to *Brundisium* in his military habit, being resolved, in spite of the tribunes, to make war on the Parthians (18).

*Crassumque in bello securo
Sava tribunis moverunt praelia dira,*

(12) FLOR. l. iii. c. 15. (13) VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 46. (14) APPIAN. *de bell. civil.* l. ii. p. 438.
 (15) DIO, l. xlix. (16) LUCAN. l. iii. (17) CIC. *epist. familiar.* l. i. *epist.* 9. (18) *Idem*, l. iv. *ad Attic. epist.* 12. & l. ii. *de divinat.*

who relates this, thinking it would scarce be credited by other nations, alledges the authority of *Strabo* and other writers to prove, that immense treasures had been deposited in the temple by the *Jews* of *Europe*, *Asia* and *Cyrenaica*^c; but the historical writings of *Strabo*, which he quotes, have not reached our times.

Begins hostilities with the Parthians.

Crassus, thinking himself now sufficiently furnished for his intended expedition, marched to the *Euphrates*, and having crossed that river on a bridge of boats, which he threw over it, entered the *Parthian* territories, and began hostilities, without any other motive than his insatiable avarice, and an eager desire of enriching himself with the plunder of a country, which was generally esteemed very rich. The *Romans* had, by *Sylla*, *Lucullus* and *Pompey*, made peace, and entered into alliances with the nation he thus invaded, and no complaints of any infraction or injuries had ever been heard, which might give just reason for a war; so that the *Parthians*, expecting nothing less than such an invasion, and having made no preparations for their defence, were easily driven out of all *Mesopotamia*. The city of *Zenadotia*, which *Stephanus* places near *Nicephorium*, was the only place that made any opposition. *Apollonius*, who was governor, or rather tyrant, as *Dio* calls him, of that city, sent deputies to *Crassus*, acquainting him, that he was willing to surrender up the place to him; but as soon as the detachment sent to take possession of it had entered the gate, he surrounded them, and cut them in pieces. But both he and the inhabitants paid dear for their treachery; for *Crassus* having immediately invested the city with his whole army, and taken it by assault, reduced the inhabitants to slavery, confiscated their goods, and sold their persons to the best bidder. For this conquest, and an inconsiderable advantage gained over one *Talymenus Ilaces*, or *Syllaces*, governor of *Mesopotamia*, who having engaged the *Romans* with a small body of horse, was overcome and wounded, *Crassus* suffered himself to be saluted by the soldiery with the title of *imperator*, which was usually given after some signal victory. This turned to his disgrace, the whole army laughing at his vanity, and expecting little from a general who was thus elated with the least success^d. The other cities made no resistance; so that he over-ran all *Mesopotamia*, and might, if he had taken advantage of the consternation the *Parthians* were in, have penetrated as far as *Seleucia* and *Ctesiphon*, and made himself master of *Babylonia* as well as *Mesopotamia*; but instead of pursuing the career he had begun, in the beginning of the autumn he repassed the *Euphrates*, and leaving only seven thousand foot and a thousand horse to garison the places he had taken, put his army into winter-quarters in the cities of *Syria*. This was undoubtedly the greatest fault *Crassus* committed in his *Parthian* expedition, after that of his undertaking it upon most unjust motives; for his hasty retreat gave the enemy time to recover from the terror which his arms had spread all over the east, and to raise an army against the ensuing year, which the *Romans* could not withstand. On his return into *Syria*, he was joined by his son, at the head of a thousand chosen horse. This young *Roman* had served under *Cæsar* in *Gaul*, in quality of his lieutenant, and had been honoured with several military crowns, which generals used to bestow on such as distinguished themselves by their valour. When *Cæsar* understood that his father had began the war with the *Parthians*, he gave him leave to go into the east, and serve under him; and indeed *Cæsar* had all along pressed *Crassus* to break with the *Parthians*, to force his way into *Bactria*, and from thence into *India*, knowing, that the farther that general, of whose power he was jealous, penetrated into the eastern countries, the more able he himself should be to put in execution his design of subverting the republic; but the unfortunate young *Crassus* came into *Asia* only to be a witness of his father's ill conduct, and to partake of his father's misfortunes^e.

His extortions in Syria.

In *Syria* *Crassus* spent his time more like a publican than a general, being wholly taken up with examining into the revenues of that province, and improving them by the most shameful methods, in order to amass new treasures. The plunder of the temple of *Jerusalem* was not the only sacrilege he was guilty of; he robbed in like manner all the temples of *Syria*, appropriating to his own use their rich ornaments and furniture. The temple of the *Syrian* goddess, named *Atargetis*, at *Hierapolis*, which some writers call *Bambyces*, others *Edessa*, and the *Syrians* *Magog*, was famous all over the east, on account of the immense treasures laid up there, as being the collection of many years. These the avaricious proconsul seized; and left any of the

^c Idem ibid.

^d *Dio*, l. xl. *Plut.* ubi supra.

^e *Plut.* & *Dio*, ibid.

a rich vases and ornaments should be embezzled, he spent a great deal of his time in seeing the money counted, and the gold and silver vessels weighed before him^f. Having thus ransacked all the temples and sacred places within the limits of his province, which *Gabinus* himself, his predecessor, had spared, he began to load the *Syrians* with such taxes as reduced them to beggary. He commanded all the cities of his province to furnish him each with a certain number of men, and then discharged them for a sum of money. No one could obtain justice without a large bribe, nor redeem themselves from the insolence of the soldiers, without advancing a large sum to the general. In short, there was not any means of amassing money, how unjust or oppressive soever, which he did not use, as if he had been sent not to govern, but to plunder the province. In the mean time the military discipline was intirely neglected, the soldiers lived in their quarters without any order, and the whole army gave themselves up to idleness, debauchery, and all manner of effeminate pleasures. We are told, that as *Crassus* was going out of the temple of *Hierapolis*, which he had plundered, his son, who walked before, stumbled at the threshold, and falling, pulled down his father with him. This was interpreted by the soothsayers as a very bad omen; but the intire neglect of military discipline was the surest presage of the misfortunes, which afterwards befel both his son and the whole army.

Crassus having thus spent the winter, early in the spring drew together his troops out of their several quarters, in order to pursue the war which he had begun with the *Parthians*. As *Orodes* their king was a very warlike prince, he had, during the winter, assembled a numerous army; but before he entered with it upon action, he sent ambassadors to the *Roman* general, to know for what reason he made war upon him. The ambassadors arrived in *Syria* while *Crassus* was assembling his troops, and being introduced to him, first put him in mind of the alliance which the *Parthians* had concluded with *Sylla* and *Pompey*, and then told him, that if he was sent against the *Parthians* by the people of *Rome*, they did not pretend he should disobey his orders, since in that case a war must ensue, which could not be terminated but by the final ruin of one of the empires; but if *Crassus*, as they had been informed, had undertaken this war, contrary to the inclinations of the people of *Rome*, to satiate his private interest, that the king their master, pitying his old age, would suffer the *Romans* he had left in *Mesopotamia*, where they were rather besieged than in garison, to retire unmolested. *Crassus*, without alledging any pretence for his invading the *Parthian* dominions, answered this speech with a rodomontade, saying, *that they should have his answer at Seleucia*. Hereupon the chief of the ambassadors, by name *Vageses* or *Vabises*, smiling, and shewing him the palm of his hand, said, *You shall sooner, O Crassus, see hair grow here, than be master of Seleucia*; and, without adding a word more, retired, and acquainted his master, that he must prepare for war^g.

His interview
with the Par-
thian embas-
sadors.

Orodes finding, on the return of his ambassadors, that the proconsul was bent on a war, immediately took the field, and dividing his troops into two bodies, marched in person with one to the frontiers of *Armenia*, to make a diversion there, the king of that country having raised a considerable army to reinforce the *Romans*. The other he sent into *Mesopotamia*, under the command of the brave *Surenas*, or *Surenas*. This general, if we may depend on the character *Plutarch* gives us of him^h, had all the qualifications that form a consummate hero. He was descended from one of the most ancient and illustrious families of *Parthia*, and had derived from his ancestors the right of putting the crown on the king's head at his coronation: To this illustrious birth he is said to have joined an extraordinary wisdom and discretion, tho' he was but thirty years of age, and to have surpassed in valour and prowess all men of his time. His valour kept the princes and nations of *Asia* in awe, and prevented their entering into a confederacy against the formidable power of *Parthia*. *Orodes* was indebted to him, as we have hinted above, for his crown. The taking of *Seleucia*, when held by *Mithridates*, was chiefly owing to him; for he was the first who mounted the ramparts of that capital, struck terror into the enemy's troops, and made them fly before him. His stature was majestic, his air graceful, and his behaviour towards all extremely obliging. In wealth, power and authority, he was, next to the king, the first man in the kingdom. His equipage, when he travelled, consisted of a thousand camels to carry his baggage, two hundred chariots for the service of his wives and concubines, a thousand horsemen completely armed for his guard, and besides a

The character
of Surenas the
Parthian gene-
ral.

^f STRABO, l. xvi. p. 748. PLIN. l. v. c. 23. PLUT. & DION. *ibid.*

^g FLOR. l. iii. c. 11. PLUT.

^h PLUT. in *Crasso*.

great number of light-armed troops, which, with his domestics, amounted to ten a thousand more. He is said to have united the luxury of an *Asiatic* with the intrepidity of a conqueror; for he carried with him whatever could contribute to his pleasures, and at the same time was ready to expose himself to the greatest dangers, being always at the head of the troops he commanded in the most perillous and desperate enterprizes. Tho' his courage was such as to brave death in a breach or battle, yet he was not ashamed to paint his face, and perfume his hair, after the manner of the effeminate *Medes*; whereas the *Parthians* marched against the enemy with their hair in disorder, and making as hideous a figure as they could, to strike the more terror ¹.

Surenas re-
takes most of
the cities of
Mesopotamia.

But, to resume the thread of our history, *Ordes* having divided his army into two b bodies, *Surenas* marched with that which was under his command into *Mesopotamia*, where he soon retook most of the cities which *Crassus* had made himself master of the year before. Hereupon several *Roman* soldiers, who garisoned the other places, making their escape out of *Mesopotamia*, fled to *Crassus*, and filled his camp with a terrible report of the number, power and strength of the enemy. They told their fellow soldiers, that the *Parthian* troops were very numerous, brave, and well-disciplined; that it was impossible to overtake them when they fled, or escape them when they pursued; that their defensive arms were proof against the *Roman* darts, and their offensive weapons so sharp, that no buckler was fence against them, &c. *Crassus* looked upon this account only as the effect of a panic and cowardly fear; but the common soldiers, and many of the chief officers, were so disheartened at it, that the c quæstor *Caius Cassius*, the same who afterwards conspired against *Cæsar*, and most of the legionary tribunes, advised *Crassus* to suspend his march, and deliberate with more leisure on the enterprize, before he proceeded farther in it. But *Crassus* obstinately persisted in his former resolution, contrary to the opinion of all his officers, being confirmed therein by the arrival of *Artabazes* king of *Armenia*, who brought with him six thousand horse, which were only his guard, and promised to send to the proconsul ten thousand cuirassiers, and thirty thousand foot, whenever he should stand in need of them. At the same he advised him by no means to march his army through the plains of *Mesopotamia*, but to take his rout over the mountains of *Armenia*. d The reasons with which he supported this advice were, that as *Armenia* was a mountainous country, the *Parthian* horse, in which the main strength of their army consisted, would prove there intirely useless; and besides, that if he took this rout, his army should be plentifully supplied with all necessaries: whereas, if he marched by the way of *Mesopotamia*, he would be perpetually harassed by the *Parthian* horse, and often be obliged to lead his army through sandy deserts, where he would be distressed for want of water, and all other provisions. This was the best advice that could be given him, and the reasons for it were unanswerable; but *Crassus*, despising all that was said to him, told *Artabazes*, that as he had left many valiant *Romans* to garison the towns which he had made himself master of the last year in *Mesopotamia*, he was obliged to take that rout, lest they should be abandoned to the mercy of the enemy; e but as to the auxiliaries the king of *Armenia* had offered him, he willingly accepted them, and desired *Artabazes* to send them to him with all possible expedition. Thus *Crassus*, hearkening to no advice but what tended to his ruin, set out on his march for *Mesopotamia*. *Dion Cassius*, a judicious historian, and at the same time an experienced warrior, observes here, that the *Romans* under the command of *Crassus* were on all occasions, either ignorant of what was necessarily to be done, or in no condition to execute it; and adds, that one would have thought they had been blinded and persecuted by some divinity, since they could neither make use of their minds nor bodies. This divinity was, no doubt, the true God, tho' unknown to *Dion*, who thus revenged the robbing and profaning of his holy temple at *Jerusalem*.

Crassus despises
the advice of
the king of Ar-
menia.

Enters Mesopotamia, contrary to the advice of all his officers.

The proconsul, being greatly encouraged by the prospect of the reinforcement f promised him by the king of *Armenia*, began his march, and, contrary to the advice of his chief officers, advanced to the frontiers of *Mesopotamia*. He had under his command seven legions, four thousand horse, and a great many auxiliaries, the whole army amounting to forty thousand men and upwards. With these he passed the *Euphrates*, near the city of *Zeugma*, in the province of *Comagene* (E), and again entered

¹ PLUT. *Ibid.* & *Arrian* in *Parthic*.

(E) *Strabo* and *Pliny* place the city of *Zeugma* in *Comagene*, a province of *Syria*, and tell us, that it was so called from a bridge built here over the *Euphrates*, the word *Zeugma* in the *Greek* tongue signifying

- a entered *Mesopotamia*. *Plutarch*, *Dion Cassius* and *Julius Obsequens* speak of many prodigies, by which the gods declared before-hand, that they did not approve of this expedition, and gave him warning of the ill success that would attend it. While the troops were passing the *Euphrates*, the sky was all on a sudden overcast, and so dreadful a storm arose, that the soldiers were filled with fear and consternation. The incessant claps of thunder, the flashes of lightning that followed one another, and the violent wind which blew in the soldiers' faces, seemed to have been sent by the gods, on purpose to put a stop to their march. Part of the bridge was broke down by the wind and lightning, while the army was passing. The horse which *Crassus* used to ride in battle, fell into the river, and was drowned, with the groom who led him.
- b The golden eagle, which was the chief standard of the army, is said to have turned about of itself upon the staff on which it was fixed. Many other standards were, by the violence of the wind, blown into the river, and lost. While *Crassus* was offering the usual sacrifices for the purifying of the troops, he let fall the entrails of the victim, which the priests had, according to custom, put into his hands. From this event the soldiery drew bad presages; but the general, deriding their superstition, told them, That they had no occasion to be afraid, for his arms should not slip out of his hands in the same manner ^k.

- THE army having thus crossed the *Euphrates*, and entered the enemy's country, *Cassius* advised the proconsul to advance to some of the towns in which he had left garisons, and there rest and refresh his troops, till he had got certain intelligence of the number, strength and power of the enemy; but, if he did not approve of this counsel, he thought the best thing he could do was to march along the *Euphrates* to *Seleucia*; for, by keeping close to that river, he would avoid being surrounded by the *Parthians*, and at the same time be plentifully supplied, by means of his ships, with all necessary provisions. *Crassus* seemed to approve of this advice, and was ready to come into it, when *Abgarus* king of *Edeffa*, of whom we have spoke in the end of the preceding volume, arrived at the Roman camp, and prevailed upon the proconsul to follow a quite different plan. *Abgarus*, as he had formerly served under *Pompey*, was well known in the Roman army, and looked upon by the soldiery as a friend; but in reality was a traitor, and sent by *Surenas*, with whom he kept a private correspondence, on purpose to bring about the destruction of *Crassus*; and this part he acted so well, that the ruin of the Roman army was chiefly owing to him. In the first interview he had with the Roman general, he told him, that he wanted wings and feet more than arms against a nation that was ready, on his approach, to withdraw with their most valuable effects into *Scythia* and *Hyrcania*; that they had not courage enough to look the Romans in the face; that the name of *Crassus* had already spread a general terror among their troops, and that there wanted no more for the obtaining of a complete victory, than to march directly up to them, and give them battle. He offered himself for a guide to lead them the shortest way to the enemy;
- c and *Crassus*, blinded with his flattering speeches, gave intirely into the snare, and followed the traitor, who had so strongly insinuated himself into his favour, that he would hearken to nobody but him. Under the conduct of this crafty and treacherous guide, they first entered into a vast green plain, divided by many rivulets; and their march proved very easy cross this delicious country: but, the farther they advanced, the worse the roads grew, insomuch that they were obliged at last to climb up mountains and rocks, which brought them to a dry and sandy plain, where they could neither find food to satisfy their hunger, nor water to quench their thirst. Then *Abgarus* began to be suspected by the tribunes and other officers, who earnestly pressed their general to follow him no longer, but to retreat to the mountains. At the same time
- f an express arrived from *Artabazes*, acquainting *Crassus*, that *Orodes* had invaded his kingdom at the head of a mighty army, and that he was obliged to keep his forces at home for the defence of his own dominions. The same messenger advised the proconsul, in his master's name, to avoid by all means the barren plains, where his troops

Betrayed by
Abgarus king
of Edeffa.

The painful
march of the
Roman army.

^k PLUT. & DION. *ibid*.

signifying a bridge. This bridge was, according to *Dion Cassius* and *Josephus*, the work of *Alexander the Great*. But it is not at all probable, that *Alexander* should have gone so far as *Comagene* to cross the *Euphrates*; and besides, *Arrian* tells us, that he

led his army over that river at *Thapsacus*, after having repaired a bridge there, which had been destroyed by the *Persians*, in order to prevent him from entering *Mesopotamia*.

would

would perish with hunger, and to take to the mountains, and approach *Armenia*,^a that they might join their forces against the common enemy; but all was to no purpose, for *Craſſus*, instead of giving ear either to the wise counsels of his own officers, or of a king, who was a sincere and hearty friend to the *Romans*, blindly and obstinately followed the advice of the treacherous *Abgarus*, or rather his own ill fate; nay, he flew into a violent passion against the messenger sent him by *Artabazes*, for the treacherous advice he had given him¹. *Cassius* could not hear this mad answer without the greatest indignation; but *Abgarus* endeavoured to soften him, by promising to lead the army very soon into a delicious and fruitful country beyond the deserts, which would make them amends for the fatigue they had undergone. As to *Craſſus*, he gave no other answer to the complaints of his troops, than that they^b could not expect to meet with the delights of *Campania* in the most remote parts of the world.

The imprudent
conduct of
Craſſus.

Thus they continued their march for some days cross a desert, the very sight of which was sufficient to throw them into the utmost despair; for they could not perceive, either near them, or at a distance, the least tree, plant or brook, not so much as a hill, or a single blade of grass; nothing was to be seen all around them, but huge heaps of burning sand. The *Romans* had scarce got through this desert, when word was brought them by their scouts, that a numerous army of *Parthians* was advancing full march to attack them; for *Abgarus*, under pretence of going out on parties, had often conferred with *Surenas*, and concerted measures with him for destroying^c the *Roman* army. Upon this advice, which occasioned great confusion in the camp, the *Romans* being quite exhausted, and tired out with their long and troublesome march, *Craſſus* drew up his men in battalia, following at first the advice of *Cassius*, who was for extending the infantry as wide as possible, that they might take up the more ground, and by that means prevent the enemy from surrounding them; but *Abgarus* assuring the proconsul, that the *Parthian* forces were not so numerous as was represented, he changed this disposition, and believing only the man who betrayed him, drew up his troops in a square, which faced every way, and had on each side twelve cohorts in front. Near each cohort he placed a troop of horse to support them, that they might charge with the greater security and boldness. Thus the^d whole army looked more like one phalanx, than troops drawn up in *manipuli*, with spaces between them, after the *Roman* manner. The general himself commanded in the centre, his son in the left wing, and *Cassius* in the right. In this order they advanced to the banks of a small river called the *Balissus*, the sight of which was very pleasing to the soldiers, who were much harassed with drought and excessive heat. Most of the officers were for encamping on the banks of this river, or rather rivulet, to give the troops time to refresh themselves after the fatigues of so long and painful a march, and in the mean time to procure certain intelligence of the number and disposition of the *Parthian* army; but *Craſſus*, suffering himself to be hurried on by the inconsiderate ardour of his son, and the horse he commanded, only allowed the^e legions to take a meal standing; and before this could be done by all, he ordered them to advance, not slowly and halting now and then, after the *Roman* manner, but as fast as they could move, till they came in sight of the enemy, who, contrary to their expectation, did not appear either so numerous or so terrible as they had been represented. But this was a stratagem of *Surenas*, who had concealed his men in convenient places, ordering them to cover their arms, lest their brightness should betray them, and starting up at the first signal, attack the enemy on all sides. The stratagem had the desired effect; for *Surenas* no sooner gave the signal, than the *Parthians*, rising as it were out of the ground, with dreadful cries, and a most frightful noise, advanced against the *Romans*, who were greatly surprized and dismayed at that sight,^f and much more so, when the *Parthians*, throwing off the covering of their arms, appeared in shining cuirasses, and helmets of burnished steel, finely mounted on horses covered all over with armour of the same metal. At their head appeared young *Surenas* in a rich dress, and was the first who charged the enemy, endeavouring with his pike-men to break through the first ranks of the *Roman* army; but finding it too close and impenetrable, the cohorts supporting each other, he fell back, and retired in a seeming confusion; but the *Romans* were much surprized, when they saw themselves suddenly surrounded on all sides, and galled with continual showers of arrows.

The Roman
army attacked
by the Par-
thians.

¹ PLUT. DION. *ibid.* APPIAN. in *Parthic.*

- a *Crassus* ordered his light-armed foot and archers to advance, and charge the enemy; but they were soon repulsed, and forced to cover themselves behind the heavy-armed foot. Then the *Parthian* horse advancing near the *Romans*, discharged showers of arrows upon them, every one of which did execution, the legionaries being drawn up in such close order, that it was impossible for the enemy to miss their aim. As their arrows were of an extraordinary weight, and discharged with incredible force and impetuosity, nothing was proof against them. The two wings advanced in good order to repulse them, but to no effect; for the *Parthians* shot their arrows with as great dexterity when their backs were turned, as when they faced the enemy; so that the *Romans*, whether they kept their ground, or pursued the flying enemy, were
 b equally annoyed with their fatal arrows.

The Romans
galled by the
arrows of the
Parthians.

- THE *Romans*, as long as they had any hopes that the *Parthians*, after having spent their arrows, would either betake themselves to flight, or engage them hand to hand, stood their ground with great resolution and intrepidity; but when they observed that there were a great many camels in their rear loaded with arrows, and that those who emptied their quivers wheeled about to fill them anew, they began to lose courage, and loudly to complain of their general for suffering them thus to stand still, and serve only as a butt to the enemy's arrows, which, they well saw, would not be exhausted till they were all killed to a man. Hereupon *Crassus* ordered his son to advance at all adventures, and attack the enemy with thirteen hundred horse, five
 c hundred archers, and eight cohorts. But the *Parthians* no sooner saw this choice body, for it was the flower of the army, marching up against them, but they wheeled about, and betook themselves, according to their custom, to flight. Hereupon young *Crassus*, crying out as loud as he could, *They fly before us*, pushed on full speed after them, not doubting but he should gain a complete victory; but when he was at a great distance from the main body of the *Roman* army, he perceived his mistake, for those, who before had fled, facing about, charged him with incredible fury. Young *Crassus* ordered his troops to halt, hoping that the enemy, upon seeing their small number, would not be afraid to come to a close fight; but herein he was likewise greatly disappointed, for the *Parthians*, contenting themselves to oppose his
 d front with their heavy-armed horse, surrounded him on all sides, and keeping at a distance, discharged incessant showers of arrows upon the unfortunate *Romans* thus surrounded and pent up. The *Parthian* cavalry, in wheeling about, raised so thick a dust, that the *Romans* could scarce see one another, much less the enemy; nevertheless they found themselves wounded with arrows, tho' they could not perceive whence they came. In a short time the place where they stood was all strown with dead bodies. Some of the unhappy *Romans* finding their entrails tore, and many overcome by the exquisite torments they suffered, rolled themselves on the sand with the arrows in their bodies, and expired in that manner. Others endeavouring to tear out by force the bearded points of the arrows, only made their wounds the larger,
 e and increased their pain. Most of them died in this manner, and those who outlived their companions, were no more in a condition to act; for when young *Crassus* exhorted them to march up to the enemy, some shewed him their wounded bodies, others their hands nailed to their bucklers, and some their feet pierced through, and pinned to the ground; so that it was equally impossible for them either to attack the enemy, or defend themselves. The young commander therefore, leaving his infantry to the mercy of the enemy, advanced at the head of the cavalry against their heavy-armed horse. The thousand *Gauls*, whom he had brought with him from the west, charged the enemy with incredible boldness and vigour; but their lances did little execution on men armed with cuirasses, and horses covered with tried armour.
 f However, they behaved with great resolution; for some of them, taking hold of the enemies spears, and closing with them, threw them off their horses on the ground, where they lay without being able to stir, by reason of the great weight of their armour; others dismounting, crept under the enemies horses, and thrusting their swords into their bellies, made them throw their riders. Thus the brave *Gauls* fought, tho' greatly harassed with heat and thirst, which they were not accustomed to bear, till most of their horses were killed, and their commander dangerously wounded. They then thought it advisable to retire to their infantry, which they no sooner joined, than the *Parthians* invested them a-new, making a most dreadful havoc of them with their arrows. In this desperate condition, *Crassus* (spying a rising
 g ground at a small distance, led the remains of his detachment thither, with a design

Young Crassus
advances a-
gainst the ene-
my.

Is reduced to
great straits.

to defend himself in the best manner he could, till succours should be sent him from a his father. The *Parthians* pursued him, and having surrounded him in his new post, continued showering arrows upon his men, till most of them were either killed or disabled, without being able to make use of their arms, or give the enemy proofs of their valour.

Young *Crassus* had two *Greeks* with him, who had settled in the city of *Carrha*. These, touched with compassion in seeing so brave a man reduced to such straits, pressed him to retire with them to the neighbouring city of *Ischnes*, which had declared for the *Romans*; but the young *Roman* rejected their proposal with indignation, telling them, that he would rather die a thousand times than abandon so many valiant men, who sacrificed their lives for his sake. Having returned this answer to his two *Greek* friends, he embraced and dismissed them, giving them leave to retire and shift for themselves in the best manner they could. As for himself, having now lost all hopes of being relieved, and seeing most of his men and friends killed round him, he gave way to his grief, and not being able to make use of his arm, which was shot through with a large barbed arrow, he presented his side to one of his attendants, and ordered him to put an end to his unhappy life. His example was followed by *Censorinus* a senator, by *Megabacchus* an experienced and brave officer, and by most of the nobility who served under him. Five hundred common soldiers were taken prisoners, and the rest cut in pieces.

His death.

THE *Parthians*, having thus cut off or taken the whole detachment commanded c by young *Crassus*, marched without delay against his father, who, upon the first advice that the enemy fled before his son, and was closely pursued by him, had taken heart, the more because those, who had remained to make head against him, seemed to abate much of their ardour, the greatest part of them having marched with the rest against his son. Wherefore, having encouraged his troops, he had retired to a small hill in his rear, to wait there till his son returned from the pursuit. Young *Crassus* had dispatched frequent expresses to his father, to acquaint him with the danger he was in; but they had fallen into the enemies hands, and been by them put to the sword. Only the last, who had escaped with great difficulty, arrived safe, and informed him, that his son was lost, if he did not send him an immediate and powerful d reinforcement. This news threw *Crassus* into the utmost consternation; a thousand affecting thoughts rose in his mind, and disturbed his reason to such a degree, that he scarce knew what he was doing. However, the desire he had of saving his son and so many brave *Romans* who were under his command, made him immediately decamp, and march to their assistance; but he was not gone far, before he was met by the *Parthians*, who, with loud shouts and songs of victory, gave, at a great distance, the unhappy father notice of his misfortune. They had cut off young *Crassus's* head, and having fixed it on the point of a lance, were advancing full speed to fall on the father. As they drew near, *Crassus* was struck with that dismal and affecting sight, but on this occasion behaved like a hero; for tho' he was under the deepest concern, e he had the presence of mind to stifle his grief, for fear of discouraging the army, and to cry out to the dismayed troops, *This misfortune is intirely mine; the loss of one man cannot affect the victory: let us charge, let us fight like Romans; if you have any compassion for a father who has just now lost a son, whose valour you admired, let it appear in your rage and resentment against these insulting barbarians.* Thus *Crassus* strove to reanimate his troops; but his efforts were unsuccessful: their courage was quite sunk, as appeared from the faint and languishing shout which they raised, according to custom, before the action. When the signal was given, the *Parthians*, keeping to their old way of fighting, discharged clouds of arrows on the legionaries, without drawing near them, which did such dreadful execution, that many of the *Romans*, f to avoid the arrows, which occasioned a long and painful death, threw themselves, like men in despair, on the enemy's heavy-armed horse, seeking from their spears a more quick and easy kind of death. Thus the *Parthians* continued plying them incessantly with their arrows till night, when they left the field of battle, crying out, that they would allow the father one night to lament the death of his son.

The whole Parthian army falls upon Crassus.

Desperate condition of the Romans.

THIS was a melancholy night for the *Romans*. *Crassus* kept himself concealed from the soldiery, lying not in the general's tent, but in the open air, and on the bare ground, with his head wrapped up in his *paludamentum* or military cloke, and was, in that forlorn condition, says *Plutarch*, a great example to the vulgar, of the instability of fortune; to the wise, a still greater of the pernicious effects of avarice, g temerity,

a temerity and ambition. *Othorius*, one of his lieutenants, and *Cassius*, approached him, and endeavoured to raise him up, and console him; but seeing him quite sunk under the weight of his affliction, and deaf to all comfort, they summoned a council of war, composed of all the chief officers, wherein it was unanimously resolved, that they should decamp before break of day, and retire, without sound of trumpet, to the neighbouring city of *Carrha*, which was held by a Roman garison. Agreeable to this resolution, they began their march as soon as the council broke up; which produced dreadful outcries among the sick and wounded, who perceiving that they were to be abandoned to the mercy of the enemy, filled the camp with their complaints and lamentations; but their cries and tears, tho' very affecting, did not stop the march of the others, which indeed was very slow, to give the stragglers time to come up. b There were only three hundred light horse, under the command of one *Egnatius*, who pursued their march without stopping. These arriving at *Carrha* about midnight, *Egnatius*, calling to the centinels on the walls, desired them to acquaint *Coponius* governor of the place, that *Crassus* had fought a great battle with the *Parthians*; and, without saying a word more, or letting them know who he was, continued his march with all possible expedition to the bridge of *Zeugma*, which he passed, and by that means saved his troops, but was much blamed for abandoning his general.

HOWEVER, the message he sent to *Coponius* was of great service to *Crassus*; for that commander, wisely conjecturing, from the manner in which the unknown person had given him that intelligence, that some misfortune had befallen *Crassus*, immediately ordered his garison to stand to their arms, and marching out, met *Crassus*, and conducted him and his army into the city; for the *Parthians*, tho' informed of his flight, did not offer to pursue him, observing therein the superstitious custom which obtained among them and the *Persians*, not to fight in the night; but, when it was day, they entered the Roman camp, and having put all the wounded, to the number of four thousand, to the sword, dispersed their cavalry all over the plain, in pursuit of the fugitives. One of *Crassus's* lieutenants, named *Vargunteius*, having separated in the night from the main body of the army, with four cohorts, missed his way, and was overtaken by the enemy, at whose approach he withdrew to a neighbouring hill, where he defended himself with great valour, till all his men were killed, except twenty, who made their way through the enemy sword in hand, and got safe to *Carrha*; but *Vargunteius* himself lost his life on this occasion. Crassus gets to Carrha.

In the mean time *Surenas*, not knowing whether *Crassus* and *Cassius* had retired to *Carrha*, or taken a different rout, in order to be informed of the truth, and take his measures accordingly, dispatched a messenger, who spoke the Roman language, to the city of *Carrha*, injoining him to approach the walls, and acquaint *Crassus* himself, or *Cassius*, that the *Parthian* general was inclined to enter into a treaty with them, and demanded a conference. Both the proconsul, and his quaestor *Cassius*, spoke from the walls with the messenger, and accepting the proposal with great joy, desired that the time and place for an interview might be immediately agreed upon. The messenger withdrew, promising to return quickly with an answer from *Surenas*; but that general no sooner understood that *Crassus* and *Cassius* were in *Carrha*, than he marched thither with his whole army, and having invested the place, acquainted the Romans, that, if they expected any favourable terms, they must deliver up *Crassus* and *Cassius* to him in chains. Hereupon a council of the chief officers being summoned, it was thought expedient to retire from *Carrha* that very night, and seek for another asylum. It was of the utmost importance, that none of the inhabitants of *Carrha* should be acquainted with their design till the time of its execution; but *Crassus*, whose whole conduct evidently shews that he was blinded, as *Dion Cassius* observes, by some divinity, imparted the whole matter in confidence to one *Andromachus*, chusing him for his guide, and relying injudiciously on the fidelity of a man, whom he scarce knew. *Andromachus* immediately acquainted *Surenas* with the design of the Romans, promising at the same time, as the *Parthians* did not engage in the night, to manage matters so, that they should not get out of his reach before day-break. Pursuant to his promise, he led them through many windings and turnings, till he brought them into deep, marshy grounds, where the infantry were up to the knees in mire. Then *Cassius*, suspecting that their guide had led them into those bogs with no good design, refused to follow him any longer, and returning to *Carrha*,

^a PLUT. & APPIAN. *ibid.* EUTROPIUS. l. vi. OROS. l. vi. c. 13.

Cassius gets
safe into Syria.

Craſſus, be-
trayed by his
guide, is over-
taken by the
enemy.

Invited by Su-
renas to an in-
terview.

Insulted by the
Parthians.

took his rout towards Syria, which he reached with five hundred horse. *Octavius*,
with five thousand men under his command, being conducted by trusty guides, gained
the mountains, called by *Plutarch* and *Appian*, *Sinnaci*, and there intrenched himself
before break of day. As for *Craſſus*, he was still intangled in the marshes, when
Surenas, at the rising of the sun, overtook him, and invested him with his cavalry.
The proconsul had with him four cohorts, and a small body of horse; and with
these he gained, in spite of all opposition, the summit of another hill within twelve
furlongs of *Octavius*, who seeing the danger that threatened his general, flew to his
assistance first with a small number of his men, but was soon followed by all the rest,
who being ashamed of their cowardice, quitted their post, tho' very safe, and charg-
ing the *Parthians* with great fury, disengaged *Craſſus*, and obliged the enemy to
abandon the hill. Upon the retreat of the enemy, they formed themselves into a
hollow square, and placing *Craſſus* in the middle, made a kind of rampart round him
with their bucklers, resolutely protesting, that none of the enemy's arrows should
touch their general's body, till they were all killed fighting in his defence. *Surenas*,
loth to let so fine a prey escape, surrounded the hill, as if he designed to make a new
attack; but finding his *Parthians* very backward, and not doubting but the *Romans*,
when night came on, would pursue their march, and get out of his reach, he had
recourse again to artifice, and declared before some prisoners, whom he soon after
set at liberty, that he was inclined to treat with the proconsul of a peace, and that it
was better to come to a reconciliation with *Rome*, than to sow the seeds of an eternal
war, by shedding the blood of one of her generals. Agreeable to this declaration,
Surenas, as soon as the prisoners were released, advanced towards the hill, where the
Romans were posted, attended only by some of his officers, and, with his bow unbent,
and open arms, invited *Craſſus* to an interview. So sudden a change seemed very
suspicious to the proconsul, who therefore declined the interview, till he was forced
by his own soldiers to intrust his life with an enemy, whose treachery they had all expe-
rienced; for the legionaries flocking round him, not only abused him in an outra-
gious manner, but even menaced him, if he did not accept of the proposals made him
by the *Parthian* general. Seeing therefore that his troops were ready to mutiny,
he began to advance, without arms or guards, towards the enemy, after having
called the gods and his officers to witness the violence his troops offered him, and
intreated all who were present, but especially *Octavius* and *Petronius*, two of the
chief commanders, for the honour of *Rome* their common mother, not to mention,
after his death, the shameful behaviour of the *Roman* legionaries. *Octavius* and *Pe-
tronus* could not resolve to let him go alone, but attended him down the hill, as did
likewise some legionaries, keeping at a distance. *Craſſus* was met at the foot of the
hill by two *Greeks*, who dismounting from their horses, saluted him with great respect,
and desired him in the *Greek* tongue to send some of his attendants, who might satisfy
him, that *Surenas*, and those who were with him, came without arms. Hereupon
Craſſus sent two brothers of the *Roscian* family; but *Surenas* having caused them to
be seized, advanced to the foot of the hill mounted on a fine horse, and attended by
the chief officers of his army. *Craſſus*, who waited for the return of his two messen-
gers, was surprized to see himself prevented by *Surenas* in person, when he least ex-
pected it. The *Parthian* general, perceiving, as he approached *Craſſus*, that he was
on foot, cried out in a seeming surprize, *What do I see? a Roman general on foot, and
we on horseback! Let a horse be brought for him immediately. You need not be surprized,*
replied *Craſſus*, *we are come only to an interview, each after the custom of his country.*
Very well, answered *Surenas*, *there shall be henceforth a lasting peace between king Orodes
and the people of Rome; but we must sign the articles of it on the banks of the Euphrates;
for you Romans do not always remember your conventions.* *Craſſus* would have sent for a
horse; but a very stately one, with a golden bit, and richly caparisoned, was
brought to him by a *Parthian*; which *Surenas* presenting to him, *Accept this horse
from my hands,* said he, *which I give you in the name of my master king Orodes.* He
had scarce uttered these words, when some of the king's officers, taking *Craſſus* by
the middle, set him up upon the horse, which they began to whip with great violence
before them, in order to make him quicken his pace. *Octavius*, offended at this
insult, took the horse by the bridle; *Petronius*, and the few *Romans* who were pre-
sent, seconded him, and flocking all around *Craſſus*, stopped his horse. The *Par-
thians* endeavoured to repulse them, and clear the way for the proconsul; whereupon
they began to jostle and push one another with great tumult and disorder. At last
Octavius,

- a *Octavius*, drawing his sword, killed one of the king's grooms; but at the same time another coming behind *Octavius*, with one blow laid him dead at his feet. Both parties fought with great resolution, the *Parthians* striving to carry off *Crassus*, and the *Romans* to rescue him out of their hands. In this scuffle most of the *Romans*, who came to the conference, were killed, and among the rest *Crassus* himself; but whether by a *Roman* or a *Parthian* is uncertain. Some writers tell us, that he fell by the hand of one *Promonathros* or *Manarthes*, a *Parthian*; but others, with *Livy*^a, *Florus*^b, and *Sextus Rufus* ^c, leave it in doubt, whether he was killed by his own men, to prevent his falling alive into the enemy's hands, or by the *Parthians*. However that be, his head and right hand were immediately cut off, in order to be sent to *Orodes* in *Armenia*, and his mangled body left unburied, to be devoured by the wild beasts. Upon his death, the rest of the army either surrendered to the enemy, or dispersing in the night, were pursued and put to the sword. The *Romans* lost in this campaign at least thirty thousand men, of which twenty thousand were killed, and ten thousand taken prisoners. The latter continued in captivity among the *Parthians*, and contracting ignominious marriages, to the shame of *Rome*, as *Horace* emphatically expresses it (F), grew old on the lands, and under the standards of the barbarians. The standards of the vanquished legions were carried to *Seleucia*, and there shewn for many years as sights; and from this time the *Romans* looked upon the war with the *Parthians* as the most important of all their wars, the revenging of the death of *Crassus*, and the recovering of their ensigns, being ever after the chief object of their application; but how they succeeded herein, we shall see in the sequel of this history. This battle is called by the *Latin* authors the battle of *Carrhæ*, because it was fought at a small distance from that city, and was, without all doubt, the most terrible blow, after the battle of *Cannæ*, which the *Romans* ever received.
- b *Surenas*, having thus intirely defeated the *Roman* army, set out on his march to *Seleucia*, spreading a report, that *Crassus* was still alive, that he intended to shew him to the numerous inhabitants of that great metropolis. His design was to entertain them with a comical scene, which he projected on his march. There was among the *Roman* captives one *Caius Paccianus*, who greatly resembled the proconsul *Crassus*. This man *Surenas* caused to be dressed after the *Parthian* manner, and having placed him on a stately horse, made him enter *Seleucia* at the head of the army, with twelve lictors carrying before him their fasces and axes. The guards of this mock consul were mounted on camels, each of them having an empty purse hanging at his girdle. The bloody heads of several *Roman* soldiers, stuck on spears, served for trophies, and revived in the minds of the citizens of *Seleucia* the joy, which the first news of the late victory had occasioned in that city. This odd train was followed by a company of lewd women, who, with loose songs, stigmatized the memory and character of *Crassus*. When the shew was over, *Surenas* produced in the presence of the senate of *Seleucia*, a collection of lascivious tales, then known by the title of the *Milesian fables*, which a *Parthian* soldier had found in rifling the baggage of a young *Roman*, whom *Plutarch* calls *Rustius*. The general took occasion from thence to inveigh against the debauchery of the *Romans*, who put such infamous books into the hands of their youth, and corrupted their minds with lewd fables, instead of forming their bodies for the exercise of war ^d.
- c WHEN the battle of *Carrhæ* was fought, king *Orodes* was, as we have hinted above, in *Armenia*, where he had concluded a peace with *Artabazes*; for the king of *Armenia*, on the return of the expresses he had sent to *Crassus*, perceiving by the false measures he had taken, that the army under his command must have been infallibly lost, had entered into a treaty of friendship with the *Parthian*, and cemented it by giving one of his daughters in marriage to *Pacorus* the son of *Orodes*. While the two kings were solemnizing their new alliance with expensive and public feasts, *Styllaces*

^a LIV. l. cvi.^b FLOR. l. iii. c. 11.^c SEXT. RUF. in brev.^d PLUT. ibid.(F) The words of *Horace* are:

Milesus Crassi conjuge barbara
Turpis maritus vixit! & hostium
 (Proh Curia, inversique mores!)
Consenuit socerorum in armis

Sub rege Medo Marfus & Appus'us,
Auciliorum, nominis, & toga
Oblitus, aeternaque Vesta,
Incolunt Jove & urbe Roma (15)?

(19) *Horas. carm. l. iii. ad. 5.*

The head of
Crassus sent to
Orodes.

or *Syllaces*, a Parthian officer, whom *Surenas* had sent with the news of his late a. victory, and the head of *Crassus* as a proof of it, arrived in the capital of *Armenia*. The two kings were at table, and *Jason*, a tragedian of *Trallis*, was singing some songs out of the *Bacchis* of *Euripides*, when the messenger was introduced, and presented *Orodes* with the head of *Crassus*, saying, *Surenas sends you the head of the Roman general, who has been cut in pieces with his whole army*. The transports of joy, which *Orodes* felt at this sight, and these words, are not to be expressed. The lords of both kingdoms, who attended their sovereigns, raised loud and repeated shouts of joy; and *Syllaces* was ordered to give a more particular and distinct account of that memorable action: which when he had done, *Orodes* commanded melted gold to be poured into *Crassus's* mouth, reproaching him thereby with avarice, which had b been always his predominant passion.

Surenas put to death.

Surenas did not long enjoy the pleasure of his victory; for *Orodes*, growing jealous of his glory, and great authority among the *Parthians*, caused him to be put to death soon after, placing *Pacorus*, his favourite son, at the head of the army in his room. The young prince, agreeable to his father's directions, marched into *Syria*, which the *Parthians* expected to find without defence, after the late defeat of the Roman army; but *Cassius*, the only general officer who survived the defeat of *Crassus*, meeting them on the frontiers, at the head of five hundred horse, who had escaped with him out of *Mesopotamia*, and some Asiatic levies, gave them so warm a reception, that they thought it adviseable to retreat to their own territories, and there c

The Parthians invade Syria.

raile more forces for a second invasion. Accordingly they repassed the *Euphrates*, and having spent the winter in making new preparations, early in the spring they crossed the *Euphrates* anew, and re-entered *Syria* with a very numerous army, under the conduct of *Orsaces*, an old and experienced commander; for *Pacorus* the king's son, being then but fifteen years of age, had only the name of general. *Orsaces* reduced, without opposition, such places as lay in his way; and being master of all the country between the *Euphrates* and the city of *Antioch*, closely besieged that metropolis, *Cassius* having shut himself up in it, as not having sufficient forces to keep the field, and make head against so powerful an enemy. In the mean *Cicero*, to whom the province of *Cilicia* had been assigned, being informed by *Antiochus* king of *Comagene*, d that *Cassius* was besieged in *Antioch* by the *Parthians*, and that the king of *Armenia* was ready to fall upon *Cappadocia*, drew together what forces he could, and with them marched to the eastern borders of his province lying next to *Armenia*, with a design to prevent the *Armenians* from invading *Cappadocia*, and to be at the same time near at hand to assist *Cassius*, in case the *Parthians* should pursue the siege of

But are driven out with great loss by Cicero and Cassius.

Antioch with vigour. He likewise sent another body of troops to mount *Amanus* with the same view, which falling in with a great party of *Parthian* horse, that had entered *Cilicia* through the streights of that mountain, cut them off all to a man. The news of this defeat, and of *Cicero's* approach to *Antioch*, greatly encouraged *Cassius* and his men to make a vigorous defence, and so disheartened the *Parthians*, e that despairing to carry the place, they raised the siege, and marching to *Antigonia*, another city in that neighbourhood, attempted to reduce it; but as they were quite unacquainted with the manner of managing sieges, their chief force consisting in cavalry, they were attended with no better success there, and were soon obliged to retire. *Cassius*, who was apprised of the rout they would take, drew them into an ambuscade, in which great numbers of them were cut off, with *Orsaces* their leader. Those who had the good luck to escape, repassed the *Euphrates* with *Pacorus*; but returned again with new forces towards the end of the summer, and wintered in *Cyrrhestica*, a northern province of *Syria*.

Return, and besiege Antioch

As soon as the season was proper for action, the *Parthians* took the field, and f marching to *Antioch*, besieged that city a second time, and *M. Calpurnius Bibulus* with all his forces in it; for the province of *Syria* had been allotted to him, and *Cassius*, who had defended it before without any legal commission, was now returned to *Rome*. As *Bibulus* was no warrior, he did not so much as make one sally, but kept his troops within the walls, suffering the enemy to carry on their works without the least molestation. He would not even acquaint *Cicero*, who was still in *Cilicia*, with the danger he was in; nay, he was heard to say, that he had rather be reduced

* FLOR. l. iii. c. 11. SEXT. RUF. in brev. DIO. CASS. l. xl.

* DIO. CASS. ibid.

* JOSEPH.

Antiq. l. xiv. c. 12. & de bell. Jud. l. i. c. 6. DIO. CASS. l. xl. PLUT. in Cicet. & Cic. ad familiar. l. iii. epist. 2. & l. xv. epist. 1, 2, 3, 4. & l. v. ad Attic. epist. 18, 20.

a to the utmost extremity, than seem to stand in need of his assistance. However, his lieutenants wrote both to *Cicero*, and to *Thermus* prætor of *Asia*, soliciting them to hasten to their relief; but, before their arrival, *Bibulus* effected by craft what he dared not attempt by force; for having by his emissaries encouraged *Ordonantes*, a nobleman of *Parthia*, who had been disgusted by *Orodes*, to raise a rebellion in the heart of the kingdom, the army before *Antioch* was recalled to suppress it; by which means the siege of *Antioch* was raised, and all *Syria* delivered from the danger it was in of falling under the power of the *Parthians* ^a. *The siege raised*

We find no further mention made of the *Parthians* from this time to the breaking out of the civil war between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, when the latter sent ambassadors to

b solicit succours from *Orodes*; which that prince was willing to grant, on condition that *Syria* was delivered up to him; but *Pompey* refusing to comply with his demand, he not only denied him the succours he required, but, after the battle of *Pharsalia*, put in irons *Lucius Hortius*, whom *Pompey* had sent to him to implore his assistance anew, or, at least, to obtain for him leave to shelter himself in the *Parthian* dominions ^w. But, for all this, *Cæsar* had no sooner got the better of *Pompey's* party, and settled his affairs at *Rome*, than he began to make great preparations, with a design to invade *Parthia*, and revenge the defeat and death of *Crassus* at *Carrhæ*; but when all things were ready for his expedition, *Cæsar* was killed, and the *Parthians* by his death delivered from a war, which, in all likelihood, would have proved fatal to them ^x.

c Not long after, the eastern provinces being allotted to *Marc Antony*, in the famous partition of the *Roman* empire between him, *Octavianus*, and *Lepidus*, the cities of *Syria* being grievously oppressed with the taxes *Marc Antony* laid on them, rose up in arms, and having killed those who were sent to gather them, invited the *Parthians* to their assistance, assuring them, that they were all to a man ready to join them, and drive out the *Romans*. On this invitation the *Parthians* passed the *Euphrates* with a mighty army, under the command of *Pacorus*, and *Labienus*, a Roman general of *Pompey's* party. He was the son of *Titus Labienus*, who had been *Cæsar's* lieutenant in *Gaul*, and one of his chief favourites; but afterwards siding with *Pompey*, became one of his most inveterate enemies, and was slain fighting against him in the battle of *Munda*. His son, pursuing the same interest, had been sent by *Brutus* and *Cassius*, a little before the battle of *Philippi*, to beg succours of the *Parthian* king, which he was soliciting when that battle happened. The bad success which attended his friends on that occasion, having discouraged him from returning, he continued in *Parthia*; and having prevailed on *Orodes* to undertake this war, was sent with *Pacorus* to command under him ^y. On his entering *Syria*, he was met by *Saxa*, *Antony's* lieutenant, whom he overthrew in a pitched battle, obliging him to shelter himself in *Cilicia*. After this victory, having divided his army into two bodies, he marched with one after *Saxa* into *Cilicia*, where he killed him, over-ran all *Asia Minor*; and having obliged *Plancus*, *Antony's* other lieutenant in those parts, to fly to the islands, subjected all the places as far as the *Hellepont* and the *Egean* sea ^z. At the same time *Pacorus*, with the other part of the army, reduced all *Syria* and *Phœnice*, as far as *Tyre*, which was the only city that held out against him, being defended by the *Romans*, who from all parts had flocked thither as to a place of refuge. Thus the *Parthians* made themselves masters of all *Syria*, *Asia Minor* and *Phœnice*, except *Tyre*, and exercised their power even in *Judæa*, where they plundered *Jerusalem*, drove *Hyrcanus* from the throne, and placed *Antigonus* on it in his room, in the manner we have related in the history of the *Jews*.

The Parthians invade Syria, and take command of Pacorus and Labienus.

d But they did not long enjoy their new conquests; for *Antony*, after his reconciliation with *Octavianus*, having sent *Ventidius*, one of his lieutenants, against them, that general was attended with such success, that the *Parthians* were soon obliged to quit all they had taken, and repass the *Euphrates*; for *Ventidius* managed matters with such expedition, that arriving in *Asia* much sooner than expected, he surprized *Labienus* before he was in a condition to withstand him, having no *Parthian* troops with him, but only a few *Roman* deserters, and a small body of raw and undisciplined *Asiatics*, gathered up in *Syria*, *Phœnice*, and *Asia Minor*; wherefore, not daring to stand the approach of a *Roman* army, he retired as fast as *Ventidius* advanced,

Their conquests in Syria, Phœnice, and Asia Minor, &c.

Ventidius sent against them.

^a Cic. ad famil. l. ii. epist. 17. & l. xii. epist. 19. & ad Attic. l. vi. epist. 6. l. vii. epist. 2, &c. Dio. Cass. ibid.

^w Dio. l. xli. xlii. ^x Plut. in Cæf. Appian. de bell. civil. l. ii. Dio. Cass. l. xlii. & xliii. ^y Dio. Cass. ibid. Euseb. in chron. Appian. in Parthic. Plut. in Anton. ^z Dio. Cass. ibid. Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. 5.

Gains great
advantages
over them.

Labi-
enus ca-
ken, and put to
death.

till he got to mount *Taurus*, where he encamped so advantageously, that he could^a not be forced to a battle, and then sent to *Pacorus* for assistance. *Pacorus* sent immediately the flower of his army to the relief of *Labi-
enus*; but the *Parthians* despising the *Romans* on account of their late victories over them, engaged *Ventidius* before *Labi-
enus* could join them, and were intirely defeated. The news of this defeat so disheartened those who were with *Labi-
enus*, that they all abandoned him, every one shifting for himself in the best manner he could. *Ventidius* pursued them, slew some of them, and took the rest into his service. As for *Labi-
enus*, he made his escape in a disguise; but after having sculked about for some time in *Cilicia*, from one hiding place to another, he was at last discovered by *Demetrius*, governor of *Cyprus*, taken, and put to death^b. After this victory, *Ventidius* having made himself master of all *Cilicia*, marched to mount *Amanus*, which parted that province from *Syria*; and there met another army of *Parthians*, who, under the command of *Pharnapates*, one of *Pacorus*'s lieutenants, had seized the passes leading into *Syria*, in order to obstruct his further progress; but *Ventidius* falling upon them, cut most of them in pieces, killed their general, and having gained a second victory as considerable as the former, pursued his march, without any further opposition, into *Syria*. Hereupon *Pacorus*, having assembled all his forces, made what haste he could to the *Euphrates*, which he repassed, leaving the *Romans* masters of all the countries on this side that river^b.

Antony, who in the mean time was diverting himself with his new wife *Octavia* at *Athens*, being informed of the victories gained by *Ventidius*, made great rejoicings^c in that city; but hearing at the same time that *Pacorus* was making vast preparations for another invasion, he resolved to head his army in person, and not suffer his lieutenant to reap the whole glory of the war: wherefore early in the spring he left *Athens* with all his forces, and marched towards the east; but before he got thither, *Ventidius* had gained a third victory over the *Parthians*, far more glorious than the other two. It was obtained in the following manner: *Ventidius* fearing lest the *Parthians*, whose preparations were much advanced, should pass the *Euphrates* before he had time to draw all his troops together from their different quarters, had recourse to the following stratagem: there was a petty eastern prince in his camp, under the character of an ally, who was intirely addicted to the interest of the *Parthians*, with whom^d *Ventidius* well knew he kept a private correspondence, communicating to them all the intelligence he could get of the counsels and designs of the *Romans*. This man's treachery *Ventidius* resolved to improve to his own advantage; for taking the first opportunity that offered of conversing with him, and seeming to repose in him an intire confidence, he told him, that he had heard with much concern, that the *Parthians* did not design to pass the *Euphrates* at *Zeugma*, as usual, but to enter *Syria* another way, at a passage much below the former; for if they pass at *Zeugma*, said he, the country on this side the *Euphrates* is so mountainous, that the cavalry, in which the whole force of their army consists, can do us no great hurt; but, in case they take the lower passage, the country being there all plain and level, they will^e have so great an advantage over us, that it will be impossible for us to make head against them. This conference was no sooner over, than the treacherous *Chauneus*, for so he is called by *Appian*, conveyed a full account of it to the *Parthians*, with whom it had the desired effect; for *Pacorus*, instead of keeping the road to *Zeugma*, took the other rout, and in that march lost forty days; during which time *Ventidius* being joined by *Silo*, *Antony*'s lieutenant in *Palestine*, and by all the legions which were quartered on the other side mount *Taurus*, found himself in a condition to give them a warm reception when they entered *Syria*. As they met with no opposition either in passing the river, or advancing into *Syria*, they ascribed that inactivity to fear, and therefore, with great boldness, went directly to attack the *Romans* in their camp, on the top of a steep hill. This *Ventidius* expected, and therefore sallying out upon them at the head of his legionaries, as they were ascending the hill, easily put them in disorder, by the advantage of the ground, and pursued them with great slaughter into the plain, where they rallied, and made a most vigorous resistance, the victory being doubtful, till *Pacorus* was killed fighting with incredible bravery at the head of the *Parthian* horse. His death was followed by the flight of the whole army, every one striving to regain the bridge, in order to retire into their own country; but^f

Pacorus killed,
and his army
intirely cut off
by *Ventidius*.

^a DIO, l. xlviii. p. 380, 381. APPIAN. in Parthic.
FLOR. l. iv. c. 9. PLUT. in Anton.

^b DIO, APPIAN. *ibid.* LIV. *epit.* l. cxvii.

Ventidius,

- a *Ventidius*, with a strong detachment of horse, getting to the *Euphrates* before them, cut off their retreat; so that only a small number of them escaped by flight, and retired into the dominions of *Antiochus* king of *Comagene*; the rest were all put to the sword ^c. This victory, which fully revenged the death of *Crassus*, and the *Romans* who were killed with him, was gained on the same day of the year, on which, fourteen years before, the famous battle of *Carrhae* was lost.

- Orodes*, when he heard of the defeat of his army, and the death of his son, was so overwhelmed with grief, that, for some days, he abstained from all food, not being able to utter a single word the whole time; and when he recovered the use of his tongue, he acted and spoke in such a manner, as plainly shewed, that sorrow had got the better of his reason; for nothing was heard from him but the name of *Pacorus*, his dear *Pacorus*; sometimes he talked to him as if he had been present, commended his gallant behaviour, and launched out on the happiness of a father who was blessed with such a son. At other times, remembering that he was dead, he burst into a flood of tears, and was ready to lay violent hands on himself: and indeed never was grief more just; for this was the most terrible blow the *Parthian* monarchy had ever received, and the loss of the young prince was as great as that of the army, he being commended by all the ancients as the most worthy person for justice, clemency, valour, and all other princely qualities, that the royal family of *Arfaces* ever produced. He so endeared himself to the *Syrians*, during the short time he lived among them, that they never expressed more affection for any of their native sovereigns, than they did for him, tho' descended from a family, which had brought many calamities on their country ^d.

- HAD *Ventidius* pursued the advantages of this victory, he might have driven the *Parthians* quite out of *Mesopotamia* and *Babylonia*, and extended the boundaries of the *Roman* empire to the *Tigris*; but as he was afraid of giving umbrage to *Antony*, with whose jealous temper he was well acquainted, he contented himself with reducing those places in *Syria* and *Phenice*, which had revolted from the *Romans* in the late war. Pursuant to this plan, he was with his whole army in *Comagene*, making war upon *Antiochus* king of that country, for siding with the *Parthians*, when *Antony* arriv-
 ing, took the command of the army upon himself, and dismissed *Ventidius*. His pretence for this was, that *Ventidius* deserved a triumph, and ought to go to *Rome* to ask it of the senate; but the true motive that prompted him to act in this manner, was, that he envied him the great glory he had acquired, and the reputation he was in with the army; for *Antony* was one of those, who cannot bear to be served by persons of such talents as are capable of eclipsing their own; he was therefore glad to get rid of him, and never employed him afterwards, tho' he often stood in need of so able and experienced a general. *Ventidius*, on his return to *Rome*, was received there with all possible marks of honour, and granted a triumph, with the general applause of the whole city. In his triumph two very remarkable circumstances concurred; the one, that he was the only *Roman* who ever triumphed over the *Parthians*, no one having, either before or after him, attained to that honour. The other circumstance, no less remarkable, was, that he triumphed after having been led in triumph himself; for, in the social war, being made a captive at the taking of *Asculum*, the chief city of *Picenum*, by *Strabo* the father of *Pompey the Great*, he was, with his father and mother, who carried him in her arms, led before the triumphal chariot of that general. Afterwards his family being brought to poverty by the ruin of their city, he was obliged, when grown up, to betake himself to a mean and sordid employment for his livelihood; for at first he was only a muletier, and being used to provide mules to carry the baggage of such *Roman* magistrates as were sent to govern foreign provinces, *Cæsar* employed him in this capacity when he first went into *Gaul*; and having on that occasion observed in him a great quickness of apprehension and activity, took him with him into his province, and put him in the way of rising to great preferments; for he first gave him a small command in the army, from which he raised himself, by his distinguished merit, through all the stations of the camp to the highest post in the army, and became one of *Cæsar's* chief generals in all the wars he waged afterwards. Upon his death he sided with *Antony*, distinguished himself at

Antony dismisses Ventidius, and takes the command of the army on himself.

Ventidius obtains a triumph.

^c LIV. l. cxxviii. FLOR. l. iv. c. 9. STRABO, l. xvi. p. 751. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 78. JOSEPH. l. xiv. c. 27. A. GELL. l. xv. c. 4. JUSTIN. l. xlii. c. 4. PLUT. in ANTON. FRONTIN. Stratagem. l. i. c. 1. & l. ii. c. 2. DION, l. xlix. ^d JUSTIN. l. xlii. c. 4.

Mutina and *Perusia*, and was at last sent as *Antony's* lieutenant into the east, where a he gained the victories over the *Parthians* which we have mentioned *.

Orodes barbarously murdered by his son Phrabates.

In the mean time *Orodes*, being in some degree recovered from the distraction of mind, which the death of his son *Pacorus* had occasioned, appointed *Phrabates* the eldest, but the most wicked of all his children, to succeed him in the throne, admitting him at the same time to share the regal power with himself. *Phrabates* no sooner saw himself vested with the sovereign authority, than he caused all his brothers by the daughter of *Antiochus Eusebes*, king of *Syria*, to be put to death, for no other reason, but because they were of a more noble descent than himself. As this was highly resented by his father, he attempted to put him to death also, by giving him a potion of the poisonous juice of hemlock; but that proving only a medicine against the dropsy, which grief had brought upon the king, the cruel and unnatural son caused him to be stifled in his bed, and soon after dispatched all his brothers, who were thirty in number. The same cruelty he exercised over the nobility, and all the rest of the royal family, not sparing his eldest son, lest the discontented *Parthians* should place him, as he was already of age, on the throne. Hereupon many of the chief lords of *Parthia*, quitting their own country, took refuge in *Syria*, under the protection of *Antony*. Among these was one *Monases*, a man of great distinction, who having gained the confidence of *Antony*, prevailed upon him to engage in a war with the *Parthians* his countrymen †.

Antony undertakes a war against the Parthians. Year of the flood 2963. Before Christ 36.

As *Antony* had, by means of his lieutenant *Publius Canidius*, reduced the *Armenians*, *Albanians*, and *Iberians*, and carried his victorious arms as far as mount *Caucasus*, he was easily persuaded to embark in a war, which he had long designed, all the *Romans* who served under him, earnestly pressing him to revenge the death of *Crassus*, and their countrymen, who had perished with him at *Carrae*. Accordingly he began to make vast preparations for so great an undertaking; and as he formed all his schemes for the carrying of it on by the advice of *Monases*, in order to attach him the more to his service, he allowed him the revenues of three cities for his maintenance, imitating therein the generosity of *Xerxes* towards *Themistocles*; and moreover promised to place him on the throne of *Parthia*, on his conquering that country. But in the mean time *Phrabates*, dreading the advantage which the enemy might draw from the advice of so wise and able a counsellor, who was well acquainted with the country, sent a solemn embassy to invite him home, on such terms as the banished *Parthian* thought fit to accept. This greatly provoked *Antony*; but nevertheless he did not think it advisable to use any violence with him, for fear of discouraging others from revolting: he therefore dismissed him with great civility, and sent ambassadors with him to *Phrabates* to treat of a peace, hoping by that means to divert him from making the necessary preparations for a war, and to fall upon him before he was in a condition to withstand him; but herein he was greatly disappointed, for, on his arrival at the *Euphrates*, which he intended to pass, and enter the *Parthian* dominions on that side, he found all the passes so well guarded on the other bank, that e he thought it advisable to march off to the left, with a design to reduce *Media*, and from thence invade *Parthia*. This plan had been suggested to him before by *Artabazes* king of *Armenia*, who falling out with *Artavasdes* king of *Media*, had pressed *Antony* to take that rout, with no other view but to distress the *Median* his rival. *Antony* had rejected it when first proposed, intending to invade the *Parthian* dominions by the nearest cut over the *Euphrates*; but not succeeding in that, he fell in with the proposal of the *Armenian*, who in the end betrayed him; for instead of conducting him the straight way from *Zeugma* on the *Euphrates* to the river *Araxes*, which parted *Media* from *Armenia*, and was about five hundred miles distance from the place whence he first set out, he led him over rocks and mountains so far about, that f the army had marched a thousand miles and upwards, before they reached the borders of *Media*, where they intended to begin the war; so that they were not only greatly fatigued, but had not sufficient time, the year being already far spent, to put in execution the design on which they were come. However, as *Antony* was in great haste to get back to *Cleopatra*, he left behind him most of the baggage of the army, and three hundred waggons loaded with battering rams, and other military engines for sieges, ordering *Statianus*, one of his lieutenants, with a body of ten thousand

His long and fatiguing march.

Invades Media.

* PLUT. APPIAN. DION CASS. *ibid.* A. GELL. l. xv. c. 4. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 63. VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 9. PLIN. l. vii. c. 43. † JUSTIN. l. xlii. c. 4. DIO. CASS. l. xlix. PLUT. in *Cress.* ‡ DIO. CASS. & PLUT. *ibid.* STRABO, l. xi. & xvi.

- a men, to guard them, and bring them, by slower marches, after the army. With the rest of the forces he hastened forward, and marched three hundred miles more, without allowing his men any respite, till he arrived at *Praaspa*, or, as others call it, *Pbraata*, the capital of *Media*, which he immediately invested; but, as the place was well fortified, he was soon made sensible of his mistake in leaving behind him his battering rams, and other military engines; for without them he could make no progress in the siege: and when the *Median* and *Parthian* forces came up with him, they did not think it worth their while to attack him, but pursued their march, with a design to prevent *Statianus* from joining him with the heavy carriages, without which, they well knew, he could never make himself master of the city. *Statianus* did not expect them, and therefore, being attacked before he had time to draw up his men, was cut off, with the whole body under his command, which amounted to ten thousand men. All the baggage and military engines were taken, and among the rest a battering ram eighty foot long. *Polemo*, king of *Pontus*, was made prisoner, and with him a few *Romans*, to whom the *Parthians* gave quarter in the end of the slaughter; but all the rest were put to the sword ^b.

Besieges Praaspa.

Statianus cut off, with ten thousand Romans.

- Statianus*, on his first discovering the enemy, had dispatched an express to *Antony*, who made all the haste he could to his assistance; but nevertheless came too late, and found, on his arrival, *Statianus* and all his men dead on the field of battle: but as no enemy appeared, he took courage, imagining they had fled at his approach, and returned to the siege, where he was daily harassed by the garison within, and by the enemy's army without. If he sent out small parties to forage, they were generally cut off by the *Parthian* cavalry; and if he detached large bodies, those who remained were not able to stand the repeated sallies of the numerous garison. To obviate these inconveniencies, *Antony* attempted to draw the enemy to a general engagement, and twice succeeded therein, but without reaping from thence any advantage; for tho' he put the enemy to flight in both engagements, yet the loss they sustained was very inconsiderable, the *Parthians* preventing, by the swiftness of their horses, the evil consequences which generally attend such defeats. In the last he thought his victory complete, and pursued it to the utmost; but in the end found that he had killed only eighty of the enemy's men, and taken thirty prisoners, during the whole action. However, he continued before *Pbraata* till his provisions were near spent, and the forage round the country quite consumed; when he began to think of a retreat, seeing he had lost all hopes of making himself master of the besieged city; but as he was to march three hundred miles through the enemy's country, for at that distance *Pbraata* lay from the borders of *Armenia*, before he raised the siege, he sent ambassadors to *Phrabates*, to acquaint him, that the *Roman* people was willing to grant him a lasting peace, provided he would return the standards and prisoners taken at *Carrbae*. *Phrabates* received the ambassadors sitting on a golden throne, and after having bitterly inveighed against the avarice and unbounded ambition of the *Romans*, told them, that he would not by any means part with the standards and captives taken at *Carrbae*, but would allow *Antony* to retire unmolested, provided he withdrew immediately from before *Pbraata*. *Antony*, who was reduced to great straits, no sooner received this answer, than he raised the siege, and began his march towards *Armenia*, hoping that *Phrabates* would be as good as his word; but he was therein greatly disappointed, for the *Parthian* army harassed him the whole way, and fell upon him eighteen times with all their forces, before he reached the *Araxes*, which was the boundary of the *Median* territories. 'Tis true, he always repulsed them, but not without great loss on his side; whereas that of the *Parthians*, as being all horsemen, was very inconsiderable, by reason of their quick retreats. The *Romans* were very fortunate in their guide, who being a native of *Mardia*, a country bordering on *Media* and *Armenia*, was well acquainted with the roads and by-ways, and conducted them with great fidelity. However, the army was thrice in imminent danger of being intirely cut off by ambuscades, which they could not possibly have escaped, had they not received notice of them from the enemy's quarters. *Monases* twice forewarned *Antony* of them by a messenger sent to him for that purpose, in return for the kindness shewn him during his banishment. The other time he had his intelligence from an old *Roman* soldier, who had continued among the *Parthians* ever since the battle of *Carrbae*, and came to the *Roman* camp to acquaint his countrymen with the danger. This painful

Antony raises the siege of Praaspa.

Harassed by the Parthians in his retreat.

^a STRABO, l. xi. p. 523. DION CASS. p. 497. VELL. PATENC. l. ii. c. 82. PLUT. in ANTON.

march

Reduced to
great straits.

March lasted twenty-seven days, during which time they were not only incessantly harassed by the *Parthian* arrows, but greatly distressed for want of provisions, the parties that went out to forage being generally cut off, and their beasts of burden either dead, or employed in carrying the sick and wounded. A quart of wheat was sold in the camp for fifty drachmas, and barley-loaves for their weight in silver. At last they were reduced to live upon such roots and herbs as they found in the fields, which occasioned many distempers among them. When the famine first began to rage in the camp, some to avoid it fled to the enemy; but were by the *Parthians* cruelly murdered in the sight of the rest; which put a stop to their deserting, and proved very advantageous to *Antony*, who would have been left alone, had the enemy treated kindly such as took refuge with them. *Antony* seeing his men dying every day in great numbers, was often heard to cry out, *O, the ten thousand!* admiring the conduct of *Xenophon*, who marched a far longer way through the enemy's country, and, in spite of all opposition, led his men safe home. At length the army began to mutiny, and falling upon those who had any gold or silver, plundered and murdered them, rifled *Antony's* baggage, seized on his money and plate, and committed many other disorders. Hereupon the general, quite disheartened, retired to his tent, and calling one of his freed-men, ordered him to kill him, and after his death to cut off his head, and conceal it, lest it should fall into the enemy's hands, and be insulted as that of *Crassus* had been; but the *Mardian* guide, coming into his tent in the mean time, prevailed upon him to forbear using any violence on himself, by assuring him, that the worst of the march was over, and that he was at a small distance from the river *Araxes*, beyond which the *Parthians* would not pursue him. Accordingly he arrived a few days after at that river, and crossed it, without being disturbed in the least by the enemy. The soldiers seeing themselves at length out of the enemy's reach, and in a place of safety, fell down on the ground, and kissed it, embracing one another with tears of joy ^a.

His great loss.

Antony committed, without all doubt, many mistakes in the management of this war, but none in his retreat; for all the ancients do him the justice to own, that he conducted it with as much art and success as it was capable of. He lost indeed a great many men; for on his reviewing his forces after he had passed the *Araxes*, he found twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse missing; but the greater part of these had perished by the hardships of the campaign, and very few by the enemy's swords. The greatest error he committed in this fatal undertaking, was his obstinately pursuing his march, after he had, with the utmost difficulty, got back into *Armenia*; for instead of putting the remainder of his army into winter quarters, and allowing them time to refresh themselves after so long and fatiguing a march, as he was in haste to get back to *Cleopatra*, he continued his march, tho' winter was far advanced, through *Armenia*, which was then covered with snow, and, in that mountainous country, lost eight thousand more of his men, who perished by reason of the hard season, and excessive cold; so that, according to the most moderate calculation, he lost in all two-and-thirty thousand men ^b. *Florus* tells us ^c, that he did not bring back the third part of his army, which, at his first setting out on this destructive undertaking, consisted of an hundred thousand men. He was not indeed overcome in battle, as *Crassus* had been; but, if we compare the losses of both generals, we shall find *Antony's* expedition to have been the most unfortunate of the two; and yet, on his return into *Egypt*, he had the confidence to assume such honours as were due only to conquerors.

Resolves on a
second expedi-
tion against the
Parthians; but
is diverted from
it by *Cleopatra*.

Antony was scarce returned from this expedition, when the kings of *Media* and *Parthia*, falling out about the booty they had taken on the defeat of *Statianus*, the former sent an embassy to him, offering to join him with all his forces against the latter. *Antony* accepted this offer with great joy, the more because he was informed at the same time, that the *Parthians*, not able to endure the tyranny and cruelty of their king, had taken up arms against him, and were greatly divided among themselves. These circumstances offered him a favourable opportunity of making amends, by a new expedition, for the miscarriages of the former. Accordingly he resolved to lay hold of it, and leaving *Egypt*, hastened into *Syria*, there to make the necessary preparations for a second invasion; but *Cleopatra* feigning that his absence had thrown her into a languishing distemper, and that she could not live without him, he was so

^a PLUT. DIO. CASS. JUSTIN. FLOR. *ibid.*

^b PLUT. & DIO. CASS. *ibid.*

^c FLOR. l. iv. c. 10.

a infatuated as to believe her, and giving over all thoughts of revenging his late losses, to drop the enterprize, and return to the embraces of his beloved queen^b. However, he sent such a body of *Roman* troops to the assistance of *Artavasdes* king of *Media*, as enabled him to gain a complete victory over *Phrabates* king of *Parthia*; but the ensuing year a war breaking out between *Antony* and *Octavianus*, the former not only recalled the troops he had sent to the assistance of *Artavasdes*, but also retained those which *Artavasdes* had sent him in their room; by which means the king of *Media* was intirely defeated in a second battle, and taken prisoner by *Phrabates*, who pursuing his victory, reduced all *Media*, and likewise *Armenia*, restoring to that throne *Artaxias* the son of *Artabazes*, who had been driven from it by *Antony*, as we have related in the history of *Armenia*.

Media reduced by Phrabates.

b *Phrabates*, elated with this success, began to oppress his subjects in a most cruel and tyrannical manner; whereupon the *Parthian* nobility, conspiring against him, drove him from the throne, and placed on it in his room *Tiridates*, one of their own body; but the next year *Phrabates* returned into *Parthia* at the head of a numerous army, and having overcome his rival in a pitched battle, recovered his crown. *Tiridates* took refuge in *Syria*, where *Octavianus* found him after the death of *Antony*, and was warmly solicited by him to lend him his assistance against *Phrabates*. At the same time ambassadors arrived from *Phrabates* on the same errand. *Octavianus* received them both in a very friendly manner, without intending to help either, but rather to egg them on against each other with fair promises, and by that means to waste and weaken the power and strength of that formidable empire. With this view he gave *Tiridates* leave to continue in *Syria*, till he should be in a condition to make head against his rival, accepting from him a son of *Phrabates*, who had fallen into his hands. This son he carried with him to *Rome*, where he kept him as a hostage^c. Not long after, *Tiridates* returned into *Parthia*, and drove out *Phrabates*; but was soon driven out again by him in his turn. *Phrabates* was assisted by the *Scythians*, who not only reinstated him in his kingdom, but supported him in it with a mighty army. Hereupon *Tiridates*, with the leading men of his party, fled to *Rome*, to implore the assistance and protection of *Augustus*, promising to hold the kingdom of him, provided he was restored to it by his means. *Phrabates* hearing he had fled to *Rome*, dispatched ambassadors thither after him, to obviate his designs, and to demand of *Augustus* the delivery of his rebellious subjects, and the release of his son, whom *Tiridates* had put into his hands. *Augustus* received *Tiridates*, as well as the ambassadors, with particular marks of esteem; but answered, that he would not deliver *Tiridates* into the hands of *Phrabates*, nor lend either of them assistance against the other. However, to gratify both in something, he gave *Tiridates* leave to continue at *Rome*, ordering him, out of the public treasury, a maintenance suitable to his rank; and sent back to *Phrabates* his son, on his promising to restore the captives and standards that had been taken from *Crassus* and *Antony*. This *Phrabates* then promised to do, but could not prevail upon himself to perform, till the coming of *Augustus* into *Syria*, which happened three years after; when dreading a foreign war, as he was greatly hated by his subjects on account of his cruelty, he sent ambassadors to him, to conclude an alliance with the people of *Rome*; and on this occasion it was that he sent back all the captives and ensigns, which the *Parthians* had taken in their wars with *Crassus* and *Antony*. At the same time he agreed to such terms of peace as *Augustus* thought fit to propose, giving four of his sons, with their wives and children, as hostages for the performance of them^d. The ensigns *Augustus* caused to be hung up in a temple, which he built, and consecrated to *Mars* twice the revenger, and appointed *Circensian* sports to be annually solemnized in memory of his victory at *Philippi*, (for, before that battle, he had vowed the temple to *Mars*) and of his recovering the *Roman* ensigns from the *Parthians*^e. *Justin* observes here^f, that *Augustus* did more by the greatness of his name, than any other could have done by a long and expensive war; but *Tacitus*^g tells us, that *Phrabates* was induced to comply with the demands of *Augustus*, not for fear of him, but because he distrusted his own subjects. *Strabo*^h, and *Josephus*ⁱ, agreeing with *Tacitus*, relate the matter in the

Civil dissensions among the Parthians.

Phrabates restores to Augustus the ensigns and prisoners taken from Crassus and Antony.

^a PLUT. in ANTON. DION CASS. l. xlix. p. 411. ^b DION CASS. l. li p. 456. PLUT. ibid. JUSTIN. l. xlii. c. 5. ^c JUSTIN. ibid. DION CASS. l. liii. ^d LIV. l. cxxxix. FLOR. l. iv. c. ult. STRABO, l. ii. p. 288. & l. xvi. p. 748. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 91. JUSTIN. l. xlii. c. ult. DIO, l. liv. p. 52. EUTROP. l. vii. OROS. l. vi. c. 21. ^e Vide OVID. fast. l. v. & HORAT. l. iv. od. ult. ^f JUSTIN. l. xlii. c. 5. ^g TACIT. annal. l. ii. c. 1. ^h STRABO, l. vi. p. 288. ⁱ JOSEPH. antiq. l. xviii. c. 3.

following manner: A very beautiful *Italian* woman, by name *Thermusa*, having been formerly sent by *Augustus* to *Pbrabates* as a present, the king kept her at first as his concubine; but afterwards, on her bringing him a son, married her, and declared her queen. In this station she gained an absolute ascendant over him, which she made use of to secure the succession to her son. With this view she proposed to *Pbrabates* the delivering up of his other sons, who were four in all, to the *Romans*; and he readily came into the proposal, as not thinking himself safe against his discontented subjects, so long as there were any of the royal race of *Arfaces* of an age fit to govern. On this consideration, when hostages were demanded by *Augustus*, for securing the terms of their agreement, he delivered up to him his four sons, *Saraspades*, *Cerospades*, *Pbrabates*, and *Vonones*, two of their wives, and four of their sons. These were all carried to *Rome*, where they remained many years; but *Thermusa's* son, by name *Pbraatices*, was bred up at home, and appointed to succeed his father. The *Parthians* were so superstitiously addicted to the family of *Arfaces*, that *Pbrabates* well knew they would bear with him, notwithstanding their hatred to him, as long as they had no other of the same race to set up in his room; and therefore, not for fear of *Augustus*, but for his own safety, readily yielded up to him his four sons, who being of an age to govern, gave him no small jealousy. But what he thus projected for his safety, proved at last his ruin; for as soon as *Pbraatices* was of age, *Thermusa*, impatient to see him on the throne, poisoned her husband, to make room for him the sooner. But he was scarce seated on the throne, when the *Parthians*, disdaining to be governed by so wicked a parricide, rose up in arms, and drove him from it into banishment, where he perished some years after. In his room they placed one *Orodes*, who was of the royal family of *Arfaces*, but generally hated on account of his cruel and savage temper. However, they preferred him to the sons of *Pbraatices*, who, by their father, were descended from the *Italian* concubine *Thermusa*; but not being able to bear his unheard-of cruelties, they killed him soon after at a banquet. Upon his death they dispatched ambassadors to *Rome*, intreating *Augustus* to send one of the sons of *Pbrabates* to rule over them. The emperor readily granted them *Vonones*, who was received at first with great demonstrations of joy; but as he betrayed a great inclination to the *Romans*, and affected their dress and manners, the *Parthians* grew soon weary of their new king; and disdaining to obey, as they expressed it, a *Roman* slave, had recourse to *Artabanus* king of *Media*, who was likewise of the race of *Arfaces*, inviting him to take possession of the crown of *Parthia*. *Artabanus* willingly complied with their request; but being met on the frontiers by *Vonones*, was by him defeated, tho' he had a considerable army with him, and obliged to fly back into *Media*, where he raised new forces, and in a second engagement obtained a complete victory over *Vonones*, who took shelter in *Armenia*, where he was kindly received, and entertained by some of the chief lords of that country. But *Artabanus* threatening to invade *Armenia*, *Vonones* thought fit to retire from thence, after having solicited in vain the assistance of *Tiberius*, by a solemn embassy sent to *Rome* for that purpose. From *Armenia* the unhappy prince withdrew into *Syria*, and there delivered himself up to *Creticus Silanus* governor of that province, who, in regard he had been brought up at *Rome*, suffered him to live at *Antioch*, with the pomp and title of a king. He was afterwards removed by *Germanicus* from *Antioch* to *Pompeiopolis* in *Cilicia*, whence he made his escape, tho' kept under a strict guard; but being soon after retaken, he was killed by one *Remmius* a *Roman* soldier. *Germanicus* had removed him from *Antioch* to *Pompeiopolis* at the request of *Artabanus*, and also because he was in high favour with *Cneius Piso*, to whose wife *Plancia* he made rich presents, having brought with him into *Syria* immense treasures.

Artabanus having now no competitor to contend with, began to treat his subjects with great cruelty; whereupon some *Parthian* lords, among whom were *Sinnaces*, a man of great power and credit, and an eunuch named *Abdus*, entering into a plot against him, sent privately to *Rome* for *Pbrabates*, the son of king *Pbrabates*, who, as we have related above, had been delivered by his father to *Augustus* as a hostage. The deputies represented, that the *Parthians* were ready to revolt; that they wanted only a leader; that a descendant of *Arfaces*, supported by *Rome*, and seen on the

* STRABO, l. xvi. p. 749. JOSEPH. antiq. l. xviii. c. 3. ■ JOSEPH. ibid. ■ Idem ibid. ■ SUET. in Tiber. & OCTAV. c. 21. JOSEPH. ibid. TACIT. annal. l. ii. c. 2 & 4. ¶ TACIT. ibid.

- a banks of the *Euphrates*, would occasion an immediate and general insurrection. *Tiberius*, who had succeeded *Augustus*, was glad of so favourable an opportunity of raising new disturbances in *Parthia*; for *Artabanus*, elated with the success that had attended him in his wars with the neighbouring nations, had not only seized on *Armenia*, and appointed his eldest son *Arfaces* king of that country, but sent a proud message to the governor of *Syria*, demanding the treasures which *Vonones* had left there and in *Cilicia*, and claiming all the countries which had been possessed by *Cyrus*, and since by *Alexander*. *Tiberius* therefore, overjoyed at the thoughts of humbling the haughty *Parthian*, immediately dispatched *Phrabates* to recover his father's kingdom; but that prince arriving in *Syria*, and there disusing the *Roman* way of living, to which he had been many years accustomed, and resuming the *Parthian* customs, was seized, on that sudden change, with a violent distemper, which put an end to his life. At the same time the plot was discovered, and the chief promoters of it either privately put to death, for *Artabanus* was afraid to use open violence, or so narrowly watched, that they could not meet, without being observed, to consult together about the necessary measures. However, *Tiberius* did not abandon the enterprise; but putting *Tiridates*, another prince of the royal family of *Parthia*, in the room of *Phrabates*, wrote to *Mitbridates Iberus*, requesting him to invade *Armenia* with his brother *Pharasmanes* king of *Iberia*, and by that means to draw *Artabanus* out of his own kingdom. *Mitbridates*, pursuant to the directions of *Tiberius*, entered *Armenia*, at the head of a numerous army of *Iberians*, and made himself master of *Artaxata*, the metropolis of that kingdom. At the same time his brother *Pharasmanes*, having recourse to treachery, suborned some of the servants of *Arfaces* to murder him. *Artabanus* no sooner heard of the invasion of *Armenia*, and the death of his son, but he dispatched his other son *Orodes*, with a mighty army, against the enemy, and at the same time sent to hire auxiliaries in *Sarmatia* and the neighbouring countries. *Pharasmanes*, on the other hand, having joined the *Albanian* forces to his own, and received great supplies from *Sarmatia*, marched to the assistance of his brother, and meeting with *Orodes*, offered him battle; which he declining, *Pharasmanes* besieged him in his camp, and reduced him to such straits, that he was obliged at last to put all to the issue of an engagement, which proved very bloody, the *Parthians* behaving with their usual bravery. The victory was long doubtful; but in the end *Pharasmanes* having attacked and wounded *Orodes*, and a report being thereon spread through the *Parthian* army that he was killed, the *Parthians* retired in disorder, and left *Pharasmanes* master of the field. This victory was attended with the conquest of *Armenia*, which *Pharasmanes* over-ran without opposition, the *Parthians* flying every-where before him. In the mean time *Artabanus*, having raised another army, marched in person against the united forces of *Mitbridates* and *Pharasmanes*; but was attended with no better success than his son *Orodes*, his army being intirely defeated, and himself obliged to abandon his kingdom, and take refuge among the *Carmanians* and *Hyrceanians*.

Artabanus driven from the throne.

- UPON the retreat of *Artabanus*, *Lucius Vitellius*, governor of *Syria*, advanced with his legions to the banks of the *Euphrates*; and having crossed that river on a bridge of boats, caused *Tiridates*, whom he had brought with him, to be proclaimed king of *Parthia*. The new king was immediately joined by a great many *Parthian* lords, among whom were *Ornospades*, *Sinnaces*, and *Abdageses*. *Ornospades* brought with him a strong body of horse, and *Abdageses* all the ensigns of royalty, which had been committed to his care. When *Vitellius* found the *Parthians* inclined to receive *Tiridates*, thinking it enough to have countenanced them, he repassed the *Euphrates* with his legions, and retired into *Syria*. He was no sooner gone, than *Phrabates* and *Hiero*, two men of great power and authority among the *Parthians*, out of envy to *Abdageses*, who governed the new king and his whole court, returned to their old allegiance, and recalled *Artabanus*, who was, at his first appearing, joined by all those who hated *Abdageses*. The *Scythians* likewise, the *Dabæ*, and the *Sacæ*, declared in his favour, and sent him powerful supplies; so that he was soon in a condition to take the field; which he did accordingly, at the head of a very numerous and well-disciplined army. *Tiridates*, who had spent his whole time in besieging a fortress, whither *Artabanus* had conveyed his treasures and concubines, did not think it advisable to put the whole to the issue of a battle; and therefore retired into

Tiridates.

² Tacit. annal. l. vi. c. 36. Joseph. antiq. l. xviii. c. 6.

Artabanus re-
stored.

Bardanes.

Gotarzes.

Gotarzes dri-
ven out by
Bardanes.

Gotarzes re-
signs the crown
to his brother
Bardanes.

Mesopotamia, with a design to recruit his army in the country of the *Elymeans* and *Armenians*, and then try the fortune of a battle; but in his march he was abandoned by the greatest part of his troops, who either retired home, or fled to *Artabanus*; infomuch that not thinking himself any longer safe within the *Parthian* dominions, he retired into *Syria*, leaving his competitor in quiet possession of the crown^a. But it was not long ere new disturbances obliged *Artabanus* to quit the kingdom a second time. The nobility, not being able to bear his cruelties and haughty behaviour, conspired anew against him, and taking up arms, obliged him to shelter himself in the dominions of *Izates* king of the *Adiabeniens*, who not only received and entertained him in a manner suitable to his rank, but, by his kind offices, prevailed upon the *Parthian* nobility to receive him again, after he had, by a solemn oath, promised to forgive all those who had taken up arms against him. The *Parthians* had placed one *Cinnamus* on the throne in his room, who was by the same *Izates* persuaded to resign of his own accord, the regal power and authority to the banished prince. *Artabanus*, being thus restored to his kingdom by the mediation of *Izates*, in acknowledgment of the favours he had received at his hands, bestowed on him the rich country of *Nisibis*, and allowed him to wear a strait tiara, and to lie in a golden bed; which were privileges peculiar to the kings of *Parthia*^b. From this time he governed with great equity and moderation, and, after a reign of thirty years, died greatly lamented by all his subjects, leaving behind him seven sons, viz. *Darius*, *Bardanes*, *Gotarzes*, *Orodes*, *Volgeses*, *Pacorus*, and *Tiridates*. By his last will he appointed *Bardanes* to succeed him, who, forgetful of the obligations his family owed to *Izates*, made war upon him, for no other reason, but because he refused to join him against the *Romans*. His monstrous ingratitude towards a prince who had so well deserved of the *Parthian* nation, was highly resented by the chief lords of his kingdom, who taking up arms against him, killed him, and raised his brother *Gotarzes* to the throne^c. This is the account which *Josephus* gives us, in a few words, of the accession to the crown, and reigns of *Bardanes* and *Gotarzes*; but *Tacitus*, disagreeing with that writer, relates the matter in a quite different manner^d. According to him, *Gotarzes* and *Bardanes* were not the sons, but the brothers of *Artabanus*, who was succeeded by *Gotarzes*, a most cruel prince, and therefore so hated by his subjects, that they called *Bardanes* to the throne. *Bardanes*, as he was a man of great resolution and activity, marched in two days three thousand furlongs, and arriving at *Ctesiphon*, surprized and drove *Gotarzes* from the throne. With the same expedition he over-ran the chief provinces of the *Parthian* empire, and was every-where received with loud acclamations. *Seleucia* was the only city that refused to submit to him, which he closely besieged; but while he was wasting his time before that place, *Gotarzes* unexpectedly arrived at the head of a numerous army of *Dabans* and *Hyrceanians*, which obliged *Bardanes* to raise the siege, and retire to the plains of *Bactria*, where he encamped, with a design to venture a battle in the open fields. *Gotarzes* followed him; but while the two armies were ready to engage, *Gotarzes* received private intelligence of a conspiracy formed by the chief men of the kingdom against himself, and also his brother, to whom he immediately imparted it. Hereupon the two competitors had an interview, in which, tho' at first distrustful each other, they were at last thoroughly reconciled, both of them swearing on the altars not to molest one another, but to turn their arms against their common enemies; nay, *Gotarzes*, judging *Bardanes* more worthy of the crown than himself, an instance of equity and moderation seldom to be met with, resigned it to him; and, in order to remove all ground of jealousy, retired into the most remote parts of *Hyrkania*. *Bardanes*, leaving *Bactria*, returned to the siege of *Seleucia*, which voluntarily submitted to him, after he had attempted in vain to reduce it by force. Being now sole master of the whole *Parthian* empire, he formed a design of recovering *Armenia*; but *Vilius Marfus*, or, as we read in *Josephus*, *Cassius Longinus*, governor of *Syria*, threatening him with war, in case he made any attempts upon that kingdom, he thought it adviseable to drop the enterprize^e.

In the mean time *Gotarzes*, repenting his resignation, and being recalled by the nobility, who, in time of peace, were ever plotting changes in the government, raised new forces, and advanced at the head of a powerful army as far as the river *Charinda*, where he was met, and intirely defeated by *Bardanes*, who, elated with

^a TACIT. *ibid.* c. 41, 42, 43, 44. JOSEPH. *ibid.* c. 6. DION CASS. l. lviii. p. 537. SUET. in Tiber. c. 66.
^b JOSEPH. *ibid.* ^c Idem *ibid.* ZONAR. l. iii. PHILOSTRAT. l. i. & iii. de vita Apollon. ^d JOSEPH. *ibid.*
^e TACIT. *annal.* l. xi. c. 8. ^f TACIT. *ibid.* c. 8, & 9. JOSEPH. *ibid.*

that

- a that victory, attacked and reduced all the countries lying between that river and the *Gindes*, which parts the *Dabans* from the *Arians*. There he was obliged to halt, the *Parthians*, tho' victorious, refusing to follow him into countries so remote from their own. Having therefore erected monuments with pompous inscriptions, importing, that none of the *Arfacidæ*, before him, had exacted tributes from those nations, he returned home, loaded with the spoils of the countries he had conquered. The glory he acquired in this expedition, inspired him with such pride, that he became quite insupportable to his subjects, especially to the nobility, who thereupon conspiring against him, killed him at a hunting match, when he was not attended, as usual, by his guards, as not apprehending any treachery or danger. He was,
- b according to *Tacitus*, a prince endued with excellent qualities, and would have been one of the greatest kings that ever reigned in *Parthia*, had he studied to be as much beloved by his subjects, as he was feared by his enemies &c.

Bardanes murdered.

UPON the death of *Bardanes*, new disputes arose among the nobility about the electing a king to succeed him, some declaring for *Gotarzes*, and others for *Meberdates*, the grandson of *Phrabates*, by whom he had been delivered to the *Romans* as a hostage. At last the party of *Gotarzes* prevailed, who was no sooner placed on the throne, than he began to use all sorts of cruelty on his subjects, especially on those who had adhered to *Meberdates*; whereupon they had private recourse to the emperor *Claudius*, soliciting him to send them *Meberdates*, since they could no longer bear with *Gotarzes*, whose cruelties had rendered him odious to all his subjects.

Gotarzes.

Meberdates set up against him by the Parthian nobility, and supported by the emperor Claudius.

- c *Claudius* readily complied with their request, and having exhorted *Meberdates* to govern with equity and moderation, blessings, said he, unknown to barbarians, and thence the more likely to please them, he dismissed him, together with the ambassadors; and at the same time wrote to *Caius Cassius*, governor of *Syria*, injoining him to attend the young prince to the banks of the *Euphrates*. As soon as *Meberdates* arrived in *Syria*, *Cassius*, agreeable to his instructions, drew together his legions, and marched with him to *Zeugma*, where the river was then fordable. There he encamped, and being joined by *Abgarus* king of *Edeffa*, and such of the *Parthian* chiefs as privately favoured *Meberdates*, he exhorted, in their presence, the new king to press on the execution of his design without delay, lest the *Parthians* should in the mean time change their mind, as it had often happened, and cooling in their affections to him, retire home, or join his competitor. This advice, the best that could be given him, was frustrated by the treachery of *Abgarus*, who had, in appearance, espoused the interest of *Meberdates*, but was in reality intirely attached to *Gotarzes*; and therefore detained the young king many days at *Edeffa*, tho' *Carrhanes*, a leading man among the *Parthians*, and a sincere friend to *Meberdates*, pressed him, by frequent messages, to advance with all possible expedition, and assured him, that if he only shewed himself, he would be joined by great multitudes; but *Meberdates*, neglecting the advice of his friends, followed that only of the treacherous *Abgarus*,

Meberdates betrayed by Abgarus king of Edeffa.

- e who prevailed upon him to march a great way about, and instead of entering *Mesopotamia*, tho' he was on the borders of that country, to pass through *Armenia*, which, as winter was already begun, was in great part covered with snow. As they came down into the champaign country, wearied with the deep snow and steep mountains, *Carrhanes* joined them with his forces. Thence they crossed the *Tigris*, passed thro' the country of the *Adiabeniens*, and advancing to the city of *Ninos*, the ancient seat of the kings of *Assyria*, made themselves matters of that place, as they did likewise of the strong castle of *Arbela*, so famous in history, on account of the signal victory gained there by *Alexander* over *Darius*. In the mean time *Gotarzes*, having offered sacrifices on mount *Sambulos* to the gods of the place, especially to *Hercules*, came and encamped in the plain, with the river *Carma* between him and the enemy. *Meberdates* endeavoured, by daily insults and haughty messages, to draw him to a battle; but he declined it, soliciting in the mean time, by his emissaries, the friends of *Meberdates* to abandon and betray him: and herein he was attended with all the success he could have wished for; for first *Izates* king of the *Adiabeniens*, and afterwards *Abgarus* king of the *Edeffans*, went over to him, with all the forces under their command. *Meberdates* seeing himself thus forsaken by his allies, and mistrusting those who remained, resolved, as his only recourse, to commit the issue to chance, and risque a battle, which *Gotarzes* no longer avoided, his army being now as much strengthened

* *TACIT. ibid.*

His army de-
parted, and
himself taken
prisoner.

Vonones.

Vologeses.

His wars with
the Romans.

as his enemy's was weakened. Both parties engaged with the utmost fury, and the victory continued doubtful, till *Carrhanes* having put to flight one of the enemy's wings, and pursuing it too far, was surrounded by a body of reserve, which prevented him from returning to the assistance of *Meherdates*; who thereupon being intirely defeated, and so hemmed in, that he could not make his escape, surrendered himself to one *Parrhaces*, a dependent of his father's, by whom he was immediately loaded with fetters, and delivered up to the conqueror. *Gotarzes* looking upon him not as one of the race of *Arfaces*, but as a *Roman* and foreigner, ordered his ears to be cut off, in contempt of the *Romans*, but granted him his life to shew his clemency ^b.

NOT long after *Gotarzes* died, and was succeeded by *Vonones*, at that time governor of *Media*, whose reign was short and inglorious; for he did nothing which writers have thought worth transmitting to posterity. Upon the death of *Vonones*, the crown of *Parthia* devolved upon *Vologeses* the son of *Gotarzes*, according to *Josephus*, of *Vonones*, according to *Tacitus*. In the very beginning of his reign he invaded *Armenia* with a powerful army, and having, without opposition, made himself master of *Artaxata* and *Tigranocerta*, the two chief cities of that kingdom, he obliged *Rhadamistus* the *Iberian*, who had usurped the crown, to save himself in *Iberia*. Upon his retreat, *Vologeses* declared his brother *Tiridates* king of *Armenia*, having before appointed his other brother, by name *Pacorus*, king of *Media*; for *Tiridates* and *Pacorus* had yielded the crown of *Parthia* to him, tho' born of a *Greek* concubine; whence he thought it incumbent upon him to procure a crown for those, who had so generously parted with one for his sake. But while he was in *Armenia*, a plague breaking out in his army, occasioned chiefly by want of provisions, he was forced to relinquish his conquests, and retire into his own dominions. Hereupon *Domitius Corbulo* entering *Armenia*, drove out *Tiridates*, with the few *Parthian* forces that had continued with him, and placed on that throne *Tigranes* the *Cappadocian*, as we have related in the history of *Armenia*. This affront *Vologeses* could not brook, and therefore having publickly, and with great solemnity, crowned *Tiridates* king of *Armenia*, he dispatched *Moneses*, one of his generals, with a strong body of chosen horse and *Adiabeanian* auxiliaries, injoining him to drive out *Tigranes*, and recover *Armenia*, which had been long held by, and therefore belonged to the princes of the family of *Arfaces*. As for himself, ^d he dropped his expedition against the *Hyrceanians*, who had lately revolted; and having drawn together a mighty army, began to make the necessary preparations for a descent on the *Roman* provinces. *Corbulo*, whom *Nero* had charged with the defence of *Armenia*, was no sooner acquainted with the measures taken by *Vologeses*, than he sent two legions to the assistance of *Tigranes*, under the command of *Verulanus Severus* and *Vettius Bolanus*, with private injunctions to act rather with caution than eagerness and dispatch; for he was more desirous, as *Tacitus* observes, of keeping a war on foot, than bringing it to a speedy conclusion; besides, he had wrote to *Nero*, that another general was necessary to defend *Armenia*, since *Syria* was threatened with a terrible storm from *Vologeses*. In the mean time he posted the remaining legions along the banks of the *Euphrates*, and having raised new forces in the province, placed guards at all the passes, and erected forts over the several fountains, to prevent the enemy from having any water in that dry and sandy country.

WHILE *Corbulo* was thus busied in securing *Syria*, *Moneses* advanced by long marches towards *Armenia*, hoping to surprize *Tigranes*: but, with all his expedition, he found that prince well guarded against him; for he had furnished the strong city of *Tigranocerta* with all manner of provisions and warlike stores, and retired into it with all his forces. *Moneses*, after having attempted in vain to reduce it, withdrew, and began to lay waste the country. Hereupon *Corbulo*, who was unwilling to engage in a war with the *Parthians*, lest he should lose the reputation he had hitherto gained, ^f sent ambassadors to *Vologeses*, to expostulate with him for falling upon a *Roman* province, for besieging a king who was a friend and ally of the *Roman* people, and for ravaging a country which *Rome* had taken under her protection. At the same time he gave him to understand, that if he did not forthwith abandon the siege of *Tigranocerta*, he would look upon it as an infraction of the treaties subsisting between the *Parthians* and *Romans*, and in his turn invade the *Parthian* territories. *Vologeses*, as he did not care to provoke *Corbulo*, who had acquired great fame by his military exploits, answered with great moderation, that he would send ambassadors to *Rome*,

^b Idem ibid. & l. xii. c. 14.

- a to beg of *Nero* the kingdom of *Armenia*, and to renew the alliance made by his ancestors with the people of *Rome*. Agreeable to this answer he immediately dispatched messengers to *Moneses*, ordering him to raise the siege of *Tigranocerta*; and retired himself with all his forces into the heart of his dominions, to wait there for the return of the ambassadors he had sent to *Rome*. The emperor *Nero* received them in a very obliging manner, but refused to renew his ancient alliance with the *Parthians*, unless they renounced all pretensions to the crown of *Armenia*. This answer so incensed *Vologeses*, that he immediately drew again all his forces together, with a design to invade *Syria*; but finding the banks of the *Euphrates* strongly guarded by *Corbulo*, he turned all his efforts against *Armenia*; where he gained those advantages over *Cesennius Petus*, which we have related at length in the history of that kingdom. However, he consented at last, dreading the consequence of a war with the *Romans*, that his brother *Tiridates* should go in person to *Rome*, and there receive the crown of *Armenia* as a gift from *Nero*; which he did accordingly. By this means the ancient alliance between the two empires was renewed, and the affairs of the east settled in peace¹. From this time no further mention is made of *Vologeses*, till the beginning of the reign of *Vespasian*, to whom he sent ambassadors, offering to assist him with forty thousand *Parthian* horse². *Vespasian*, as he was already settled on the throne, did not accept of the succours offered him; but renewing all the ancient treaties with the *Parthians*, dismissed the ambassadors, loaded with presents, and maintained, during the reign of *Vologeses*, a good understanding with the *Parthian* nation. *Vologeses* being now disengaged from all foreign and domestic wars, applied himself to the building of a city, which, from his own name, he called *Vologesocerta*, or, the city of *Vologeses*; but was prevented by death from completing the work he had begun.

- He was succeeded by his son *Artabanus III.* who falling out with *Vespasian*, espoused the cause of the counterfeit *Nero*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in the history of *Rome*. However, the emperor did not think it advisable to resent the affront, for fear of kindling a new war in the east, the kingdom of *Parthia* being at that time in a very flourishing condition, and the *Roman* provinces greatly weakened by a late irruption of the *Alani*, a barbarous people of *Scythia*, inhabiting the countries bordering on the river *Tanais* and the lake *Meotis*. *Artabanus* had formed a design of invading *Armenia*; but died before he could put it in execution³. Upon his death, his son *Pacorus II.* was raised to the throne; but all we know of him is, that he entered into an alliance with *Decebalus* king of the *Daci*, and maintained, during the whole time of his reign, which is said to have been very long, a strict friendship with the *Romans*⁴. He was succeeded by his brother *Cosdroes*, who invading *Armenia*, drove out *Exadares*, who had been appointed king of that country by the emperor *Trajan*, and in his room placed his eldest son *Partabamafiris* on the throne. As this was an open infraction of the treaties subsisting between the two empires, *Trajan* hastened into the east, with a design to humble the *Parthians*, who relying on their victories formerly gained over the *Romans*, were daily raising new disturbances in *Syria* and *Armenia*, and making incursions into the *Roman* provinces bordering on their dominions. His arrival in *Armenia* was so sudden and unexpected, that he reduced the whole country almost without opposition, and took *Partabamafiris* himself prisoner. Animated with these successes, he entered *Mesopotamia*; and having there besieged and taken the strong city of *Nisibis*, after many skirmishes and encounters, he made himself master of that opulent country, never before subject to *Rome*. From *Mesopotamia*, which he reduced to a *Roman* province, he returned, in the beginning of the winter, into *Syria*, whence he acquainted the senate with the success that had attended his arms against the *Parthians*, and was by them honoured with the surnames of *Armenicus* and *Particus*⁵.

- f EARLY in the spring he took the field again; but was warmly opposed by *Cosdroes*, whom he found encamped on the banks of the *Euphrates*, with a design to dispute his passage; which he did with such vigour, that the emperor, after having several times attempted to ford that river, and been always repulsed with great slaughter, was obliged to cause boats to be built on the neighbouring mountains, which he privately conveyed from thence on carriages to the water-side; and having in the night-time formed a bridge with them, he passed his army the next day, but not

¹ TACIT. *ibid.*
P. LIN. *epist.* l. 5.

² TACIT. *hist.* l. vi.

³ XIPHILIN. in *Orbone*.

⁴ SUIDAS, voce *ΩΝΤΩΝ*.

⁵ SEXT. RUF. in *breviar.* THEODOS. MIN. SPARTIAN. in *Trajan*.

without great loss and danger, the *Parthians* harassing his men the whole time with incessant showers of arrows, which did great execution. Having gained the opposite bank, he advanced boldly into *Assyria*, the *Parthians* flying every-where before him, and made himself master of *Arbela*. Thence he pursued his march, subduing, with incredible rapidity, countries, where the *Roman* standards had never been displayed before. *Babylonia*, or the province of *Babylon*, voluntarily submitted to him. The city itself was, after a vigorous resistance, taken by storm; by which means he became master of all *Chaldea* and *Assyria*, the two richest provinces of the *Parthian* empire. From *Babylon* he marched to *Ctesiphon*, the metropolis of the *Parthian* monarchy, which he besieged, and at last reduced. But as to the particulars of these great conquests, we are quite in the dark, this expedition, however glorious to the *Roman* name, being rather hinted at, than described by the writers of those times. While *Trajan* was thus making war in the heart of the enemy's country, *Cosdroes*, having recruited his army, marched into *Mesopotamia*, with a design to recover that country, and cut off all communication between the *Roman* army and *Syria*. On his arrival in that province, the inhabitants flocked to him from all parts, and most of the cities, driving out the garisons left by *Trajan*, opened their gates to him. Hereupon the emperor detached *Lucius* and *Maximus*, two of his chief commanders, into *Mesopotamia*, to keep such cities in awe as had not revolted, and to open a communication with *Syria*. *Maximus* was met by *Cosdroes*, and having ventured a battle, his army was intirely defeated, and himself killed. But *Lucius*, being joined by *Euricius* and *Clarius*, two other commanders sent by *Trajan* with fresh supplies, gained considerable advantages over the enemy, and retook the cities of *Nisibis* and *Seleucia*, which had revolted. And now *Trajan*, seeing himself possessed of all the best and most fruitful provinces of the *Parthian* empire, but at the same time being well apprised that he could not, without a vast expence, maintain his conquests, nor keep in awe so fierce and warlike a people at such a distance from *Italy*, resolved to set over them a king of his own choosing, who should hold the crown of him and his successors, and acknowledge them as his lords and sovereigns. With this view he repaired to *Ctesiphon*, and having there assembled the chief men of the nation, he crowned one of the royal family, by name *Parthaspates*, king of *Parthia*, obliging all who were present to pay him their allegiance. He chose *Parthaspates*, because that prince had joined him at his first entering the *Parthian* dominions, conducted him with great fidelity, and shewn on all occasions an extraordinary attachment to the *Romans*. Thus the *Parthians* were at last subdued, and their kingdom made tributary to *Rome*. But they did not long continue in this state of subjection; for they no sooner heard of *Trajan's* death, which happened soon after, than taking up arms, they drove *Parthaspates* from the throne, and recalling *Cosdroes*, who had retired into the country of the *Hyrcanians*, openly revolted from *Rome*. *Adrian*, who was then commander in chief of all the forces in the east, and soon after acknowledged emperor by the army, did not care, tho' he was at that time in *Syria* with a very numerous army, to engage in a new war with the *Parthians*; but contented himself with preserving the ancient limits of the empire, without any ambitious prospects of farther conquests: therefore, in the beginning of his reign, he abandoned those provinces beyond the *Euphrates*, which *Trajan* had conquered, withdrew the *Roman* garisons from *Mesopotamia*, and, for the greater safety of other places, made the *Euphrates* the boundary of and barrier in those parts, posting his legions along the banks of that river. Some writers are of opinion, that he did this out of a secret envy to his uncle *Trajan's* glory and reputation; but others commend it as a very politic and prudent action, the maintaining of those distant conquests being attended with many inconveniencies, and no advantages to the empire. Before he left *Antioch* to return to *Rome*, in order to keep the *Parthians* quiet, he dismissed their prisoners without ransom, and, among the rest, the daughter of *Cosdroes*, who had been taken by *Trajan*. *Cosdroes*, in return for these favours, never offered to disturb the *Romans* in the possession of the provinces bordering on his dominions; but shewed himself always ready to assist them as his best friends and allies.

Vologeses II.

Cosdroes died after a long reign, and was succeeded by his eldest son *Vologeses*; in whose reign the *Alani* breaking into *Media*, then subject to the *Parthians*, committed there great devastations; but were prevailed upon, with rich presents sent them by

• THEODOS. MIN. in frag. SPARTIAN. XIPHILIN. ibid. PAUL. DIACON. hist. miscell.

- ^a *Vologeses*, to abandon that kingdom, and return home. Upon their retreat, *Vologeses* having no enemy to contend with at home, fell unexpectedly upon *Armenia*, surprized the legions there, and having cut them in pieces all to a man, entered *Syria*, defeated with great slaughter *Attilius Cornelianus* governor of that province, and advanced; without opposition, to the neighbourhood of *Antioch*, putting every-where the *Romans*, and those who favoured them, to the sword. Hereupon the emperor *Verus*; by the advice of his colleague *Antoninus*, surnamed *the Philosopher*, leaving *Rome*; hastened into *Syria*, and having driven the *Parthians* out of that province, ordered *Statius Priscus* to invade *Armenia*, and *Cassius*, with *Martius Verus*, to enter the *Parthian* territories, and carry the war into the enemy's country. *Priscus* made himself master of *Artaxata*, and in one campaign drove the *Parthians*, tho' not without great loss on his side, quite out of *Armenia*. *Cassius*, on the other hand, having in several encounters defeated *Vologeses*, tho' he had an army of four hundred thousand men under his command, reduced, in four years time, all those provinces which had formerly submitted to *Trajan*, took *Seleucia*, burnt and plundered the famous cities of *Babylon* and *Ctesiphon*, with the stately palaces of the *Parthian* monarchs, and struck terror into the most remote provinces of that great empire. On his return, he lost above half the number of his forces by sickness and famine; so that after all, the *Romans*, as *Spartianus* observes, had no great reason to brag of their victories and conquests. However, *Antoninus Verus*, who had never stirred, during the whole time of the war, from *Antioch* and *Daphne*, took upon him the lofty titles of *Parthicus* and *Armenicus*, as if he had justly acquired them in the midst of his pleasures and debaucheries ^p. We are told, that some of *Cassius's* soldiers, in pillaging the temple of *Apollo* at *Babylon*, found under ground a small golden coffer, which, upon their opening it, cast forth such pestilential vapours, as infected all those who were present, and by their means the rest of the army. As *Verus*, on his return to *Italy*, took *Cassius's* forces along with him, he carried the plague into all the provinces thro' which he passed, and spread the infection through *Italy*, whence it was communicated to the most remote parts of the empire, and every-where attended with great mortality. After the revolt and death of *Cassius*, which we shall have occasion to speak of
- ^d in the history of the *Roman* emperors, *Antoninus the Philosopher* repaired into *Syria*, to settle the affairs of that province, and was, on his arrival, met by ambassadors from *Vologeses*, who having recovered most of the provinces subdued by *Cassius*, and being unwilling either to part with them, or engage in a new war, solicited the emperor to confirm him in the possession of them, promising to hold them of him, and to acknowledge the sovereignty of *Rome*. To these terms *Antoninus* readily agreed, and a peace was accordingly concluded between the two empires, which *Vologeses* did not long enjoy, being soon after carried off by a distemper, and not murdered by his own subjects, as we read in *Constantinus Manasses*, who calls him *Belegeses*.

- UPON his death *Vologeses III.* the son of his brother *Sanatruces*, and grandson of *Vologeses III.*
- ^c *Cosdroes*, was raised to the throne. He sided with *Niger* against the emperor *Severus*, who thereupon, having settled matters at home, marched with all his forces against him, and advancing to the city of *Ctesiphon*, whither he had retired, laid close siege to that metropolis. *Vologeses* made a most gallant defence; but the city, after a long siege, and much bloodshed on both sides, was at length taken by assault. The king's treasures, with his wives and children, fell into the emperor's hands; but *Vologeses* himself had the good luck to make his escape, which was a great disappointment to *Severus*, who immediately dispatched an express to acquaint the senate with the success that had attended him in his expedition against the only nation that was then formidable to *Rome*. He sent likewise a particular description of the countries, cities, rivers and mountains he had passed, and of the battles he had fought, all drawn and painted upon tables; for which the surnames of *Parthicus*, *Arabicus* and *Adiabanicus* were decreed him. But he had no sooner crossed the *Euphrates*, than *Vologeses* recovered all the provinces, except *Mesopotamia*, which he had reduced. These expeditions were very chargeable to the *Romans*, and cost them much blood, without their reaping any advantages from them; for as they had not sufficient forces to keep in awe the provinces they had subdued, the inhabitants, greatly attached to the family of *Arjaces*, never failed to return to their ancient obedience as soon as the *Roman* armies were withdrawn. *Vologeses* was soon after engaged in a war still more trouble-
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^p EUSEB. in chron. ZONAR. l. iv. OROS. hist. miscel. THEODOS. MIN. ibid.

some and destructive with his brother *Artabanus*, who, encouraged by some of the discontented nobles, attempted to rob him of the crown, and place it on his own head. *Volageses* gained several victories over his brother and rebellious subjects; but died before he could restore the empire to its former tranquillity.

Artabanus IV. *Artabanus*, who had a numerous army at his devotion, did not meet with any opposition in seizing the throne vacant by the death of his brother, tho' *Tiridates* had a better title to it, as being his elder brother. He had scarce settled the affairs of his kingdom, when the emperor *Caracalla*, desirous to signalize himself, as several of his predecessors had done, by some memorable exploit against the *Parthians*, sent a solemn embassy to him, desiring his daughter in marriage. *Artabanus*, overjoyed at this proposal, which, he thought, would be attended with a lasting peace between the two empires, received the ambassadors with all possible marks of honour, and readily complied with their request. Soon after *Caracalla* sent a second embassy, to acquaint the king, that he was coming to solemnize the nuptials: whereupon *Artabanus* went to meet him, attended with the flower of the nobility, and his best troops, all unarmed, and in most pompous habits; but this peaceable train no sooner approached the *Roman* army, than the soldiers, on a signal given them, falling upon the king's retinue, made a most terrible slaughter of the unarmed multitude, *Artabanus* himself escaping with great difficulty. The treacherous *Caracalla*, having gained by this exploit great booty, and, as he thought, no less glory, wrote a long and boasting letter to the senate, assuming the title of *Parthicus* for this piece of treachery, as he had before that of *Germanicus*, for murdering in like manner some of the *German* nobility. *Artabanus*, resolving to make the *Romans* pay dear for their inhuman and barbarous treachery, raised the most numerous army that had ever been on foot in *Parthia*, crossed the *Euphrates*, and entered *Syria*, putting all to fire and sword; but *Caracalla* being murdered before this invasion, *Macrinus*, who had succeeded him, met the *Parthians* at the head of a mighty army, composed of many legions, and all the auxiliaries of the states of *Asia*. The two armies no sooner came in sight of each other, but they engaged with the utmost fury. The battle continued two days, both *Romans* and *Parthians* fighting so obstinately, that night only parted them, without any apparent advantage on either side, tho' both retired, when night had put an end to the contest, crying, *Victory, victory*. The field of battle was covered all over with dead bodies, there being already above forty thousand killed, including both *Romans* and *Parthians*; nevertheless *Artabanus* was heard to say, that the battle was only begun, and that he would continue it till either the *Parthians* or *Romans* were all to a man cut in pieces. But *Macrinus*, being well apprised, that the king came highly enraged against *Caracalla* in particular, and dreading the consequences which would attend the destruction of his army, sent a herald to *Artabanus*, acquainting him with the death of *Caracalla*, and proposing an alliance between the two empires. The king, understanding that his great enemy was dead, readily embraced the proposals of peace and amity, upon condition that all the prisoners, who had been taken by the treachery of *Caracalla*, should be immediately restored, and a large sum of money paid him to defray the expences of the war. These articles being performed without delay or hesitation, *Artabanus* returned into *Parthia*, and *Macrinus* to *Antioch*.

The Persians revolt.

As *Artabanus* lost on this occasion the flower of his army, *Artaxerxes*, a *Persian* of a mean descent, but of great courage and experience in war, revolting from the *Parthians*, prevailed upon his countrymen to join him, and attempt the recovery of the sovereign power, which, he said, they had been unjustly deprived of, first by the *Macedonians*, and afterwards by the *Parthians*, formerly their vassals. *Artabanus*, upon the news of this revolt, marched with the whole strength of his kingdom to suppress it; but being met by *Artaxerxes*, at the head of a no less powerful army, a bloody battle ensued, which is said to have lasted three days. At length the *Parthians*, tho' they behaved with the utmost bravery, and fought like men in despair, were forced to yield to the *Persians*, who were commanded by a more experienced leader. Most of their troops were cut off in the flight, and the king himself taken prisoner, and soon after put to death by *Artaxerxes's* orders. The *Parthians*, having lost in this fatal engagement both their king and their army, were forced to submit to the conqueror, and become vassals to a nation, which had been subject to them for

Defeat the Parthians, kill their king, and put an end to the Parthian empire.

* THEODORE. MEN. ubi supra. ZONAR. l. iv. SOZOMEN. histor. tripart. l. iii. c. 1.

- a the space of four hundred and seventy-five years. Thus was this gallant and warlike nation subdued at last, and the empire once more transferred to the *Persians*; whose kings reigns, till they were in their turn reduced by the *Arabs*, will be the subject of the following section. However, the royal family of *Arfaces* did not end in *Artabanus*, but continued to reign in *Armenia*, till the time of the emperor *Justinian*, holding that kingdom of the *Persian* monarchs, to whom the *Arfacide* of *Armenia* were tributaries. Among these we find the following princes mentioned in history, *Arfaces*, *Teridates*, *Artabazdes*, *Teridates II.* *Arfaces II.* *Paras*, *Tigranes*, and *Arfaces III.* all descended from *Arfaces*, brother to *Artabanus IV.* the last king of *Parthia*. But of *Armenia*, and the princes who reigned there after that country became subject to the
- b *Persians*, we shall have occasion to speak in the next section.

C H A P. XIII.

S E C T. I.

The history of the Persians, from their recovering the empire from the Parthians, to their being subdued by the Arabs.

According to the Greek and Latin authors.

- c **T**HE reader hath before seen, after what manner, and how long, the *Persians* were subject to the *Parthian* princes. We are here to speak of their achievements after they had again rendered themselves independent; and not only so, but lords also of many spacious provinces, and the first nation in the east. As we have no regular history of *Persia* by any *Greek* or *Latin* writer, what we offer to the reader in this section, is collected as carefully as might be, from such as have occasionally mentioned the *Persian* affairs. These passages we have digested into their natural order; and, if there be any omissions, they will be supplied in the next article, wherein we shall treat of the same period from the *Oriental* historians (A).

(A) There is no branch of the *Universal History* which more clearly evinces the general usefulness of this work, or the peculiar symmetry of its parts, than this before us. All the general histories that have been published in our own, or in other modern languages, are strangely deficient in this article. We have either a loose, unsatisfactory account of the passing of the empire of the east from the *Parthians* to the *Persians*, and from them to the *Arabs*; or we have such a chronological table of their kings, as that inserted in our text, with a few remarks thereon from *Scaliger's chronicon*, or some other collection; and so we are hurried to another subject. It must be owned, that there are some particular relations which promise fairer, and perform more than is either expected or done by the compilers of general histories; but then we can very truly affirm, that even these fall very far short of the following account. The learned (1) *Bizarus*, whose history of the *Persian* affairs is deservedly esteemed the best extant, takes all that he hath relating to this period from a very few *Latin* and *Greek* authors; so that, for very want of materials, he is forced to draw in the *Roman* affairs, and other matters still more so; nay, he once digressed so far as to mention *William the Conqueror*, and compliment *Queen Elizabeth* (2). One might say much more as to other compendiums of *Persian* history (3); but we desire not to prejudice the works of others, or to give any more than a fair account of our own.

We have divided the history of this period into two parts. The first is composed of such materials as the *Latin* and *Greek* writers furnish, particularly that noble collection which goes under the name of the *Byzantine historians*, whence we have taken ten times as much as hath appeared in any modern language, and, by assembling a multitude of divided passages, have presented the public with something that looks like a connected history. Whereas *Bizarus* found himself so destitute of matter, that, in his history of the *Persian* affairs, he makes the reigns of the *Roman* emperors his rule, and refers the series of *Persian* monarchs to a table. The second part is truly taken from *Oriental* writers; but more especially from *Mirkhond*; and what is related therein is so necessary a supplement to what the first part contained, that, without it, there would not only remained a visible imperfection, but, in many places, it would have been unintelligible; because the *Greek* writers, out of a perverse humour, wilfully misrepresent the manners, customs, and literature of the *Oriental* nations. The comparison therefore of these distinct histories will illustrate each of them, and enable the intelligent reader perfectly to comprehend both; whereby this wide chasm will be in some measure filled up, and this period of *Persian* history no longer remain, as it hitherto hath done, under an impenetrable obscurity.

(1) *Rerum Persicarum historia, initia gentis, mores, instituta, resque gestas ad hac usque tempora complectens*: auctore Petro Bizaro Sensinase. fol. Francofurti, A. D. 1601. (2) *Hist. rer. Persic. l. v. p. 137.* (3) *Bartholin. Keckermannus, de monarch. Persar. Tom. II. Oper. ejusd. auctor. in fol. Genev. 1614. Racine. comment. de reb. Persic. ap. hist. Jul. Schicard. casol. reg. Persar.*

A TABLE of the *Persian* kings.

	Years.	Months.		Years.	Months.
<i>Artaxares</i> - - - -	14	10	<i>Vararanes VI.</i> - - - -	17	4
<i>Sapores</i> - - - -	31		<i>Perozes</i> - - - -	20	
<i>Ormisdates</i> - - - -	1	10 days.	<i>Valens</i> - - - -	4	
<i>Vararanes</i> - - - -	3		<i>Cavadēs</i> - - - -	11	
<i>Vararanes II.</i> - - - -	17		<i>Zambades</i> - - - -	8	
<i>Vararanes III.</i> - - - -	00	4	<i>Cavadēs</i> - - - -	30	
<i>Narjes</i> - - - -	7	9	<i>Cosroes</i> - - - -	48	
<i>Misdates</i> - - - -	-	-	<i>Hormisdas</i> - - - -	8	
<i>Sapores II.</i> - - - -	70		<i>Cosroes II.</i> - - - -	39	
<i>Artaxerxes</i> - - - -	4		<i>Siroes</i> - - - -	1	
<i>Sapores III.</i> - - - -	5		<i>Adbesyr</i> - - - -	00	2
<i>Vararanes IV. or Cermanſaa</i>	11		<i>Sarbaras</i> - - - -	00	6
<i>Iſſigertes</i> - - - -	21		<i>Bornarim</i> - - - -	00	7
<i>Vararanes V.</i> - - - -	20		<i>Hormisdas</i> - - - -	10	

Artaxares.
Year of Chriſt
230.

Artaxares, or, as he is sometimes called, *Artaxerxes*, the restorer of the *Persian* kingdom, was not only a private person, but of spurious birth, as we are informed by *Agathias* (B). His mother was married to one *Pabecus* or *Pabec*, who was either a tanner or a shoemaker, but withal a person well skilled in judiciary astrology. It happened, that one *Safanus*; or *Sasan*, a military officer, travelling through the country of the *Caduceans*, took up his lodging in the house of this *Pabec*, tho' it was a very mean one. *Pabec*, by his art, perceiving, that a person begotten by this stranger, would become the head of a most potent family, and also arrive at regal honours, he began to fret within himself, because he had neither sister, daughter, nor cousin in the house. At length his ambition getting the better of his sense of shame, he caused his wife to go to bed to *Sasan*, who begat on her *Artaxares*. When afterwards *Artaxares* came to be king, *Pabec* and *Sasan* each claimed him for a son; whereupon the story became public, and it was agreed, that he should be styled the son of *Pabec* of the seed of *Sasan* *. *Artaxares* from his youth addicted himself to a military life, and having attained to great skill, and no less reputation in the wars, he projected the delivery of his countrymen from the *Partbian* yoke. In pursuance of this design, he wrought them to a general revolt; and having in three battles routed, and in the last slain the *Partbian* monarch, he assumed the double diadem, and the pompous title of *king of kings*. He was, as all authors agree, a man of great abilities, and undaunted spirit, or, in other words, a person of great courage, and unbounded ambition ^b.

* AGATH. SCHOLAST. hist. de reb. gest. Justinian. imperat. edid. Paris. l. ii. p. 65. l. iv. p. 134. ^b HERODIAN. hist. l. vi. ^{EL. LANPRID.} in vit. Aurel. Alexand. Sever. Oros. hist. l. vii. c. 11. NICEPHOR. hist. ecclef. l. i. c. 6. GREGOR. ABUL-PHAR. hist. dynast. dyn. 7. p. 186.

(B) As we have taken the foregoing table chiefly from *Agathias*, and as we have generally preferred his authority, where-ever he speaks decisively, it is necessary we should say something of the merit of this author. He was a native of *Marina*, and addicted himself to the study of the law; and as those who dedicated their time to the acquirement of that science, studied mostly in colleges, he came from thence to be called *Scholasticus* (4), which the learned *Vossius* will have to signify the same as *advocatus* (5). He was a poet and a historian; but it is in his last capacity only that we have to do with him. He was, it seems, so pleased with *Procopius's* memoirs of the *Persic* wars, that he resolved to continue them, which he did in the history we yet have, divided into five books. In the fourth of these he takes occasion to mention one *Sergius*, who was so well skilled in the *Persian* tongue, as to be on that account in great favour with *Cosroes* the first. This man make-

ing several journies into *Persia*, and having many opportunities of conversing with the learned of that nation, procured, by their favour, the perusal of the royal annals; from whence he made many extracts, which, at his earnest desire, he communicated to *Agathias*. These were, in that historian's opinion, of so great weight, that he preferred them to the memoirs of *Procopius*, differing from him to follow them; which shews, that he was thoroughly convinced of their authority. From these extracts he drew up a short, but very peripicuous and exact account of all the *Persian* monarchs, from *Artaxares*, who recovered the kingdom from the *Partbians*, to *Cosroes*, with whom himself was cotemporary (6). It is from this short account that we have taken the dates, and such other material circumstances, as, we thought, could not be had with the same probability of exactness from other historians, who wrote from later and less authentic memoirs.

(4) *Agath. Scholast. prefat. ad l. iſt.*
p. 140. 141.

(5) *De hiſtor. Græc. l. ii. p. 270.*

(6) *Agath. Schol. hiſt. l. iv.*

- a HE was no sooner seated on the throne, than he formed a design of restoring the Persian empire to its ancient glory; and having caused the necessary preparations to be set on foot, he gave notice to the Roman governors of the provinces bordering on his dominions, that he conceived himself to have a just and unquestionable title, as the successor of *Cyrus*, to all the *Lesser Asia*, which he commanded them immediately to quit, as well as the provinces on the frontiers of the ancient *Partbian* kingdom, which was already his. *Alexander Severus* was at this time the possessor of the Roman empire, a very youth, under the tutelage of his mother, and one who had hitherto dwelt always at *Rome*; he was therefore unwilling to engage in a war, especially if it might be avoided; and for that reason sent letters to *Artaxares*, importing, that
- b he would do wisely to keep within bounds, and not, out of vain hopes of conquest, to enterprize new wars, which might not be attended with the same success as formerly; that, in the present case, he ought to consider he was not to deal with barbarians, or with a nation unused to war, but with the *Romans*, whose emperors, *Augustus*, *Trajan*, and *Severus*, had often vanquished the *Partbians*. The Persian king had little regard to these letters; on the contrary, he began to raise a great army, and to attack the fortified posts of the *Romans* on the river *Euphrates*, making such a progress in the reduction of the adjacent provinces, that the emperor *Alexander*, how unwilling soever he might be, was constrained to raise an army, and to march towards *Mesopotamia*, in order to give a check to the Persian power ^c.
- c *Artaxares* was employed in the siege of *Nisibis* or *Antiochia*, when he received the news of *Alexander's* marching towards him; upon which he thought proper to raise his siege, that he might recruit and refresh his army. He sent however deputies or ambassadors, if we may be allowed to call four hundred persons by that title, whom he selected for their extraordinary stature, and great strength; and having furnished them with rich habits, and fine horses, he gave them commission, when they should be introduced to the emperor's presence, to speak thus: *The great king Artaxares commands the Romans, and their prince, to depart out of all Syria and Asia Minor, and to restore to the Persians all the countries on this side the Ægean and Pontic seas, as of right descending to them from their ancestors* ^d.
- d THESE heralds or ambassadors performed their commission very exactly; which so highly irritated *Alexander*, who was otherwise a prince of the gentlest disposition, that he ordered all their equipage to be taken from them, and sent them into *Phrygia*, where he assigned them farms, which they might cultivate for their subsistence. This done, he advanced into *Mesopotamia*, which he recovered in a great measure without fighting. Historians differ so much in the accounts they give us of the subsequent parts of this war, that it is almost impossible to reconcile them. We shall however relate what appears to us most probable, and give our readers our reasons in a note ^e.
- e *Artaxares* advanced with his forces into *Mesopotamia*, as soon as he thought himself strong enough to give the enemy battle. His army consisted of a hundred and twenty thousand horse, ten thousand heavy-armed soldiers, eighteen hundred chariots with scythes, and seven hundred elephants. *Alexander* however did not decline fighting. An engagement ensued, in which the *Romans* were victorious, and *Artaxares* was compelled to retire into the heart of his dominions, where, with great assiduity, he applied himself to the recruiting and restoring his army. On the other hand, the Roman emperor divided his forces into three bodies; the first, marching through *Armenia*, had orders to penetrate into *Media*; the second marched over the marshes, to enter the *Partbian* dominions on the other side; the third, which was the greatest, and which the emperor commanded in person, was to have fallen into the heart of *Artaxares's* dominions; and if this scheme had been thoroughly executed, in all probability the Persian power would not only have been weakened, but even brought to the very verge of destruction ^f.
- THE body of troops which passed through *Armenia*, underwent great difficulties, and with very much fatigue arrived at last in *Media*. *Artaxares* quickly marched against them with a formidable army; but was not able to do much, for the country being uneven, the Roman foot had the better of his cavalry. While he was considering how these evils might be surmounted, he received advice of the other body of

Asserts his rights to all the provinces of the ancient Persian empire.

Sends an insolent message to the emperor Alexander.

His messengers rigorously treated.

Gives battle to, and is beaten by the Romans.

Restores his affairs by firmness and vigilance.

^c HERODIAN. & ÆL. LAMPRID. ubi supra.

^d ZONAR. hist. ad A.C. 230.

^e HERODIAN. & ÆL.

LAMPRID. ubi supra.

^f ZONAR. ubi supra.

HERODIAN. l. vii.

Romans breaking into his territories, which, in some measure, frustrated all his designs; however, having left guards sufficient to secure the passes, he marched with his forces against the new invaders. These troops, finding no enemy to oppose them, plundered all the country, and, proud of their spoils, would no longer be restrained under discipline; nay, at last they became so scandalously licentious, that they slew their commander in chief, *Flavius*, for endeavouring to restrain them, and for being more careful of their safety than they were themselves. In this situation the Persian king fell upon them, and rather destroyed than defeated them. The Roman emperor in the mean time being under feminine counsels, failed to perform the share he had taken to himself in this enterprize; which was the ruin of his army, the remains of which having joined the corps under his command, he returned first to *Antioch*, and then to *Rome*, where he triumphed, and was styled *Parthicus* and *Persicus*, with very little reason (C). *Artaxares* made the best use of his absence, recovering what he had lost, restoring the glory of the Persian name; and having reigned with much reputation, died with honour, and in peace, after enjoying the kingdom twelve years, or, as others say, fifteen years, abating two months &c.

Sapores.
Year of Christ
242.

He was succeeded in the throne by his son *Sapores*, or *Sapor*, a prince equally famous for strength of body, and abilities of mind, fierce and intractable in his nature, covetous of glory, haughty, insolent, and cruel. He was no sooner seated on the throne, than he began to meditate a new war with the Romans, to which he was encouraged by a traitor, who dwelt in his court. The name of this man was *Cyriades*, the son of another *Cyriades*, an eminent commander in the Roman army. This profligate son, of whom we are speaking, began his exploits with robbing his own father. He was naturally a voluptuous man; and therefore, as soon as he had possessed himself of this treasure, he withdrew into *Persia*, where he lived in that splendor and luxury, for which he had sacrificed his honour. In conjunction with *Odomastes* a Persian general, he wasted the adjoining provinces; and having at last prevailed on the king himself to take the field, *Cyriades*, with the deserters, who, for the sake of plunder, followed him, attacked the cities of *Antioch* and *Cæsarea Philippi*, both of which they were so lucky as to make themselves masters of; whereupon *Cyriades* took first the title of *Cæsar*, and then called himself emperor, acquiring, by degrees, dominions, revenues and forces, not altogether unworthy of that title^d.

* AGATH. SCHOLAST. l. iv. p. 134.

† TRABELL. POL. in hist. trigint. tyrann.

(C) Nothing can be more opposite than the account given by *Herodian* and *Ælius Lampridius* of the Persian war. We will give a concise account of what is said by each of them, and leave it to the intelligent reader to decide as he pleases. *Herodian* affirms, that, in the fourteenth year of *Alexander Severus*, letters came from the presidents of *Syria* and *Mesopotamia*, purporting, that *Artaxerxes* king of *Persia* had made an incursion into *Mesopotamia*, and threatened to invade *Syria*, claiming all the continent opposite to *Europe*, from the *Ægean* sea to the *Propontis*, as the ancient patrimony of the Persians. Upon this, after writing letters to no purpose to persuade the Persian to be quiet, the emperor *Alexander* marched into the east, where he divided his army, as we have related in our text, and by failing to perform what himself had undertaken, brought them all into a miserable situation; for which the army was so grievously offended with the emperor, that they openly said, he had most foully betrayed them. Upon this he led them back to *Antioch*, where he retailed the remains of them, distributed amongst them large sums of money; and perceiving, that the Romans who were slain in *Persia*, by selling their lives dear, had exceedingly weakened the enemy, he had thoughts of invading their territories again, when he had advice of the German rebellion, which compelled him to return into *Italy* (7). On the other hand, we are expressly told by the writer of the life of *Alexander Severus*, addressed to *Con-*

stantine the Great, that the Persians were intirely defeated, and a great number made prisoners. He likewise informs us, that he transcribed from the journal of the senate, a speech of the emperor's after his return, which hath abundance of extraordinary particulars. Amongst others, the emperor assures the senate, that *Artaxerxes* was not improperly styled the great king; that he brought seven hundred elephants into the field, of which three hundred were taken, and two hundred killed; that the Romans had cut to pieces an army of one hundred and twenty thousand horse, had sold a multitude of Persian prisoners, and that he had defeated the Persians in the plains where *Cæsar* had been overcome by the Parthians. He affirmed the same thing in gross to the people of *Rome*, and was thereupon complimented with the title of Conqueror of the Parthians and Persians (8). This author mentions *Herodian's* account, and also some other accounts less favourable to the emperor *Alexander* than his; but he thinks the authorities cited by himself sufficient to weigh down all they say. However, *Herodian*, we know, wrote only of such things as happened within his own life-time, and made it a rule with him to make every thing give way to truth. As for the author of this life addressed to *Constantine*, some will have him to be *Ælius Lampridius*, and again others attribute it to *Spartianus* (9); but, whoever writ it, it hath much the air of a panegyric, or at least of an apology.

(7) *Herodian. hist. l. vi. c. 6—16.*
l. ii. p. 192.

(8) *Æl. Lamprid. in vit. Alex. Sever.*

(9) *G. J. Voss. de*

a THE young emperor *Gordian*, when he had settled the affairs of the empire in the west, resolved to rescue the east also from the tyranny of pseudo-emperors, as well as from the terror of the *Persian* arms. With this view he marched into *Syria*, at the head of a great army; and as long as his father-in-law, whom some writers call *Mysibenus*, others *Timefokes*, lived, every thing went well. The *Persian* found himself constrained to withdraw into his own dominions, whither the emperor followed him, taking *Charra* or *Haran* in *Mesopotamia*; but while he was preparing to push his conquests still farther, he was murdered by the treachery of *Philip*, whom he had made captain of his guards, on the death of his father-in-law ¹.

His dominions invaded by the Romans.

b THIS *Philip*, having possessed himself of the sovereign authority, made peace with *Sapor*, and abandoned *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia* to him again. Part of these provinces, on the news of the senate's disapproving his conduct, he recovered again, without shewing any regard to his treaty; and leaving a sufficient number of troops to secure the frontiers, marched back into *Italy*. As soon as the *Roman* army was withdrawn, *Sapor* and *Cyriades* renewed their incursions; and the latter growing stronger than ever, began, in all respects, to be treated as an emperor. Indeed the *Roman* affairs were in such miserable confusion, that many, who would otherwise have opposed *Cyriades*, were now glad to be sheltered under his protection. At length however things began to take a new turn. *Valerian*, tho' he was seventy years old when he was advanced to the empire, yet spared he no pains to reduce all the numerous provinces thereof to a proper degree of obedience. While he was thus employed, first in the west, and then in the north, *Sapor*, with a numerous army, broke into the *Roman* territories, burnt and pillaged the country; and at length advancing as far as *Edeffa*, besieged it in form, one *Demosthenes*, who commanded therein, making a gallant resistance ².

Makes an advantageous peace.

c *Valerian* no sooner received advice of this, than he posted with the troops about his person to its relief. His approach gave new spirits to the distressed inhabitants of the *Roman* provinces, and disposed them to take all the necessary steps for compelling the *Persians* to retire into their own dominions. The soldiers of *Cyriades* mutinied against him, put him to death, and declared for *Valerian*. *Sapor* however, **d** confiding in the strength of his army, continued still before *Edeffa*, in the neighbourhood whereof an action happened, in which *Valerian* was taken prisoner, whether by his own temerity, or the treachery of one of his commanders, cannot be well determined. This gave a mortal wound to the *Roman* affairs in the east, where *Sapor* gained continual advantages, and used his fortune with an insolence not to be endured. This at length drove the people to despair; so that first under the command of *Callistus*, afterwards under that of *Odenatus*, prince of *Palmyrene*, they took arms, and not only protected themselves from any further insults, but also, under the command of the last-mentioned general, defeated the *Persian*, and took part of his baggage, with all his concubines, which determined him to retire into his own dominions. In **e** his march he is said to have made use of the bodies of his unfortunate prisoners to fill up the hollow roads, and to facilitate the passages of his carriages over such rivers as lay in his way. On his return into *Persia*, he was solicited by the kings of the *Caduceans*, *Armenians*, *Babylonians*, and other nations, to set the emperor *Valerian* at liberty; but to no purpose. On the contrary, he used him the worse, treated him daily with indignities, set his foot upon his neck when he mounted his horse, and, as some writers say, after several years confinement, cause him to be flay'd alive ³ (D).

FROM

¹ HERODIAN. hist. l. vii. JUL. CAPITOLIN. de vita Gordian. tert. ZOSIM. hist. A. C. 243. ZONAR. hist. A. C. 244. ² JUL. CAPITOLIN. in vita Gordian. TREBELL. POL. hist. trigint. tyran. ZONAR. histor. A. C. 253. ZOSIM. hist. A. C. 252. ³ TREBELL. POL. in vita Valerian. AGATH. SCHOL. l. iv. p. 133. GREGOR. ABUL-PHAR. dyast. vii. p. 128.

(D) There is nothing more confused, nothing for which it is more difficult to account, than the manner by which *Valerian* fell into the hands of *Sapor*, and his treatment afterwards. *Trebellius Pollio*, who wrote the life of this emperor, expresses himself doubtfully as to the conduct of *Macrianus*, whether it was treacherous, or unfortunate only; but, as to the emperor himself, he is positive, that, after he was made prisoner, *Sapor* made use of him as a

footstool when he mounted his horse. The same writer hath preserved three letters; one from king *Belshus*; another from *Balemus* king of the *Caduci*; and a third from *Artabazes* king of *Armenia*, to the *Persian* monarch, in favour of *Valerian*, who, he says, died in his captivity at a very advanced age (10). *Zonaras* affirms, that however *Valerian* was taken, whether fighting in his own defence, or voluntarily yielding himself up, he was afterwards treated with the

(10) in vita *Valerian*.

Treats him inhumanly, and is ever after unfortunate.

FROM this time forwards the affairs of *Sapor* wore but an indifferent aspect. *Odenatus*, flushed with victory, at the head of a gallant army, and cloathed with the character of president over the *Roman* provinces in the east, bridled the *Persians*, and made them frequent visits in their own territories. Twice this general advanced as far as the city of *Ctesiphon*, seated on the banks of the *Tigris*, all the countries between *Palmyra* and that river being under his obedience. On his death his wife, the celebrated *Zenobia*, continued to oppose the *Persians*, and with success, till she was conquered, and made prisoner by the emperor *Aurelian*, who vindicated the honour of the *Romans* on this side, and took ample vengeance for the ill treatment of *Valerian*. Much spoil, many prisoners, and one of the king's chariots, *Aurelian* carried with him into *Italy*, and with them graced his triumph at *Rome*^k. *Sapores*^b however continued to enlarge his dominions at the expence of his barbarous neighbours, and having reigned, with great variety of fortune, thirty-one years, died, and left the kingdom to his son. An eastern writer informs us, that *Aurelian* made peace with *Sapores*, and gave him his daughter in marriage, in whose train were two *Greek* physicians, who first brought the writings of *Hippocrates* into the east^l. In the reign of this monarch, flourished, according to the same writer, the famous heretic *Manes*, whose opinions so long disturbed the church^m (E).

Hormisdas.
Year of Christ
273.

Hormisdas succeeded *Sapores*, of whom we have little to say. It was during his reign that the *Palmyrenians* were foolish enough to take arms again, in order to free

^k TREBEL. POL. in vit. Gallien. Odenat. Zenob. & Saturnin. p. 138. ^l AGATH. SCHOL. l. iv. p. 134. FLAV. VOPISC. in vit. Aurelian. GREGOR. ABUL-PHAR. dynast. 7. p. 130.

^m GREGOR. ABUL-PHAR. dynast. 7.

the utmost indignity. He likewise says, that he was carried into the heart of *Persia*, and was so unhappy as to be an eye-witness of the massacring the *Romans*, in order to fill up the hollow ways with their carcases; and this, says he, was the end of *Valerian* (11). *Zosimus* relates things more particularly. He informs us, that *Valerian*, finding his army much weakened by sickness, and distrusting the fidelity of most of his officers, endeavoured first to negotiate, and then to buy a peace from *Sapor*, who refusing to treat with any but the emperor, he imprudently went to confer with him, attended only by his ordinary guards, and so was surprized, put into chains, and carried away prisoner into the inland parts of *Persia*, where he died of extreme old age (12). *Agathias* asserts, that *Valerian* was not only treated with the utmost ignominy after he was made prisoner by *Sapor*, but that at length he ordered him to be flay'd alive; which was accordingly performed (13). *Cedrenus* says, that *Valerian*, with twenty thousand men, were made prisoners by *Sapor* at the battle of *Casarea*; and that his skin being pulled over his ears, he died in miserable torture (14). To cite more authors would be tedious, as well as to no purpose; for we do not pretend to ascertain any fact, but to shew, that the death of *Valerian* is very uncertain; and this we have already sufficiently done.

(E) The ecclesiastical historians are not agreed at what time *Manes* flourished. However, as *Cedrenus* (15), who wrote his compend of histories from good memoirs, places him under the reign of *Sapor*, we may as well speak of him here as any-where else. Concerning him and his doctrines we are told in general, that one *Terebinthus*, an arch-heretic, having fled out of *Palestine* into *Persia*, and being there received into the house of a widow, took the name of *Buda*, pretended to have been born of a virgin, to have been brought up in the mountains, and to have received a command to teach men a new religion, or at least new notions in religion. He being either killed by the people, or by an evil spirit that he converted with in this woman's house, left behind

him in her hands four treatises, containing the sum of his doctrines. This woman having bought a slave called *Cabricus*, when a boy of seven years old, caused him to be carefully educated, and, when she died, left him all she had. By this means the writings of *Terebinthus* or *Buda* coming into his hands, he read, considered them, and resolved to pass for somebody as well as his master. The first thing he did, was to change his name from *Cabricus* to *Manes*; then he began to propagate his opinions, which were taken principally from the writings of *Zoroaster* and the *Gnostics*. Part of the scriptures he rejected, part he retained; but magnified his own writings above all. He asserted two principles, the one good, and the other evil. He spoke respectfully of *Jesus Christ*, yet denied that he suffered and rose again, affirming, *thus the Jews crucified a phantom*. He gave himself sometimes out for the *Messiah*; at others for the comforter. He chose twelve apostles, and seventy-two disciples, who discharged their offices faithfully, spreading his notions far and wide, some of them penetrating into *China* (16). As for *Manes* himself, he was, according to the manner of those times, a person of considerable learning; for he drew a map of the world, and wrote a treatise of its use. He likewise composed a large book of enigmatical figures, which, he pretended, contained a series of revelations to the end of the world (17). In the end, he is said to have lost himself in that whirlpool which swallows up most impostors, the affectation of working of miracles. He would needs undertake to cure the king of *Persia's* son, who laboured under a mortal disease; but he failed in his attempt, the young prince died, and he was imprisoned. He made his escape afterwards, and for some time wandered about, and was concealed by his disciples. At length he was apprehended by the king of *Persia's* officers, and, as some say, was crucified by the order of *Sapor*, tho', as others affirm, he was flay'd alive (18). However, his opinions did not perish with him; for his sect flourished afterwards in *Persia*, and was encouraged by some of its kings.

(11) Hist. A. C. 259. (12) Hist. A. C. 259, 260. (13) Agath. Scholast. l. iv. p. 133. (14) Hist. comp. p. 104. (15) Idem, p. 259. (16) Epiphani. har. 6. August. har. 46. Theodoret. lib. har. fab. 10. Gregor. Abul-Phar. dynast. vii. p. 130. (17) Herbelot. Artic. Ertent. Giagrastiah. (18) Cedren. compend. p. 260. Gregor. Abul-Phar. ubi supra.

- a themselves from the *Romans*, or rather, as other parts of the *Roman* empire had done, to assert a right of making emperors. They cast their eyes on one *Antiochus*, whom they arrayed in purple, and saluted emperor; but *Aurelian* did not leave them long at liberty to carry on this scheme. He returned with his victorious army, reduced *Palmyra*, and dyed the cloaths of his soldiers, if we may be allowed the expression, in the blood of its inhabitants. As for *Antiochus*, he took no notice of him at all. And for *Hormisdas*, he had not interfered, and therefore *Aurelian* did not trouble his country; he had the good fortune consequently to die in peace, after having sat on the throne a year and ten days.

- b *Varanes* the first succeeded him. Of him we know very little more than that he reigned three years, during which space we find not that he enterprized any thing against the *Romans*, or they against him. In truth, the empire was at this time in a very indifferent condition; for, after the death of *Aurelian*, the *Roman* forces in *Syria* and *Mesopotamia* were very unquiet. At length *Saturnius* set himself up for emperor, but with no great good luck; yet, as he was a man of probity, and an excellent commander, he kept the *Persians* within their limits; so that the prince, of whom we are speaking, never had any opportunity of exerting himself.

- c *Varanes* the second ascended the throne on the death of the former king of the same name. He had at first some thoughts of invading the *Roman* provinces; but he quickly found, that the state of things was changed; for, on the first motion of his troops, the emperor *Probus* advanced in person into the east. Upon this *Varanes* desisted from his enterprize, and hearing of the emperor's great success, ordered *Narjes*, who commanded for him in *Armenia*, to send deputies to compliment *Probus*, to make him presents, and to treat of peace. The emperor received them very haughtily, refused the presents they brought him, and wrote an answer to the letter of *Narjes* to this purpose: That all he had was his; that he wondered how he could send him such trifles: wherefore, to him, who might perhaps esteem them; he had sent them back, as well knowing how to have all that he possessed, when the *Romans* should desire it. However, he granted them peace at this time, and terrified them so much with his power, that the *Persians* were afraid to make their usual excursions for some time.
- d At length *Varanes* took heart, and began to think of recovering some of the provinces which his ancestors had lost; but, before he was able to do any thing, he found himself disturbed by domestic seditions; and, before these were calmed, *Probus*, assembling a great army, began his march towards the east. *Varanes* conceived himself delivered from this misfortune, when he heard that the army, in a sedition, had killed the emperor; but he was mistaken, for *Carus* his successor, after subduing several barbarous nations, shortly after entered *Mesopotamia*, and carrying all before him, advanced beyond *Ctesiphon*, as if he intended an absolute conquest of that province. The fears of the *Persians* were however soon over; for the emperor *Carus* died in the first march he afterwards made, either by an illness under which he
- e had long laboured, or by his tent's being set on fire by lightning. What was still more happy for the *Persians*, was a notion the *Romans* took from thence, that fate had assigned *Ctesiphon* for the bounds of their empire, which they were never to pass but to their hurt (F). Soon after *Numerianus*, the son of *Carus*, was also slain; and the

Roman

* AGATH. SCHOL. hist. l. iv. p. 134. FLAV. VOPISC. in vita Aurelian. ZOSIM. hist. A. C. 274. * AGATH. SCHOL. ubi supra. FLAV. VOPISC. in vita Saturnin. GREGOR. ABUL-PHAR. dynast. vii. p. 134. P FLAV. VOPISC. in vita Prob. EUTROP. hist. Rom. l. ix. M. A. CASSIODOR. chron. xxxi.

(F) There is nothing so valuable in an historian as truth, and yet there is nothing more frequently wanting. We generally esteem those authors most, who lived nearest the times of which they wrote; and yet we are as often deceived by them as by any others. A desire of praising immoderately those of whom they write, too often influences historians to represent things otherwise than they apprehended them. *Vopiscus*, in his life of the emperor *Carus*, affects a great deal of candour and impartiality, especially in respect to the death of that emperor, which had been generally supposed ominous to the empire. He expired in his camp before *Ctesiphon*, blasted, as the report went, by lightning; whence it was inferred, that the *Romans* should never penetrate farther than this city. It was built by the *Parthians* on the

east bank of the *Tigris*, and was a very populous place; and besides, the country beyond it was quite unknown to the *Romans*, as well as very improper for their manner of making war, which probably gave birth to this opinion. However, *Vopiscus* was resolved to destroy it, in order to which he produces a letter from *Calphurnius*, secretary to *Carus*, wherein he gives a very ambiguous account of that emperor's death. He says it happened after the greatest clap of thunder which was heard during the storm; that his servants, for grief, set fire to his tent, which occasioned the report that he was burnt by lightning; whereas, according to the best account this writer could get, he died of his sickness. *Vopiscus* then mentions the notion that *Ctesiphon* was fatal to the *Roman* empire, and that the death of *Carus* was

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thought

Roman army, under the command of *Dioclesian*, returned into *Italy*. *Varanes* gained a hereby some respite, which he employed in strengthening his frontiers; but when, on the news of the disturbances which had happened in the *Roman* empire, he began to think of invading its provinces, *Dioclesian* suddenly returned into *Armenia*, with a great body of forces, and thereby struck such a terror into the *Persians*, that they were afraid to undertake any thing. A little after died *Varanes*, after an unfortunate reign of seventeen years, leaving the kingdom to his son ^a.

Varanes III.
Year of Christ
294

Varanes the third reigned no more than four months. He is dignified by historians with the title of *Segan'aa*. *Agathias* hath given us the reason of this appellation. He tells us, that it was the custom of the *Persian* monarchs to incorporate the nations they subdued into the body of their subjects, not by removing them hither or thither, b but by allowing them to live, as formerly, under their own laws, themselves adding to their titles that which the ancient princes of the country bore. *Varanes* the second having, a little before his death, overcome this nation, his son took the title of *Segan'aa* or *Segan'shâb*, which, *Agathias* expressly tells us, signified king of the *Segani* or *Segeftani* ^c.

Narfes.
Year of Christ
294

Narfes succeeded next, a prince of high spirit, who designed no less than *Artaxares* the founder of the new *Persian* monarchy had done, the reduction of all the *Persian* provinces, held at this time either by the barbarous nations, or conquered by the *Romans*. It is certain, that never did a fairer opportunity offer for the execution of this vast design, than at the entrance of this prince's reign. The *Roman* empire was c in such distraction, that tho' there were two emperors, yet they found the weight too heavy for them, and therefore created two *Cæsars* to share the burden of government. War was kindled in every corner of the empire, when *Narfes*, with a great army, broke into *Mesopotamia*, and in a short time recovered most of the places which had been heretofore in the hands of his ancestors. But it was not long before *Dioclesian* sent *Galerius*, one of the *Cæsars*, with a numerous army, to *Antioch*, to check the progress of the *Persian*. *Narfes* did not decline an engagement; but his success was not equal to his courage, either in this, or in a second battle. *Galerius* being conqueror in both, passed the river *Tigris*, and advanced into the very heart of the king of *Persia's* dominions. *Narfes*, tho' he retired continually, yet kept a strict eye upon d the enemy, beseeching his own troops not to look upon his conduct as timorous, but to be assured that he would take an opportunity of vindicating their honour, and revenging the loss he had sustained. He was as good as his word; for *Galerius*, elated with success, abating of his usual care and circumspection, *Narfes* took advantage thereof, and falling upon the *Roman* army while they were upon their march, gave them so total a defeat, that scarce any remains of them could be afterwards drawn together. *Galerius* himself with much ado escaped, and making haste to the army of *Dioclesian*, prepared to give the emperor the best account he could of his misfortune. *Dioclesian* used him but very indifferently, shewed a high dislike of his conduct, and in a manner refused to trust him with another army. At length however the e zealous importunities of *Galerius* prevailed, and levies being made with all possible expedition, he was sent with fresh forces against *Narfes*. The *Persian* king had, in this interval, made the best use of his victory, retrieving not only the cities and country which he had lost, but also bringing into the field a numerous army, composed especially of chosen horse, to maintain the conquests he had made, in case the *Romans* should once more dispute them ^f.

Constrained to
submit to the
Romans.

Galerius acted now as *Narfes* had before; he added prudence to fortitude, and depended no less on his own conduct, than on the courage of his forces. He

^a FLAV. VOPISC. in vit. Prob. & Car. ZONAR. hist. A. C. 283. SECT. AUREL. VICTOR. in Car. AGATH. SCHOLAST. p. 134. GREGOR. ABUL-PHAR. dynast. 7. p. 132. ^b ACATH. SCHOLAST. l. iv. p. 135. ^c ZONAR. hist. A. C. 297. EUTROP. hist. Rom. l. ix. AGATH. SCHOLAST. ubi supra.

thought a judgment for attempting to pass farther. But, says he, let cowardice make use of such arts to cover it; the brave will ever despise them. The most excellent *Cæsar Maximian* will never believe this; but, on the contrary, will attempt and finish the conquest of the *Persians*, and penetrate beyond them (18). Would it not have been better, if, instead of this flourish, he had told us, that, immediately

after the death of *Carus*, his army, under the command of his son *Numerianus*, was attacked and beaten by the *Persians*, and thereby forced to retire into the *Roman* provinces again (19)? Yet he says nothing of this, either here, or in the life of *Numerianus* (20), whom some writers affirm to have been taken and put to death by the *Persians* after their victory (21).

(18) In vita Car. (19) ZONAR. hist. A. C. 283. (20) FLAV. VOPISC. in vita Numerian. (21) GREGOR. ABUL-PHAR. dynast. 7. p. 132.

a went with a few of his friends to view the *Persian* army, and having happily performed this exploit, he returned to his own, which he disposed in such a manner, as to attack the *Persians* at unawares, whereby he gained a complete victory. *Narjes* himself was wounded, and forced to fly with a small remnant of his army into the mountains. His baggage, treasure, papers, all fell into the hands of *Galerius*, as did likewise his sisters, his queen, his concubines, and children. In vain he endeavoured to repair his misfortune; the spirits of his subjects were effectually damped by this blow, insomuch that he found it impossible to collect another army capable of taking the field against the victorious *Romans*, who were shortly after joined by *Dioclesian* and his army, who at the time of the engagement lay incamped at *Antioch*, in order to have b sustained *Galerius*, in case any thing amiss had befallen him. Overcome therefore with the reflection of his misfortunes, *Narjes*, to rid himself of these troublesome neighbours, consented to give up five of his provinces; on which condition peace was granted him, and his queen restored; but as for his sisters, his concubines, and the other persons of quality, who were taken in the battle, they were carried to *Rome*, and there led in triumph. The grief of this broke the heart of *Narjes*, when he had enjoyed the regal dignity about seven years.

c He was succeeded by *Misdates*, otherwise called *Hormisdas* the second, who wore the diadem seven years and five months, but without doing any thing remarkable. As he was long in a declining condition, and had no issue, the nobility of *Persia* were under the utmost concern for the consequences of his decease, without a successor declared. At length it appeared, that the queen was with child; upon which a council of the magi was summoned, and they were required to inform the nobles whether the queen was with child of a son or a daughter. The magi answered, Of a son. Hereupon the diadem was placed upon the queen's great belly, and all the nobility swore allegiance on the faith of the foregoing prediction to the son she should bear. The king dying in the interim, the public peace was preserved by this expedient; and at the end of nine months the queen was delivered of a son, who was a king before he was born. This was

Misdates or
Hormisdas.
Year of Christ
301.

d *Sapores*, or *Sapor* the second, who governed the dominions of his ancestors long and happily. The account we have given in the last reign is strongly controverted, and it must be allowed, that there are more testimonies alledged against it than can be urged in its support. Yet we have given it the preference, for a reason which will appear at the bottom of the page, and which, we are persuaded, will induce our readers to be of the same mind (G). This prince, if we may credit an ecclesiastical historian,

Sapor II.
Year of Christ
308.

was

* M. A. CASSIODOR. chron. xxxiii. CEDREN. hist. compend. p. 168. GREGOR. ABUL-PHAR. dynast. vii. p. 132. ZONAR. EUTROP. AGATH. ubi supra. ^a AGATH. SCHOLAST. lib. iv. p. 134.

(G) There are several passages in the writings of *Ammianus Marcellinus* (22), *Zosimus* (23), *Socrates* (24), and other writers, which seem to intimate, that *Sapor* was not a posthumous child, but born in his father's life-time, and educated by his direction. They also speak of one *Hormisdas*, who fled to the emperor *Constantine*, as if he had been brother to this prince. Now, if these facts were true, it would follow, that what is above related must be false. But if it be considered first, that the relations found in these authors are so worded, as that they may be made to suit with either fact: That, secondly, there is nothing expressly said of the manner in which *Sapor* came to the crown: And that, thirdly, these writers appear to be frequently very indifferently instructed as to the history of *Persia*, and scarce at all acquainted with its religion: We must confess, that no great stress can be laid on what they deliver, much less on what is inferred from their accounts. On the other hand, what *Agathias* relates, he had from the *Persian* records, and the *Persian* records are the best evidence for *Persian* affairs (25). But besides, there is another reason which so strongly corroborates what *Agathias* tells us, that one can scarce entertain any doubt of the truth of the fact mentioned by *Agathias*. *Sapor* succeeded in the *Persian*

throne about the same time that *Constantine* became emperor, and he reigned seventy years. In the fifteenth year of his reign, *Hormisdas* retired into the *Roman* dominions. Now if *Hormisdas* had been the brother of *Sapor*, and had been a man before the death of his father, we must conceive that *Sapor* was within a few years as old as he, otherwise he could not have been his rival. But this would stretch the life of *Sapor* to an incredible extent, and would also involve us in new difficulties. It is therefore better to acknowledge *Agathias's* account, which concurs exactly with the most remarkable events recorded by other historians. As to the story of *Hormisdas*, it runs thus: He is said to have been a prince of the blood-royal of *Persia*, and that coming in when his father celebrated his birth-day feast, he observed that the nobility did not rise to salute him. Upon which he threatened, that if ever he came to the crown, he would treat them as *Marfyas* the *Phrygian* was treated. Most of the *Persian* lords knew not what to make of this; but one of them told the rest the story of *Marfyas*, who, for contending with *Apollo*, was by him slayed alive. This irritated them so much against the prince *Hormisdas*, that they not only excluded him from the succession, but caused him also to be closely imprisoned; whence however he escaped by

(22) Hist. lib. xvii, xviii, xix. *Agst. Justin. lib. iv. p. 134.*

(23) Hist. lib. ii.

(24) Hist. eccl. lib. ii.

(25) De reb.

was educated under the care of an eunuch named *Uztazades*, who was secretly a christian. a
Whoever had the care of his education, certain it is, that he became a very great prince, if we may bestow that character on one who was no very good man. He was a zealous asserter of the dignity of the *Persian* diadem, and pursued steadily that design which *Artaxares* had first set on foot, viz. of uniting all the territories of the ancient *Persian* kings under his obedience. But he did not pursue this design, as some of his predecessors had done, openly, and at the head of armies : if he had, in all probability he would not have been more fortunate than they ; for the *Persian* militia were by no means able to combat the regular forces of the *Romans*. This prudent monarch took quite different measures ; he encouraged the barbarous people dwelling on the frontiers of the *Roman* provinces to ravage and harass them ; this he did more b
openly, when the affairs of the *Romans* were in confusion, and with greater secrecy, when they were better established. He extended his own dominions towards the east, and towards the north ; he increased his revenues, by encouraging industry and trade among his subjects ; he disciplined his forces, and above all things, affected a mighty esteem and veneration for the civil and religious constitution of his country ^c.

*Persecutes the
christians in his
dominions.*

THIS last-mentioned disposition induced him to persecute the christians, who were represented to him by the magi, and the *Jews* settled in his dominions, as men of detestable principles, bad subjects to their governors, and avowed enemies of religion ; that is, of its fundamental articles. It is said, that he put *Simeon* bishop of *Ctesiphon*, and many other ecclesiastics, to death, and that he even cut off the head of the eunuch before-mentioned, notwithstanding he had been his governor, and his father's old and faithful servant. One great crime objected to the christians was, their regard for *Constantine*, then emperor of *Rome*. His power was too great for *Sapores* to think as yet of attacking him openly ; he therefore sent a solemn embassy to *Constantinople* to compliment that prince, and to renew that peace which had for so many years subsisted between the two empires, directing his ministers privately to inquire into the strength of the *Romans*, and to buy up a quantity of arms, of which his subjects stood in great need. The emperor, though well informed of the design of *Sapores*, received his ministers very graciously, granted their requests, and at their return charged them with a letter for the king of *Persia*, their master. Of this letter there are two copies d
extant, the one more full and correct than the other. The intent of the epistle was to persuade *Sapores* to treat the christians with greater lenity. The arguments made use of therein are just and natural, delivered in language becoming the writer, and him to whom it was addressed (H). In all probability, it had its effect ; for we are informed by an impartial author, that *Sapores* treated the christians afterwards with less severity. Indeed, he had never troubled them at all, if he had not been instigated by some

* AMMIAN. MARCEL. lib. xvii. EUSEB. in vit. Constant. SOZOMEN. hist. eccles. lib. ii.

by the contrivance of his wife ; and flying to the emperor *Constantine*, met with a favourable reception, which he very well deserved, by the diligence and fidelity which he manifested on all occasions in the service of the *Romans* (26). There is certainly a strong air of fable in the first part of this narration ; for that a *Persian* prince should be acquainted with the story of *Apollo* and *Mariyas*, must appear strange, if not incredible. Again, that so rash and cruel a prince should, in getting out of prison, leave all his ill qualities behind him, and come a perfect wit and hero (for so these writers paint him afterwards) to the court of *Constantine* (27). This surely is very wonderful also ; and therefore stripping off these marvellous appendages, if we credit the bare matter of fact, that *Hormisdas*, a prince of the blood royal of *Persia*, fled to the *Romans*, and behaved well in their service ; it will answer all reasonable purposes, and the current of our history receive no interruption.

(H) *Sozomen* hath given us a long account of the cruel persecution raised against the *Persian* christians by *Sapor* ; but even this writer intimates, that the whole was not only excited, but managed also, by

the magi. Those who are desirous of entering farther into this matter, may find in the works of this historian, a very copious account, not only of the general persecution, but of the principal martyrs, their quality and behaviour (28). *Eusebius*, in his life of *Constantine*, affords us a concise view of the persecution ; but then he gives us the letter of the emperor at large ; whereas *Sozomen* gives us only an extract of it. In this letter the emperor first gives a short account of his faith, then of his success and grandeur, which he attributes wholly to God's blessing thereon ; he afterwards expatiates on the odious folly of idolatry ; but without insinuating any thing of his suspicion that *Sapor* was an idolater. He then very pathetically represents the miseries which had constantly attended unjust and cruel princes, especially persecutors, of whom he particularizes *Valerian* ; whom he asserts to have been happy in all his undertakings, until he persecuted the christians. Lastly, he warmly recommends the christians in his dominions to the favour of *Sapor*, and beseeches him for his sake to look upon them as his good and faithful subjects (29).

(26) *Zosim. hist. lib. ii. A. C. 324.*
c 9, 10, 11, 12.

(27) *In vit. Constant.*

(28) *Zonar. hist. A. C. 340.*

(29) *Hist. eccles. lib. ii.*

- a malicious priests of his own religion, and the indiscretions perhaps of some christian priests.

HOWEVER, he abandoned not the scheme he had formed of raising himself and his successors to the supreme dominion over the east. When he thought he had brought things to bear, he generously acquainted *Constantine* with his intention, transmitting to him by his ambassadors a letter, or rather a manifesto, wherein he expressly set forth his claim to all the dominions anciently belonging to the *Persian* emperors, affirming, that the river *Strymon* was the legal boundary of his empire. *Constantine* returned him an answer, full of dignity and resolution; and though he was now grown in years, made great preparations for war, assembled a numerous army, and resolved to command it in person. When the season of the year approached, he joined his forces, and immediately began his march for the eastern provinces; but providence prevented his design from taking effect, by removing him out of this life, so that together with his empire, he left the management of this *Persian* war to his successors. *Sapores* did not fail to make use of the advantages afforded him by the disorders which happened in the empire on the death of *Constantine*. He instantly entered the *Roman* provinces, and reannexed to his own dominions what his ancestors had lost. It is a very difficult thing to give any account of this war from the *Greek* and *Latin* historians, notwithstanding the writings of many who lived in those days have come down to our hands, by reason of their evident partiality, some commending the emperor *Constans* as a very martial prince, others upbraiding him with pusillanimity, both endeavouring rather to suit history to their own opinions, than to the truth. By making proper allowances however for the visible biases of these writers, the truth seems to have been, that in pitched battles, and in defending of towns, the *Romans* were superior to the *Persians*; but that in swift marches, horse-combats and surprizes, the *Persians* had the advantage.

HENCE it came to pass, that altho' *Sapores* reconquered large tracts of country, and was successful in many engagements; yet could he not prevail against *Nisibis*, the strongest fortress the *Romans* had in those parts, though he often besieged it, and exerted his utmost force, in order to deliver his subjects from a thorn that continually pricked them; but he was constantly defeated, and constrained after great losses to rise from before it. As to the circumspection of the emperor *Constans*, when in the field, it might very probably be owing to the situation of those countries, which were the seat of war. In a plain country, such as *Mesopotamia*, the emperor was forced to act with great circumspection, because the enemy had all advantages, their cavalry having room to extend themselves, to retire, and to come back to the charge, which in a mountainous situation they could not have done. We need not wonder therefore, that the *Romans* were backward in fighting, and more solicitous about fortifying their camps than seeking the enemy. In the battle of *Singara*, which was fought in the night, *Sapores* had at first the advantage by reason of the surprize the *Romans* were under; but when they had recovered themselves a little, they repulsed the enemy so briskly, that in the end *Sapores* was forced to retire, after having lost his son in the battle, and received a dangerous wound himself. Both parties were in the end tired out with the war; the *Roman* emperor therefore leaving the care of the eastern provinces to *Gallus*, whom he had lately created *Cesar*, returned into the western provinces of his empire, while *Sapores*, who perceived that little was now to be got from the *Romans*, turned his arms upon his eastern neighbours, and left the care of his frontiers towards the *Romans* to his most experienced generals. In his expeditions against the *Barbarians*, he was more fortunate than against the *Romans*. Some he subdued by force, others readily yielded him obedience; with his most powerful and inveterate enemies he made a solid and lasting peace. In the midst of this success, he received advice that overtures had been made to his generals in the west for the conclusion of a peace. To shew therefore his readiness in this point, he dispatched one *Narjes*, a nobleman of great credit in his court, to carry his letters to *Constans*, with the terms on which he was content to enter on a treaty. This minister proceeded to *Sirmium*, in order to have an interview with *Constans*; there he presented him with the letters of the *Persian* king written in the usual strain of the *Persian* monarchs, i. e. in a lofty swelling style. The purport was, that notwithstanding *Sapor* knew himself to have a just claim to all the countries between *Persia* and the river *Strymon*, yet he was content for the sake

† ZONAR. hist. A. C. 337. ZOSIM. hist. lib. ii. A. C. 338. EUTROPIUS. lib. x. AMM. MARCEL. LIB. xxi. SOZOM. ubi supra.

of peace to be satisfied with *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia*; which once yielded up, he ^a would willingly become the friend of the *Romans*. *Narjes* perceiving how ill his master's letter was taken, endeavoured all that in him lay to pacify the *Romans*, and to obtain from the emperor an account of his demands, with which *Constans* readily complied. He named on his side ambassadors, who were to go to *Sapor*, and who were charged with letters, importing that, while himself was possessed of but a part of the *Roman* empire, he had notwithstanding maintained its ancient boundary in the east; and that now being master of the whole, it was not reasonable to expect that he should yield to such conditions as had been proposed. The *Roman* ambassadors found the king of *Persia* at *Ctesiphon*, where they had many conferences with him and his ministers, though to very little purpose, for the *Persian* would remit nothing; ^b however time was gained, in which *Constans* came first to *Constantinople*, and then prepared to set out for the east¹.

Antoninus de-
serts, and
Sapor renews
the war.

ABOUT this time one *Antoninus*, an officer of great credit in the *Roman* army, being persecuted by some of the emperor's favourites, fled to *Sapor*, by whom he was received with open arms, treated with the utmost kindness, and immediately admitted into the highest confidence. In the mean time the emperor had been prevailed upon to remove *Ursicinus*, who was general of the horse in the east, and to give his command to *Sabinian*, a very old man, who thought himself very cautious, but was by others esteemed timid, and most unfit for supreme command. *Antoninus* quickly gave the *Persian* notice of the incapacity of the *Roman* general, who thereupon deter- ^c mined, with the numerous army under his command, immediately to enter the *Roman* provinces, and to advance as fast as possible without embarrassing himself with sieges, or attempting to divide his forces, in order to garison towns. Accordingly, he passed the *Tigris*, and marched with all imaginable diligence towards the *Euphrates*, intending, if possible, to penetrate into *Syria*, hoping to pillage that fruitful country, which had enjoyed so many years peace². But *Ursicinus*, who was returned again into the east with the title of general of the foot, prevented him by throwing up works on the side of the river, and posting himself with his troops behind them. *Sapor* then, by the advice of *Antoninus*, turned to the left; and before it was expected, invested the city of *Amida*. In the neighbourhood of this place he took several ^d strong castles, and in one of them a considerable number of christian virgins, who had dedicated themselves to the service of God. The *Persian* treated them not only with humanity, but with the utmost politeness, being desirous to shew that prosperity softened his disposition, instead of rendering him arrogant. *Amida* made a long defence, and the siege thereof is said to have cost *Sapor* thirty thousand men. It was at last however taken by storm after a siege of seventy-three days. The principal officers of the garison he hanged, the men he sent into slavery, after which he put an end to the campaign on this side; he entered however afterwards *Mesopotamia*, where he took the town of *Singara*, and ruined it; he then attacked *Bezabda*, and after a siege of some days, took it, and fortified it; then he advanced to *Virta*, which he ^e likewise invested; but after a siege of some continuance, was obliged to retire. The emperor *Constans* in the mean time passed the *Euphrates*, and came to *Amida*, over the ruins of which he is said to have wept; he then advanced, in hopes of regaining the places taken by *Sapor*, proceeded to besiege *Bezabda*, but to no purpose; for the rainy season, and a scarcity of provision, obliged him to raise his siege, and return into *Syria*, where he continued all the winter³ (I).

Sapor

¹ ZONAR. hist. A. C. 350. ZOSIM. hist. lib. ii. A. C. 351. AMMIAN. MARCEL. lib. xviii. EUTROP. lib. x.
² AMMIAN. MARCEL. lib. xviii. c. 5. ³ AMMIAN. MARCEL. lib. xx. EUTROP. lib. x. ZONARAS, A. C. 355. ZOSIM. hist. lib. iii. SOZOMEN. hist. eccles. lib. iv.

(I) It would have been very easy to have rendered this part of our history more particular and more entertaining than it is, if there had not been two very cogent arguments offered by the very nature of the work to keep us here much within bounds. For first, as all the accounts we have come from *Latin* and *Greek* authors, they especially regard the conduct of the eastern emperors, their ministers and generals, and consequently belong rather to the *Constantinopolitan* than *Persian* history. Secondly, they agree so little among themselves, and yet are all of them so partial to their own countrymen, that

should we relate exactly what those writers are pleased to say of the *Persians*, we should rather deceive than inform our readers, as too many historians do. There was a necessity of making these observations, that the nature of this part of our history might be well understood. We have herein stuck close to facts, without scrupulously reporting circumstances, because the latter have frequently appeared to us improbable, or at least violently exaggerated. *Ammianus Marcellinus* is the author on whom we have principally depended in the history of this reign. He was a man of quality, a soldier, and one who actu-
ally

- a Sapor, in the beginning of the next spring, drew together a great army, and made a shew of entering the Roman provinces immediately, which compelled the emperor *His prudence saves his forces.* *Constans* to prepare also to take the field. As he had by this time not only a very great body of forces, but those too the very best in the empire, his great excellence lying in an exact knowledge of military discipline, in all probability the war would have been both bloody and lasting, if it had not been prevented by the military prudence of the *Persian*, to whom when an account was brought of the *Roman* preparations, he instantly determined to put strong garisons into his frontiers, and then to withdraw the remainder of his forces; which he accordingly did. The *Roman* emperor perceiving, that, without a peace, the war was at an end, did the like on his side; and having given directions for fortifying the places which were most in danger, he resolved to march away immediately against *Julian*, who had taken the title of *Augustus*, and had given just grounds to suspect he aimed at the empire ^b.

In this march the emperor fell sick, and died; whereby *Julian* was raised to be absolute lord of the *Roman* empire, the whole forces of which he intended to make use of in order to destroy the *Persians*; that is, to break their force so effectually, as that it should be impossible for them ever to trouble more the *Roman* provinces. Full of this great project, he did every thing which might conciliate the minds of the soldiers, raise his own reputation, or by any means contribute to facilitate his enterprise; in which he succeeded so well, that the army discovered an unusual alacrity, and readily followed him into the dominions of *Sapor*, who contented himself with acting on the defensive, having no hopes at all of defeating the *Romans* in a pitched battle under so martial a prince. In this expedition *Hormisdas* the *Persian* commanded the left wing of the *Roman* army, and by his advice it was that the emperor regulated most of his designs. As long as he did this, success attended his arms; some strong places he took by force, others yielded through fear; but most were given up to him by treachery. At length he besieged *Ctesiphon*, which had been the bulwark of the *Parthian* empire, but without success; for it was well fortified, and had a numerous garison. Here it was that the *Romans* began to discover how puissant an enemy they had to deal with ^c.

- d THE *Persians* skirmished with him every day; the country on all sides was burnt and destroyed, insomuch that it appeared impracticable to hope any further advantages on this side. *Julian* therefore resolved to remount the *Tigris*, on which he had a fleet of transports laden with provisions. A *Persian* of quality deserting to him, assured him, that the method he took would be equally prejudicial to his fame and to his affairs; that hitherto he might be justly styled the conqueror of the *Persians*, and that he might still better deserve this title, if he would follow his advice; which was, to quit the side of the river, to burn his fleet, and to march through a broad, open road, into which he promised to conduct him, where, after three or four days march, he would find an end put to all the difficulties, which he either actually struggled with, or even apprehended. *Hormisdas*, when the emperor consulted him upon this project, told him plainly, That it was impracticable, and that he would be undone if he pursued it. *Julian* however was inflexible; he ordered his soldiers to furnish themselves with twenty days provisions, and having so done, he commanded the fleet to *Whom he destroys, by drawing him too far into his country*

^b AMMIAN. MARCEL. l. xvi. EUTROP. ubi supra. ZOSIM. ubi supra. SOZOMEN. hist. eccl. l. v. CEDREN. hist. comp. p. 113. ^c EUTROP. l. x. AMMIAN. MARCEL. l. xxiii. ZONAR. A. C. 363. SOCRAT. hist. eccl. l. iii. CEDREN. hist. comp. p. 307. ZOSIM. l. iii.

ally served in this very war, of which he writes. Besides all this he was a native of *Antioch*, and therefore perfectly well acquainted with the seat of the war. However, as he was a *Pagan*, he lessens all the christian emperors, that his hero *Julian* may appear with the greater lustre; and as he was a *Roman*, he exaggerates the barbarity and want of discipline among the *Persian* troops, who yet held the *Romans* at bay, and made very long sieges, which mutual armies never do (30). *Zosimus* is by far more outrageous than *Marcellinus*. He was so bigotted a hearthen, that he will not allow *Constantine the Great* to have done the least thing worthy of

that title. He censures him for withdrawing the garisons from the frontiers of the empire, and intimates, that by this means the *Persians* ravaged the *Roman* provinces with impunity (31). The christian writers, on the other hand, magnify all the actions of *Constantine* (32). In such a situation we could do no more than assemble the matters of fact relating to *Persia*, and deliver them in a plain style, and in their natural order; for had we entered into comparing of authors, and weighing authorities, we should have exceeded all bounds, and, after all, perhaps wasted our time to no great purpose.

(30) Hist. rer. gest. sub imp. *Constant. Julian. Jovian. &c.* vit. *Constant.* Zonar. hist. Rom. Sozomen. hist. eccl. &c.

(31) Hist. l. ii. prop. fin.

(32) Engeb. in

be set on fire, maugre all the solicitations of his friends, who, while it was yet in a flame, convinced him that he was betrayed; whereupon he ordered the *Persian* nobleman and his attendants to be put to the torture. This was executed upon the servants; but as for their lord, he was fled. It served only to increase the emperor's disquiet; for the men readily acknowledged, that they came on purpose to mislead him. Orders were then given to save as many of the vessels as was possible, which however were but a few; and then, as if he had perfectly lost his senses, *Julian* threw himself and his army into that road, which had been pointed out to him by his enemies. For three or four days they met with little or no interruption; but afterwards *Sapor*, with the whole force of *Persia*, coasted them in their march, and, at the beginning of the night, continually set upon their rear guard. The weather proving intensely hot, water scarce, and provisions failing, *Julian* saw plainly that his obstinacy had brought him into difficulties almost unsurmountable. He still continued to bear up against them with great constancy, and the soldiers, encouraged by his example, repulsed the *Persians* with great slaughter, as often as they attacked them. At length, on the twenty-fifth of *June* in the evening, a mighty cloud of dust arose, occasioned by the advance of the greater part of the *Persian* horse. On this occasion the *Persian* noblemen gave full testimony of their valour, making such an impression on the left wing of the *Roman* army, as obliged the emperor to repair thither in person; whither he was no sooner come, than he received in his body an arrow, whether from the enemy, or from one of his own soldiers, could never be known, of which wound he died the next night. This threw his army into a terrible consternation, notwithstanding they had been victorious in the fight the day before, slain many thousand *Persians*, and amongst them fifty persons of quality.

Makes an advantageous peace with the Romans.

Sapor, as soon as he was informed of the emperor's death, made proclamation that he would give a great reward to the man by whose hand he fell; which however was never claimed. At the same time, to shew his desire of peace, he sent deputies to *Jovian*, who had succeeded *Julian*. In four days a peace was concluded, whereby the five provinces in dispute were for ever yielded to the *Persians*, together with the strong fortress of *Nisibis*, which had so long been the bulwark of the empire. As soon as the treaty was concluded, *Sapor* furnished the *Romans*, for their money, with provisions, and also gave and received hostages for the due performance of the treaty; which was exactly executed, tho' with much reluctance, by the *Romans*; yet of the mighty army led by *Julian* into *Persia*, scarce a tenth part returned, and even these perhaps had never returned, but by the favour of this peace, which they so much decried (K).

DURING

^a AMMIAN. MARCEL. l. xxix. xxv. CEDREN. hist. comp. p. 308. ZONAR. ubi supra. GREGOR. ABULFAR. dynast. vii. p. 140. ZOSIM. l. iii. A. C. 363. ^b AMMIAN. MARCEL. ubi supra. SOCRAT. hist. eccl. l. iii. CEDREN. hist. comp. p. 308. EUTROP. l. x. AGATH. SCHOLAST. p. 136.

(K) The various accounts which are given by different authors of the death of the emperor *Julian*, belong to the *Constantinopolitan* history; and therefore we have but just touched upon this subject here. *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and *Zosimus*, shew the highest commendations to their hero *Julian*, on account of his penetrating farther into the *Persian* territories than any of his predecessors. The last-mentioned of these authors carries his eulogy so far, as to pretend, that *Julian* conquered the greatest part of the *Persian* empire; than which nothing can be falser, or more ridiculous. Almost all the *Greek* historians agree in blaming *Jovian* for the peace he made; and on this account they degrade him far below his predecessor. It may not be amiss to take this opportunity of setting in a true light a point, which hath so generally, and so long, been misunderstood. *Julian* was, without question, a very gallant man, and an excellent soldier; but he was as certainly no general, since there is scarce a maxim in the art of war, against which he did not expressly act in this *Persian* expedition. All the *Roman* generals, who had suffered themselves to be dazzled with the reputation of conquering the *Persians*, had perished in their foolish attempts; for, from *Craesus* to *Carnus*,

no *Roman* had ever penetrated the *Persian* dominions, but to his own dishonour; and therefore there could be nothing more contrary to reason, than *Julian's* pushing forwards as he did. Again, he acted without any certain view; he marched he knew not where; he fought he knew not what; he took for guides he knew not whom; he burnt a fleet, when of all things it was most necessary to him; he sacrificed his soldiers, in making them pass rivers almost unpassable in themselves, and in the sight of an enemy perfectly acquainted with the country. In one word, there were five large provinces in dispute: *Julian*, if he had taken cool and proper measures, might have disposed things so as to have secured them for ever to the *Romans*; but, instead of doing this, he did the single thing he should not have done; he quitted the ancient *Roman* method of making war, to take up that of the *Persians*; and by engaging *Sapor* in his own way, and in his own country, sacrificed a numerous and victorious army. But if *Julian* was not, *Sapor* certainly was a general; he managed the war as it ought to have been managed; he retired, that he might conquer; and when he had conquered, he thought of nothing but making an advantageous peace. In this he shewed himself a

wife

(33) *Zosim. hist. Rom. l. iii. Ammian. Marcel. l. xxvi. Agath. Scholast. l. iv. p. 136.*

- DURING the rest which so advantageous a treaty afforded to the *Persians*, their monarch neglected no opportunity of settling effectually the bounds of his empire towards *Tartary* and *India*. This took him up some time, and served also to exercise his soldiers; but, after the death of *Jovian* the *Roman* emperor, when the affairs of that people were again disordered, *Sapor* did not fail to make a new irruption, in breach, as the *Latin* writers say, of the peace subsisting between the two empires. The issue of this war is no less obscure than its commencement. All we know of it is, that, at the beginning, *Sapor* had great advantages in *Armenia*, having slain *Arfaces*, who then reigned in that country, where he also reduced a large territory under his obedience; but on the arrival of *Arintbius*, he was constrained to abandon a great part of his conquests. However, being intent on aggrandizing the *Persian* dominions on this side, he still remained in arms, and transferred the imperial seat to *Ctesiphon*, the old capital of the *Parthian* empire, that he might be always at hand to improve such opportunities as might offer (L). It does not however appear, that, after this time, he gained any great victory; and all we know farther is, that, in the beginning of the reign of *Gratian*, this restless and ambitious monarch ended his days, after having reigned seventy years, or, as some say, seventy-two, with great variety of fortune f.

Turns his arms
against other
enemies.

- To *Sapor* succeeded *Artaxerxes*; but who he was, is a question. Some writers are positive that he was the son of his predecessor; others are no less positive that he was his brother. Those who will have him to be son of *Sapor*, give us this account of the matter: They say, that *Sapor* had four sons, *Hormisdas*, *Adarnassés*, and *Narses*, by great princesses; this *Artaxerxes* by a lady of exquisite beauty, but of no distinguished family. *Hormisdas*, by going over to the *Romans*, forfeited his right to the crown, and so *Adarnassés* came to be considered as his heir; but this prince threw away his title to the kingdom, by displaying his own unworthiness to possess it; for the inhabitants of *Mesopotamia* having presented to king *Sapor* a tent of camels skins, curiously painted, and enriched with gold, the king gave it to his son, and afterwards asking him how he liked it; *The thing*, replied he, *is well enough; but, when I come to be king, I will have a tent of the skins of men*. His actions corresponded so exactly with this barbarous expression, that it was judged proper to set him aside. *Narses* had the misfortune to offend the king, who therefore disinherited him, whereby the crown came to this *Artaxerxes*, who least thought of it; a most romantic and incre-

Artaxerxes.
Year of Christ
350.

f AGATH. SCHOLAST. ubi supra. CEDREN. ibid. p. 312. ZOSIM. l. iv. PAUL. DIACON. l. xi. AMMIAN. MARCEL. l. xxvii.

wife king, a great captain, and an able statesman. The eloquence of the *Greek* writers will everlastingly do justice to the military virtues of *Julian*, and the christian piety of his successor. As we are now writing the *Persian* history, we thought it but justice to vindicate the character of a *Persian* monarch, by a short recapitulation of facts, which is all that is intended by this note.

(L) *Ammianus Marcellinus* hath given a pretty large account of this *Armenian* war, wherein he charges the king of *Persia* with breach of faith to the *Romans*, and with excessive cruelty and treachery towards the *Armenians*. He says, that he took advantage of that confusion which overspread the *Roman* affairs after the death of the emperor *Jovian*, to fall upon the *Armenians*, first by slight incursions, quickly after more openly, and with greater force; that, in the progress of the war, he, on some pretence or other, prevailed on *Arfaces* king of *Armenia* to admit of a personal conference with him; at which he seized him, and instantly caused his eyes to be put out, and himself to be cruelly beaten with silver rods; and a short time afterwards ordered him to be crucified, laying then siege to the capital of *Armenia*, where the queen, the king's sons and treasures were; that the *Armenians*, in this distress, had recourse to the emperor *Valentinian*, who sent to their assistance *Arintbius*, with an army, which obliged *Sapor* to retire, tho' he exclaimed against it as a

breach of the peace (34). It is easy enough to see that this account is perplexed, and altogether favourable to the *Romans*; but it is not easy to unravel it, or, at this distance of time, to point out all the misrepresentations contained therein. We know however, that they are not wanting, and that the true ground of the war was this: *Julian*, when he made his irruption into *Persia*, compelled *Arfaces* king of *Armenia* to attend him with all the forces he could raise, tho' he would not accept the assistance of other princes. This he did, because *Arfaces* was a christian, and he had a mind to harass him and his subjects. When *Sapor* came to treat with *Jovian*, he excluded the *Armenians*, intending to revenge himself upon them for the assistance they had given *Julian*; so that the war was not altogether without pretence, any more than the complaint of the *Romans* assisting them, since they could not do this according to the letter of their treaty with the *Persians*. Some time after, when *Valentinian* suspected *Para*, who succeeded his father *Arfaces*, he, by fraud, got him into his hands, and, after very ill usage, caused him to be cruelly put to death; which fact was highly resented by *Sapor*. Henceforward the peace was ill observed on both sides; and, on the whole, it is most evident, that *Sapor* did not employ either fraud or force more unjustly than the *Romans*, with whom he had to deal, tho' the authors of that nation are not always ready to acknowledge as much.

(34) *Ammian. Marcell. l. xxvii. Socras. l. iii.*

dible tale! But the other opinion, that *Artaxerxes* was not the son, but the brother a of *Sapor*, is not at all the more probable, as making the foregoing story inconsistent and unintelligible; we ought therefore to suppose he was his kinsman only. However, our *European* historians tell us nothing more concerning this prince, than that he maintained the peace with the *Romans*, and governed his dominions quietly four years & (M).

Sapor III.
Year of Christ
385.

To him succeeded his son *Sapor*, the third of that name, who reigned five years; but what he did in that space, we find not in any *Greek* author, probably because, adhering to the peace made with his grandfather, he troubled not the *Roman* empire, then governed by *Theodosius the Great* ^b.

Varanes IV.
Year of Christ
390.

Varanes, or, as the *Greeks* write it, *Vararanes*, the fourth of that name, succeeded b his father *Sapor*. He is also known by the surname of *Cerma Saa*, of which we have little or no account as to its meaning. Elsewhere however this difficulty will be cleared up, and the title shewn to be *Kerman Shâb*, which province of *Kerman* was in his reign added to the *Persian* empire. He also maintained the peace with the *Romans*, being otherwise employed; and therefore the *Greek* historians say very little of him, any more than of his predecessors, tho' he reigned eleven years ^c.

Isidigertes.
Year of Christ
401.

Isidigertes succeeded *Varanes*, a monarch deservedly renowned for his many great virtues. He was cotemporary with *Arcadius* emperor of the east, with whom he lived not only in terms of peace, but of friendship; insomuch that at his death the emperor *Arcadius* declared him protector of his son *Theodosius* the second, and of the c *Roman* empire. Of this when *Isidigertes* was informed, he sent *Antiochus*, one of his cunuchs, a person of great wisdom and experience; to take care of his pupil's education, and by him declared to the senate of *Constantinople*, that he would turn the whole force of the *Persian* monarchy upon whomsoever should attempt to disturb the young prince's administration, whereby the empire was preserved, during a minority, in perfect quiet. As the young *Theodosius* grew up, the ties of friendship became stronger between the two empires, and embassies were more frequent than in former times (N). Amongst other ministers whom *Theodosius* made use of, *Maratbas*, a Mesopotamian

^a AGATH. SCHOLAST. l. iv. p. 137. ZONAR. A. C. 340. GREGOR. ABUL-PHAR. dynast. vii. p. 143.
^b AGATH. SCHOLAST. ubi supra. GREGOR. ABUL-PHAR. ubi supra. ^c AGATH. SCHOLAST. ubi supra. GREGOR. ABUL-PHAR. dynast. vii. p. 146.

(M) In this note we are to render a reason for our departing in the text from all authorities, in making the successor of *Sapor* neither his brother nor his son, but his kinsman only; and this we shall do as briefly as is consistent with the reader's satisfaction: For, first, we will shew, that he could not be the brother of *Sapor*; secondly, we will shew, that he could not be his son; and, thirdly, we will reconcile our conjecture to history. If this *Artaxerxes* had been the brother of *Sapor*, he must have been older, or younger; if older, why was he not king before him? or how came so cunning and so cruel a prince, as the *Romans* make *Sapor* to be, to spare an elder brother during a reign of seventy years? Younger he could not be, since *Sapor* himself was a posthumous son (35). If he had been the son of *Sapor*, then, the historian says, he had three elder brothers, of whom *Hormisdas* escaped to the *Romans*, in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of *Sapor*, and he was the second son; how then could this be, especially if, as the *Greek* historians say, *Hormisdas* was married? It remains, that we account for the expression of *Agathias*, who expressly affirms *Artaxerxes* to have been the brother of *Sapor*; for we have set the credit of *Agathias* too high to be unhinged by a slight criticism. We say then, that *Agathias*, writing after the *Persian* records, retained the word *brother*, which the *Persians*, as other oriental nations do, used only in a large sense; and therefore this does not contradict, but confirm our conjecture, that *Artaxerxes* was the near kinsman of *Sapor*, and no more. The reason of our introducing this notion

into our text, was the desire we had to make the history clear, plain, and consistent, which this account does. As to the story of the tent, we find it in *Zonaras* (36), as we found the story of *Marfyas* in *Zosimus* (37); and we take them both for fictions. Truth is always uniform, and therefore, as far as these stories are consistent with each other, and with common sense, we acknowledge them to be true; but, where they differ from these, we crave leave to differ from them. In all probability the fact was, that the family of *Hormisdas* settled at *Constantinople*, and that *Artaxerxes* was the next of the blood royal resident in *Persia*, and in a capacity of succeeding to the crown; for, as we shall see hereafter, the *Persians* were not scrupulous in setting aside young children.

(N) This fact is doubted of by *Agathias*, and he assures us, was not doubted of by him only, but by many of the learned in his time; the reason of which, he says, was the silence of cotemporary authors, and the story's being traced no higher than the writings of *Procopius* (38). We have however made no doubt of inserting this as a fact in our text, and we hope to give the reader satisfaction for so doing in this note. As to *Procopius*, if he was alone, he would be an incontestable witness; for he did not live at any great distance, neither was he one who reported things upon trust. We find this in the introduction to his history, and he says expressly, that *Arcadius's* will was sent to *Isidigertes*, and that the nomination of this prince to the tutelage of young *Theodosius*, preserved the empire in peace (39). All the *Greek* writers own, that, in the space of twenty-one

(35) *Agath. Scholast. l. iv. p. 136.* (36) *A. C. 340.* (37) *Lib. ii. iii.* (38) *Agath. Scholast. l. iv.*
(39) *Procop. de bell. Persic. l. i. c. 2. p. 8.*

- a Mesopotamian bishop, was one, a person equally remarkable for the innocence of his life, and for the winning pleasantry of his conversation. His stay in Persia quite altered the state of the christian church in that country; for whereas before they were looked upon not only as heretics, but as very bad subjects, on account of their inclination to the Roman emperors, who were of their own religion, Maratbas so fully informed him of the true doctrines of the christian faith, that he began to entertain just ideas of the innocency and loyalty of its professors. This alarmed the Persian priests, and they instantly began to form schemes for the destruction of so wise and good a man. He had, it seems, by his prayers, cured the king of a fixed and inveterate head-ach, which induced that monarch to reverence him greatly, and for his sake his religion, without forsaking however his own. To drive the bishop from court, and to revive in the king's mind his ancient dislike to the christians, the Persian magi contrived a very whimsical expedient, which yet had well nigh effected their purpose, ridiculous as it was. They let down a man into a pit behind the sacred fire in the king's oratory, and having covered the person placed therein with carpets, they directed him, when the king came to worship, to speak the following words in a shrill voice; *Impious and ungrateful prince, I will chase thee from thy throne, if thou banish not that christian, whom thou believest to be acceptable to God.* Isdigertes was mightily surprized when he first heard this; but more so, when he heard it constantly repeated as often as he went to his devotions. At length he determined to send back
- b Maratbas, but with the utmost civility, as well in respect to his master as to himself; but when he came to break it to the bishop, that prelate penetrated the contrivance, and advised the king, when he next heard the voice, to order certain persons to dig in the place whence it came. Isdigertes did so; the man was discovered, the fraud detected, and the magi decimated. The king moreover granted hereupon free leave to the christians to build churches throughout his dominions, where-ever they thought fit, and freed them in all respects from the penal laws enacted against them by his predecessors.

- c Maratbas returned after this to Constantinople, and was employed a second time in an embassy to Persia. The magi hearing of his coming, had recourse to new frauds; but the king easily saw through these without assistance. They were therefore so far from preventing his giving a favourable reception to the bishop, that they engaged him to treat this prelate with still greater marks of favour than he had given him before. Maratbas had not been long in Persia, before a new opportunity offered for raising his credit with the king. The prince of Persia was thought to be possessed. This pious prelate, assisted by Abdas, whom he had consecrated bishop in Persia, joined their prayers to God for the prince's recovery; which soon after happened, to the joy of the whole court, and to the honour of the christian religion. Isdigertes governed in the whole twenty-one years, and, during that space, lived in perfect peace and friendship with the Romans, as also with the christians in his own dominions, whom he treated not only with lenity, but indulgence.

Christianity highly favoured by him.

* SOCRAT. hist. ecclef. l. vii. c. 8. GOR. ABUL-PHAR dynast. vii. p. 146.

† AGATH. SCHOLAST. l. iv. p. 137. PAUL. DIACON. l. xvi. GREGOR. ABUL-PHAR dynast. vii. p. 146.

one years, which this Persian king reigned, he never attempted any thing against the Romans; but, on the contrary, lived with Theodosius in the strictest amity all his days, which seems to be a strong presumption in favour of this account. Zonaras, in his history, relates this fact without the least sign of diffidence or suspicion (40). Cedrenus doth the same, with this additional circumstance, that the emperor Arcadius bequeathed the Persian king a great sum of money for his trouble (41). As to Antiochus, all authors agree, that he was the first governor of Theodosius, and that, for a time, the empire was swayed by his counsels (42). The reason Agathias doubted the fact, seems to be his zeal for the Roman glory, which, he thought, was tarnished by the choice Arcadius made of a barbarian for the tutor of his son. Procopius informs us, that it was the

high reputation of Isdigertes for wisdom and probity, which induced Arcadius to make choice of him; and for this he commends him (43). Yet Agathias himself yields a higher compliment to Isdigertes than Procopius; for if, without being his tutor, that monarch abstained from any attempts upon his dominions, merely because Theodosius was a child, he was one of the most generous princes that ever lived, and deserved the confidence of all the princes his contemporaries. The truth seems to be, that Procopius, as a man of business, a courtier and a soldier, was free from prejudice; whereas Agathias, who was a downright scholar, and lived in an age when it was fashionable to hate the Persians, could not let a story so much to their honour pass, without intimating a doubt about it (44).

(40) A. C. 423. Cedren. ubi supra.

(41) Hist. comp. p. 335. (43) Procop. ubi supra.

(42) Sozomen. hist. ecclef. l. ix. Evagr. hist. eccl. l. i. (44) Agath. Scholast. ubi supra.

Varanes,

Varanes V.
Year of Christ
421.

Varanes, or *Vararanes*, the fifth, succeeded his father *Isdigertes*, and seems, notwithstanding what the Greek writers affirm, to have had, in his own disposition, a great tenderness for the christians. He had not however been long upon the throne, before he found himself provoked to such a degree, as constrained him to lay aside all indulgence, and openly to persecute them. Thus it came to pass: *Abdas* the *Persian* prelate, in a high and unwarrantable fit of zeal, burnt a fire-temple to the ground. The king sent for him, and having a great respect for his person, reproved him gently, and advised him to rebuild it; which he absolutely refused to do. The christian writers universally condemn the rashness of the first act, and the prelate's constancy in the second. However, the *magi* resented this matter so warmly, and, by their clamour, so incensed the people, that the king was obliged to proceed to extremities, to order all the christian churches to be demolished, and to put the bishop *Abdas* to death. After this, a furious persecution began, on the old supposition, that such as differ in religion from their prince, cannot be loyal to his government. As for persons of quality, they were deprived of their places, had their estates confiscated, but were indulged in life and liberty, in hopes of their coming over. *Hormisdas*, a man descended of the ancient race of *Acbemenes*, after being stripped of his fortune, was reduced to keep camels for his bread. Another nobleman had his wife taken from him, and given to his slave; but these methods wrought no conversions. The meaner sort of people were still in a worse way; they were delivered over to the mercy of the priests, and consequently were subjected to an inexpressible variety of deaths and torments.

War breaks
out with the
Romans.

THESE things quickly occasioned differences to arise between the *Persian* and *Roman* monarchs, especially as reasons of state concurred with these religious jars. *Theodosius*, in the days of *Isdigertes*, had lent a certain number of miners, who were to be employed in working a-new some silver and gold mines, which had been long neglected in *Persia*. These miners *Varanes* had refused to send home; and therefore, as well on this account, as because multitudes of christians fled out of *Persia* into the dominions of *Theodosius*, both parties began to prepare for war. The king of *Persia* made choice of one *Narfes* for his general, and sent him to his frontiers, where he expected to have found a numerous army: but he was mistaken; the troops were not come to the place of rendezvous; and, before they could be assembled, the *Roman* general *Ardaburius*, marching through *Armenia*, fell into *Azazene*, a *Persian* province, and began to waste it with fire and sword. *Narfes* no sooner received this news, than he instantly marched to give him battle with the forces he had about him. The consequence was, that the *Persian* was worsted; but being an able captain, made a good retreat. He saw, that it was now impossible to prevent the destruction of *Azazene* by force; and therefore, returning back to the place of rendezvous, whither by this time the *Persian* troops were come, he, at the head of a very numerous army, made an irruption into *Mesopotamia*, a *Roman* province, which obliged the *Roman* general quickly to return, and as quickly to block up *Nisibis*, the principal fortrefs which the *Persians* had on that side. *Narfes* finding himself disappointed, for he conceived, that the *Romans* would immediately have given him battle a second time, resolved, if it was possible, to provoke them to fight. With this view he sent a message to *Ardaburius*, telling him, That, if he would appoint a day, he would be ready to meet him in the field. But *Ardaburius* wisely answered, That the *Romans* fought when they pleased themselves, and not when their enemies thought it for their advantage. *Varanes*, in the mean time, had solicited the *Saracens* to break with the *Romans*; and they very readily complied, their captain *Alamundarus* being naturally an enemy to the *Romans*. This man, having raised a prodigious army, promised the *Persian* king to perform wonders, at least to reduce *Antioch* and *Syria* under his power; neither meant he to perform less than he promised, for, passing the *Euphrates*, he broke, like a torrent, into the *Roman* province; but beginning to plunder without mercy, the people recovered their spirits, and joining the *Roman* army, fell upon *Alamundarus* in his march, and cut to pieces a hundred thousand men, which forced the remainder of the *Saracens* to fly with shame into their own country. When this news reached the ear of the *Persian* monarch, with this further circumstance, that *Nisibis* was so closely pressed, that it could not long hold out, he determined to put all things to the risk, and to march to the relief of

■ THEODORET. hist. ecclef. l. v. c. 39. SOCRAT. hist. ecclef. l. vii. c. 20. EVAGR. l. i. c. 19.

that

- a that city, with the whole force of *Persia*. This resolution once taken, *Varanes* instantly put it in execution, directing all his troops in the frontier provinces to rendezvous at a certain time, and marched immediately with an army he had collected from the nine provinces of *Persia*, together with his elephants, that his presence might influence all the necessary preparations. His design succeeded perfectly well; for by that time he entered *Mesopotamia*, all his generals were arrived; so that he advanced towards *Nisibis* with a prodigious army. The *Romans* hearing of his approach, the number of elephants he brought with him, and his mighty strength in cavalry, were seized with a sudden panic, and, without staying for his coming, raised the siege, and fled. This was highly pleasing to *Varanes*, who thinking now the worst was over,
- b retired to his capital, and left his generals to manage the war. Herein he acted incautiously and unhappily; for the *Romans* recovering their spirits, defeated the *Persians* in a pitched battle, repulsed the *Saracens* a second time, and, under the command of *Ardaburius*, beat the *Persian* forces, with the slaughter not only of a great number of men, but of seven generals. However, *Varanes* continued the war, and being himself a prince of great firmness, and much military skill, he found means to make even victories disadvantageous to the *Romans*; for, by keeping a court on the frontiers, repairing his armies by constant supplies, and preserving his magazines in good order, he kept the enemy still on the defensive; and as they found it difficult to recruit, all actions that were bloody, were favourable to the *Persians*, tho' they
- c were beaten. The emperor *Theodosius*, perfectly sensible of the situation of things, sent *Helion*, a person of great distinction, with a large body of troops, to reinforce his army, directing him to enter into a negotiation with *Varanes*, and to conclude a peace, if possible. *Helion* pursuing his instructions, and finding the *Roman* army intrenched, sent *Maximin*, the colleague of *Ardaburius*, to offer *Varanes* peace, on certain conditions. *Varanes* ordered *Maximin* to be conducted to the tent of one of his principal officers, and, in the mean time, held a council of war, wherein it was resolved immediately to attack the *Romans* in their camp; and, in case they were repulsed, to accept the terms offered by *Maximin*. There was in the *Persian* army a corps of troops, distinguished by the title of *immortal*, because their number was
- d continually kept up to ten thousand men, by draughts out of other corps. This body of troops took upon themselves this dangerous piece of service, which however they reckoned would prove the less so, if they could take the *Romans* unprovided. In order to this they divided themselves, and while five thousand attacked the intrenchments, the other five thousand formed behind a hill, waiting there for an opportunity to attack the *Romans* in flank. But their enterprize miscarried; for *Procopius*, a *Roman* general, observing the troops that were formed behind the hill, marched round with a great body of forces, and getting between them and those who attacked the *Roman* camp, charged them on all sides with incredible fury; so that the victory was quickly determined on the side of the *Romans*, with a prodigious slaughter of
- e the *Persian* soldiery. *Varanes* then condescended to hear *Maximin*; and when that officer had explained to him his master's demands, he told him, That, for his sake, he would be content to make peace on those terms, and to put an end to the severities exercised upon the christians. An accident however happened, which carried this matter much farther, and contributed more than the peace between the two empires to the re-establishment of christianity in *Persia*. It was this: When the province of *Azazene* was ravaged by the *Romans* in the beginning of the war, seven thousand *Persians* were brought prisoners to the city of *Amida*, where they fell into extreme want. *Acases*, bishop of that place, having assembled his clergy, represented to them in the most pathetic terms the misery of these unhappy prisoners. He then
- f observed, that as the Almighty preferred mercy to sacrifice, so he would certainly be better pleased with the relief of these his creatures, than with being served in gold and silver vessels in their churches. The clergy entertained this motion not only with readiness, but with applause, sold all the consecrated vessels, and having maintained the *Persians* during the war, sent the whole seven thousand home, at the conclusion of the peace, with money in their pockets. *Varanes* was so much astonished at this, that he sent to invite the bishop to his capital, where he received him with the utmost reverence, and did the christians many favours at his request. After this, *Varanes* enjoyed peace as long as he lived; and having reigned twenty years, died, beloved and honoured by his subjects.

^a SOCRAT. hist. eccles. l. vii. c. 17—21. ZONAR. hist. Rom. A.C. 435. AGATH. hist. l. iv. p. 137.

Varanes VI.
Year of Christ
442.

To *Varanes* the fifth succeeded *Varanes* the sixth, or, as he is called by some authors, *Isdigerdes*. It is not probable that he ever broke the peace made by his father with the *Romans*; inasmuch as we meet with nothing concerning him in any of the *Greek* historians, further than that he was cotemporary with *Theodosius* the second, and his successor *Martianus*, and that he reigned seventeen years and four months.

Peroses.
Year of Christ
453.

Perosès succeeded his father *Varanes* or *Isdigerdes*. He was a prince of a restless and turbulent spirit, and could not bear that the *Hunns*, who, at this time, began to be terrible, as well to his subjects as to those of the *Constantinopolitan* emperors, should inroach, as they daily did, upon his dominions. Those he had to do with, were distinguished by the name of *Eutbalites*, or *white Hunns*, and were much more civilized than the rest, as living in cities, and under a certain form of government; which the rest of their nation did not. To rid himself of those neighbours, *Peroses* marched at the head of a great army, after having carefully settled the affairs of his empire, and done all that in him lay to secure its peace in his absence. *Gonza* was the capital of the nation he attacked, and lay directly north of *Persia*. *Peroses* marched strait thither, hoping to put an end to the war by a general action. But the *Eutbalites*, or *Nepthalites*, as some authors call them, were wiser. They knew that a wasted country was not lost; and therefore retiring continually, they drew *Peroses* and his army so far into their territories, as to cut off their retreat, and, at the same time, to hinder them from receiving provisions. The distress of the *Persians* was so great, and the soldiers were so enfeebled and dispirited, that they were constrained to accept any conditions that were offered them. The king of the *Eutbalites* being informed of their condition, sent to acquaint *Peroses*, that if he had a mind to deliver himself and his army, he might do it upon these terms, viz: *Swearing never to invade the Eutbalites, and coming to do homage to him as his lord*. To the first of these *Peroses* readily yielded; but the last seemed intolerable. At last the magi, who were about his person, proposed to him an expedient, which removed all difficulties. This expedient was, that he should go pay his compliments to the king of the *Eutbalites* at sun-rising, when his prostrating himself would be understood by that king as an act of submission; but by himself would be conceived to be no more than an act of reverence to the sun. This expedient was approved, and carried instantly into execution. The king of the *Eutbalites* was satisfied, and *Peroses*, with the remainder of his army, returned back into *Persia*. As soon as he had a little settled his affairs, and had leisure to look about him, the *Persian* monarch, unmindful of his oath, provided for a second expedition against the *Hunns*. He took however more prudent measures than before; that is, he not only raised a very numerous army, but he likewise took care to be well furnished with provisions. He also settled his domestic concerns in the best manner possible; and leaving the prince his son regent of the kingdom, he began his march a second time towards the northern frontiers of his empire. The *Eutbalites* supposing, as they very well might, that *Peroses* would expect to penetrate, as he did before, into the heart of their country, carried off their effects, but concealed their forces behind certain mountains, from whence issuing suddenly on all sides of the *Persian* army, they totally routed it, and, at their leisure, killed or made prisoners almost all the soldiers of whom it was composed, amongst whom *Peroses* himself perished, when he had worn the *Persian* diadem twenty years (O).

WHEN

* AGATH. ubi supra. P PROCOF. de bell. Persic. l. i. c. 24. p. 10. AGATH. hist. l. iv. p. 138. CUDREN. hist. comp. p. 355.

(O) The story of *Peroses* is related at large by *Procopius*, in the beginning of his memoirs of the *Persian* war. He informs us, that, in his first expedition, the *Persian* monarch carried with him a certain *Roman* ambassador, whose name was *Eusebius*, a discreet person, and one equally beloved by the king and by his nobility. Him therefore, when the *Persian* generals had discovered the miserable situation they were in, they made choice of to break the matter to *Peroses*, that, before it was too late, some method might be taken to extricate them out of their misfortunes. *Eusebius* having artfully drawn the king into a discourse of the present state of mind necessary in great distresses, and being desired to speak

his mind freely of the state they were now in, he told *Peroses* this story: *A lion once saw a kid tied at a distance, and, pressed by hunger, leaped at it with all his force; but, falling short of his prey, he dropped into a pit, which had been prepared for him, and out of which all his force could not deliver him*. *Peroses* easily comprehended the drift of this fable, and, by the advice of his magi, acted as the reader hath been told above. In his second expedition, *Peroses* wanted such an adviser, otherwise he had not fallen as he did. The enemy, it seems, having timely notice of his intention, spent many months in digging a vast ditch in the midst of a plain, and in removing all the earth which was thrown out of it. In the middle they

- a WHEN the *Persians* had received advice of the disastrous death of their king, they made choice of his brother *Obalas*, or, as he is usually called by the *Greek* writers, *Valens*, not caring to trust so young a person as *Cavades* then was, with the reins of government, tho' his father had left him regent. This *Valens* proved an excellent prince, tender, compassionate, just, affable, and desirous of assuaging, as far as he might, the misery of his country, almost wholly subjected by the *Euthalites*, to whom, for two years, he paid tribute, and with whom, for two others, he held war. At length, worn out with cares, he died, after a short and troublesome reign of four years, the less regretted by his subjects, on account of his being a man peaceably disposed, and therefore very unfit to restore the ancient lustre of the kingdom ⁹ (P).
- b *Cavades*, or, as he is frequently called, *Cabades*, ascended the throne on the demise of his uncle. He was a prince of a high spirit; one who loved war, and understood it; ready to undertake any thing for the extending his dominion, and jealous to the last degree of his authority, and the glory of the *Persian* name. At first these qualities were extremely useful to his subjects; for, in all probability, had they not been governed by so warlike and enterprising a prince, they had never recovered their independency, but had sunk under the weight of those continual invasions made upon them by the *Euthalites*, whom no tribute could content, no treaties restrain. Against these enemies *Cavades* set himself with great resolution; and, making use of the same policy which they had done towards his father, drew them, by small bodies, in hopes of plunder, far into his country, and, in their return, cut them off. When, by this means, they were cured of their practice of invading, he turned his arms upon them; but warily, sustaining one body of troops by another, that by a third, wintering sometimes in their country, till at last he quite broke their spirits, and obliged them to own him for their sovereign, whom they thought to have had for their subject. This war finished, *Cavades*, from being terrible to his enemies, became no less so to his subjects. His enterprising, restless genius, incapable of brooking any restraints, put him upon altering the constitution of his kingdom, and depriving all the nobility of those privileges and prerogatives, which they had enjoyed under his predecessors. He likewise became intolerably proud, would scarce allow any of them to enter his
- c presence, or advise him in his affairs; but acted with such an arbitrary fierceness, as would have given a very bad colour to his proceedings, had they been really just in themselves. At length he pushed his extravagancy so far, as to publish an edict, whereby all the women in the empire were declared common to all the men therein. This the *Persian* nobility thought too much to be endured; and therefore they instantly assembled, seized on the person of the king, deposed him, and cast him into prison, supposing that less than this could not secure themselves in safety, or the kingdom in peace. This happened after he had reigned eleven years, and appears to have been as total a revolution as ever happened in any kingdom, there being

⁹ CEDREN. hist. comp. p. 356. AGATH. hist. l. iv. p. 138.

they left a narrow neck of land, and having covered this mighty ditch with hurdles, they strewed these with mold, and covered them with grass plots. This done, they drew all their forces, on the approach of *Peroses*, into a line of battle before the ditch, and, as the *Persian* troops advanced, they drew off in close order crows the neck of land. The *Persian* cavalry following them with great fury, pushed each other into the ditch, and so became a sacrifice to this incensed people. *Peroses* is said to have had no less than thirty sons grown up to man's estate, who all perished with him here, *Cavades* being left at home, on account of his youth, and that the kingdom might be preserved to the immediate offspring of *Peroses* (45).

(P) There cannot be any thing more perplexed than the accounts given us by the *Greek* writers of these *white Huns*, who, for a time, so terribly distressed the *Persians*. *Procopius*, who speaks more at large of them than any other writer, calls them *Ephthalites*, and says, they inhabited a country to

the north of *Persia*. Their chief city, according to him, was *Gorgo*, on the very frontiers of *Persia* (46). *Agathias* calls these people *Nephthalites*. They are generally agreed to have been the same people, who, in other ancient authors, are called *Indo-Scythia* (47). All this will give the reader but very little, if any light at all. From the *Oriental* historians we learn, that their true name was *Haiathalites*, and that they possessed a large tract of country between the *Indies* and *Persia*, till they began to make incroachments on the country last-mentioned, after they had made choice of *Balkh* for their metropolis (48). This is plain and intelligible to every man that is acquainted with the *Oriental* geography; and we shall make the whole history of this war much more uniform and perspicuous, when we come to speak of it from the memoirs of the *Eastern* writers. At present this is sufficient to demonstrate the great utility of these comparisons, despised only by such as either cannot, or are unwilling to be at the pains necessary to such an undertaking.

(45) *Procop. de bell. Persic. l. i. c. 3. p. 9.* *Agath. Scholast. l. iv. p. 137.* *Cedren. hist. comp. p. 355, 356.*
 (46) *De bell. Persic. l. i. c. 3.* (47) *Agath. Scholast. l. iv.* (48) *Mirkhond. se2. 31.*

scarce

scarce any who adhered to the deposed prince; and those that did, were constrained a to be silent, for his sake, as well as for their own^r.

Zambades.
Year of Christ
497.

Zambades, whom some call *Blases*, others *Lamases*, and who is by some said to have been the son, by others the brother of *Peroses*, consequently the uncle or brother of *Cavades*, was elected king in his stead. The first thing the new king did was to assemble a general council of the nobility, in which he desired they would consider and determine what should be done with *Cavades*. The people had before declared, that they considered the person of their prince as sacred; however, the council were very much divided, especially when *Gusanastades*, who was possessed of the highest office in the kingdom, drew a little knife out of his pocket, with which he was wont to pare his nails; and when he had made them take notice of the smallness of its blade, *This*, b said he, *properly applied now, will do what twenty thousand men will not be able to do, if you let this opportunity slip.* At last it was unanimously determined, that the king should for his unworthy administration of the government suffer perpetual imprisonment, and be for ever forgotten by his people, whose allegiance from thenceforwards was to be transferred to *Zambades*. This prince had indeed all the properties necessary to give lustre to a crown justly attained. He was equally wise and indulgent, desirous of restoring order, and of making the people happy; he applied himself with great industry to remedy those evils, which had taken birth from his predecessor's conduct and example. But while he was thus employed, a new storm arose, which after throwing the whole kingdom into violent convulsions, at length produced a second c revolution. Thus it happened^r.

The deposed
king of ages.

THE keeper of the castle, in which *Cavades* was imprisoned, became enamoured of his queen, who alone remained attached to him in all his misfortunes, and who failed not to bring him necessaries with her own hands, though she was not permitted to see him. With much ado however she procured leave to write to him, and having acquainted him with the situation of things, *Cavades* by letter directed her to sooth the passion of his gaoler, in order to get admittance to him. This the lady did so effectually, that she had access to her husband when she pleased, and thereby an opportunity of acquainting him that he had still one friend left, who was ready to undertake any thing for his service. The name of this man was *Seoses*, a person of quality, d who had a great number of dependents, among whom he collected a troop fit to attend the king where-ever he should think fit, when he should be once safely out of the castle. The care of this the queen took upon herself; for staying, as she often did, late in the evening, she dressed the king in her cloaths, wherein he went out, and having put on his, remained in his stead. As she pretended to be sick, and not to leave her bed for some days, the cheat was not discovered, so that *Cavades* had time enough given him to save himself, which he did in the company of *Seoses*, and his friends, who conducted him quite through *Persia* into the territories of the *Euthalites*, whose king received him with great honour, and readily granted him his protection. As for the queen, there is nothing said of her fate with certainty; however, e historians intimate, that more of resentment than of pity was shewn in the treatment towards her. As for *Cavades*, the king of the *Euthalites* entertained him splendidly, treated him as his good friend and ally, and gave him his daughter in marriage. After this the *Persian* king began to hold correspondence with some of the nobility, and finding or believing he found in his people a propensity to receive him once more as their sovereign, he persuaded his father-in-law to furnish him with an army; and this favour being readily accorded to him, he no sooner saw the troops in a readiness, than he put himself at their head, and marched directly into *Persia*^r.

Cavades re-
stored.
Year of Christ
501.

Cavades entered first into the province, of which *Gusanastades*, who had threatened his life, was governor; where he instantly caused proclamation to be made, that f this man, as a rebel, stood deprived of his charge, and that himself would instantly confer it on him, who should first pay his duty to him on a day assigned. His friends represented to the king, that this was innovating the established laws, which fixed the governments of provinces in certain houses. *Cavades* however affected to remain firm; but at the day conferred the office of governor upon *Adergunabades*, a young nobleman next of kin to the deprived governor, who, as it was concerted, paid his compliments to him first. After this he proceeded to the capital of *Persia*, and

^r AGATH. hist. lib. iv. p. 139. PROCOP. de bell. Persic. lib. i. c. 5. p. 16. CEDREN. hist. comp. p. 356. THEOPHYLACT. hist. p. 99. ^s AGATH. PROCOP. CEDREN. THEOPH. ubi supra. ^t PROCOP. de bell. Persic. lib. i. c. 6. AGATH. CEDREN. ubi supra.

repossessed

a repossessed himself of the throne almost as easily as he had been ejected. His conduct upon this extraordinary change in his affairs was suitable to the fierceness of his temper. *Zambades* he deprived of sight, and imprisoned, after he had for four years worn the royal title. *Gufanastades* he put to death; and that his restoration might be adorned with one act of generosity amidst so much severity, he erected a new office for his friend *Sesajès*, whom he made lieutenant general of his kingdom.

b It was not long before the king of the *Eutbalites* pressed his son-in-law to repay the great sums of money he had lent him. *Cavades* found he had it not in his power to comply with his demand, and therefore desired *Anastafius*, then emperor of the east, to accommodate him with the sum he wanted, offering to pay interest for it, which was refused. *Cavades* readily conceiving that there was now no way to avoid breaking with his father-in-law, but by making war upon the *Romans*, chose this as the lesser evil of the two; and having a considerable body of forces about him, made a sudden irruption into *Armenia*, preventing by the quickness of his march, the very report of his expedition. By this method he answered his purpose; for the inhabitants having no time to withdraw their effects, he raised excessive contributions; after which he besieged *Amida*, the principal fortress in those parts, in form. As the province had for many years enjoyed a profound peace, the city was wholly unprovided either of garison, or of magazines; however the citizens refused to open their gates, and prepared to make an obstinate defence. *Cavades*, who delighted in war, and who understood it perfectly well, practised all the methods then in use for reducing fortified places, but in vain; at length, however, when he and his principal commanders were almost in despair, a tower was surprized by the supine negligence of certain monks on the eightieth day from the commencement of the siege. At first *Cavades* suffered his soldiers to put the inhabitants to the sword. A citizen thereupon told him, it was unworthy of a hero to put those to death who were unable to resist. *Why then*, said the king, *did you pretend to treat me as an enemy? Because*, said the citizen, *it was the will of God to deliver Amida, not to your will, but to your valour*. *Cavades*, charmed with this compliment, ordered the citizens to be spared. Some time afterwards he restored to them their privileges, directed the walls and public buildings to be repaired, and leaving therein *Glones*, a *Persian* nobleman, with a garison of a thousand men, he treated it afterwards rather as a benefactor than a conqueror.

c As soon as the news of this invasion reached *Rome*, the emperor took the necessary precautions for assembling an army, which was accordingly done; and orders were given them to march to the frontiers with all imaginable expedition. The *Greek* writers tell us, that there never were better forces sent against the *Persians*, than this army was composed of, or generals of greater reputation. *Cavades* on his side took the field early, and being informed that the *Roman* officers differed among themselves, and had divided their forces into several independent corps, he resolved to attack them as speedily as he could. He first fell upon *Ariobindus*, who on the approach of the *Persians* shamefully abandoned his camp, and fled to an adjacent city. Eight hundred *Eutbalites*, who were the forlorn hope of *Cavades's* army, in their next march fell in with a considerable body of *Roman* troops, commanded by *Hypatius*, and were by them intirely cut to pieces on the side of a river, the stream of which they dyed with their blood. It was not long before the *Persian* monarch arrived on its banks, where guessing by the colour of the water what had happened, he immediately conceived that he should find the *Romans* secure and unprovided. Whereupon, instead of making a halt, he pushed on with his cavalry; and, as he conjectured, finding the *Romans* eating, drinking, and washing themselves in the river, he severely revenged the death of his friends, by putting almost this whole body of *Romans* to death without any resistance.

f UPON the heels of this victory, he received advice of the *Huns* having broken into the northern provinces of his empire; upon which he was obliged to return with his whole army into *Persia*, whence he happily expelled those barbarous invaders. While *Cavades* was thus employed, things on the frontiers went not altogether so well, tho' not at all less honourably for the *Persians*. After the departure of the army, the *Romans* in several bodies drew nearer to *Amida*, in order to streighten its garison, and to prevent its receiving provisions. They likewise found means to betray *Glones* the

PROCOPIUS. de bell. Persic. lib. i. c. 6. p. 19. AGATH. hist. lib. iv. p. 139. CEDREN. H. C. p. 336. THEOPHYLACT. lib. iv. p. 100. PROCOPIUS. de bell. Persic. lib. i. c. 7. p. 20. CEDREN. H. C. p. 169. PROCOPIUS. de bell. Persic. lib. i. c. 8.

Perſian commander into an ambuſcade, wherein himſelf and two hundred horſe were cut to pieces. This was not only a very unfortunate accident for the garriſon in point of the loſs they ſuſtained of their governor, and a fifth part of their forces, but it was alſo fatal in its conſequences, by reaſon of its reſtraining them from making any excuſions, in order to fill their magazines. The command devolved upon the ſon of *Glones*, a young man, but an excellent officer, and one who acquired a greater reputation by loſing this city, than his maſter had done by gaining it. After a long blockade, in which, though the *Romans* did little, the *Perſians* ſuffered much, being conſtrained to feed on the vileſt and moſt nauſeous things to ſatisfy their hunger, while the provisions in their magazines remained untouched, in order to ſerve another purpoſe, hopes of ſuccour being loſt, the governor entered into a treaty with the *Romans* for the delivery of the city. During this treaty large diſtributions were made from the magazines; whence the *Roman* officers-conceiving that the beſieged had ſtill plenty of provisions, they agreed to let the garriſon march out, and to carry with them all that they had, giving alſo to the governor a vaſt ſum of money for ſurrendering a place, which in a few days muſt have fallen into their hands, with all that was in it. Some time after a truce for ſeven years was concluded between the *Romans* and *Perſians*, and hoſtages given on both ſides for its being duly kept, which afforded *Cava- des* leiſure to purſue his wars againſt the *Hunns* ^a (Q).

Propoſes the adoption of his ſon to the emperor.

IN theſe he had his uſual ſucceſs; yet all his foreign victories could not ſecure to him peace or tranquillity in his family. He had three ſons, *Caofes*, *Zames*, and *Cbofroes*, the laſt of whom he deſigned for his ſucceſſor. *Caofes* the eldeſt is ſaid to have been a prince of merit; neither are we told why his father at firſt diſliked him. But ſo it was, that conceiving againſt him a moſt violent hatred, he reſolved to deprive him of the ſucceſſion. *Zames* had the miſfortune to be blind of an eye, on which account, by the laws of *Perſia*, he was incapable of reigning. *Cbofroes* very much reſembled his father in temper, fierce, warlike, and ambitious; he was continually contriving great things, and addreſſed himſelf with as much diligence to achieve them, as with facility he had planned them in his head. On this young prince *Cava- des* repoſed his hopes, and being deſirous to eſtabliſh him in a more glorious ſituation than any of his predeceſſors, he entered into a negotiation with *Juſtin*, who had ſucceeded *Anaſtaſius* in the empire, in order to induce him to adopt *Cbofroes*. At firſt this motion was well entertained at *Conſtantinople*, but by degrees the emperor was perſuaded that it might be injurious to his family, and his ſubjects, which determined him againſt it. However, commissioners met on both ſides, to treat of a laſting peace, and to ſettle the boundaries of the two empires. For this important buſineſs, *Cava- des* made choice of *Seſoſes*, whom he had raiſed to the principal offices in his kingdom, and *Mebodes*, a military officer of great experience. On the other hand, the emperor *Juſtin* ſent *Hypatius*, the nephew of his predeceſſor, and *Rufinus*, a man of great quality. After frequent conferences, diſputes aroſe; and it being propoſed to adopt *Cbofroes* in a new and particular manner as a barbarian, that prince conceived ſuch a diſpleaſure thereat, as induced him to manifeſt an irreconcilable hatred to the *Romans*. The conferences being broken off, *Mebodes*, at their return to court, charged *Seſoſes* with having contributed to the miſcarriage of their negotiation. He was likewiſe accuſed for burying his wife contrary to the law of *Perſia*, whereby all dead bodies were expoſed to the fowls of the air. On theſe pretences he was tried, and

^a PROCOR. de bell. Perſic. lib. I. c. 9. p. 38. CEDREN. H. G. p. 170. AGATH. hiſt. lib. IV. p. 139.

(Q.) While *Cava- des* made uſe of the peace ſubſiſting between him and the *Romans* to carry on war on his oppoſite frontier, in order effectually to quell the barbarous nations inhabiting on that ſide, the *Greek* writers tell us, that there happened an event, which effectually reconciled this prince to the *Chriſtians*, to whom hitherto he had not only been averſe, but even an open enemy. Of this remarkable event we have the following account. *Cava- des* came with his army before a certain caſtle on the frontiers of *India*, called *Tzudader*. This was filled with immenſe riches of all ſorts, and kept by a garriſon, not of men, but of evil ſpirits. *Cava- des* employed to no purpoſe his own

magi, the prieſts of the *Jews*, and other religious perſons, in exorcizing this infernal guard. At length the *Chriſtian* biſhop undertook and effected what the king deſired; for he expelled the dæmons, and delivered the caſtle, with all its riches, to *Cava- des*. Henceforwards the *Chriſtian* biſhops had acceſs to the king, and when their preſence was neceſſary, were called to council, inſtead of the *Jewiſh* and *Manichean* prieſts, who till then had enjoyed his favour. There is ſuch an air of fable in this relation, that we could not think of inserting it in our text; and yet, as it is to be found in more than one *Greek* author, we did not think fit to paſs it over in ſilence (49).

(49) Cedren. hiſt. compend. p. 362.

- a adjudged worthy of death. *Cavades* expressed a mighty sorrow for his friend, but was grown so tender of the laws, that he would not hinder their course. In this manner died *Sesofes*, and with him that high office, which had been created on purpose to gratify his pretensions^a.

Justinian having succeeded *Justin* in the empire of the east, pursued also his politics, in causing all the frontiers towards *Persia* to be surveyed, the old fortresses repaired, and new ones erected, as the situation of the country required. With this view he sent instructions to those who commanded on the frontiers of *Mesopotamia* to fortify *Min-done*, the nearest place in the *Roman* territories to *Nisibis*; and a body of troops under the command of *Culzes* and *Buzes*, brothers, were sent to protect the workmen. The *Persians*, who could not look but with an evil eye on the progress of this structure, just in their neighbourhood, took a proper opportunity, when the *Roman* forces did not observe exact discipline, to fall upon them; and after defeating, cut most of them to pieces, together with many of the workmen, demolished the place, and sent the prisoners into *Persia*, where *Cavades* employed them in his buildings. This stroke opened a new war, for the carrying on of which the *Persians* took the field with a very numerous army under the command of *Perofes*, who had under him several generals of reputation. On the other hand, *Belisarius* had the command of the *Roman* forces. After some preparatory motions, the armies came to a general engagement, in which, after a very obstinate resistance, the *Persians* were defeated with very great slaughter. Yet the *Romans* gained little ground by this victory; for the *Persian* generals, being supplied with fresh forces, continued to keep the field; only they contented themselves with slight excursions, and did not pretend to give the *Romans* battle a second time^b.

In *Armenia* things went no better; for *Mermeroes*, who commanded the *Persian* forces in chief, was twice defeated by *Deritbeus* the *Roman* general. Two castles, and certain districts dependent upon them, fell also under the power of the *Romans*, and in these districts were the gold mines belonging to the king of *Persia*. The *Tzani*, a free and barbarous people, were the chief occasion of these losses; for they now embraced the party of the *Romans*, and in consequence thereof, possessed themselves of the gold which belonged to the *Persian* king; at which the *Romans* were not ill pleased, and *Cavades* was constrained to be content, his forces not being numerous enough to reduce them; besides, his generals, *Narjes* and *Aratius*, deserted, and with all their families, and much wealth, retired to *Constantinople*. This situation of things did not at all discourage *Cavades*, who, when *Rufinus*, the *Roman* ambassador, came to treat with him of peace, adhered to his first demands; and when the ambassador had his audience of leave, insinuated to him, that if ever he departed from them, it must be in consideration of a large sum of money. To restore the lustre of his arms, he set several new armies on foot, disgraced *Perofes*, and gave the command of the army, which he intended to send into the *Roman* territories, to *Azarethas*, a very valiant man, and who well understood the duty of his charge. This general made an irruption into the country bordering on the *Euphrates*, and finding himself superior in force to *Belisarius*, wasted all before him with fire and sword. The *Roman* soldiery saw this with indignation, and notwithstanding the visible disparity of numbers, and other disadvantages, clamorously urged *Belisarius* to give the enemy battle; he declined it as long as he could; but at length, by the near approach of the enemy, and the obstinacy of his own troops, was forced to fight. The *Persian* general knew exactly the advantages he had, and improved them to the utmost, so that the *Romans* were defeated with very great slaughter. However, *Belisarius*, with the remains of his army, so well covered the country, that the *Persians* were not able to take any place of importance; for which *Azarethas* on his return to court, notwithstanding his victory, fell into disgrace^c.

The war still continued, *Mermeroes* had the command of the *Persian* army given him; and as *Belisarius* was recalled in order to be employed against the *Vandals*, he found it not so difficult a matter to deal with his successors; but after deceiving the *Roman* generals by certain marches, and counter-marches, he at last invested the city of *Martyropolis*, a place of the last importance to the *Roman* empire, and in sight of their armies carried on the siege in form. *Sittas*, who commanded for the emperor

^a PROCOR. de bell. Persic. lib. i. c. 11. p. 30. CEDREN. AGATH. ubi supra. EVAGR. lib. iv. c. 12. ^b PROCOR. de bell. Persic. lib. i. c. 13. p. 36. CEDREN. ubi supra. EVAGR. lib. iv. c. 13. ^c PROCOR. de bell. Persic. lib. i. c. 15. p. 43. EVAGR. ubi supra.

Justinian, finding that himself and his colleagues were able to do little good by force, ^a began with better success to practise some of the frauds of war; for having found a person fit for his purpose, and having thoroughly taught him his lesson, he sent him into the *Persian* army, where coming privately to *Mermers*, he acquainted him, that the *Massagetae*, whom *Cavades* had hired to fall into the *Roman* territories, had accepted a sum of money from *Justinian*, and were on the point of invading *Persia*. This greatly intimidated *Mermers*, engaged him first to turn his siege into a blockade, and afterwards to consent to a truce with the *Romans*; which was the reason that the *Massagetae*, who remained firm to the *Persian* interest, made only a short incursion, and returned without doing much good to themselves, or hurt to the *Romans*. ^d

Provides for
the succession of
his younger son.

In the mean time *Cavades*, who was oppressed with years, and whose activity had ^b been drawn upon him in his declining age many infirmities, began to feel the approach of death (R). Upon this he sent for *Mebodes*, his confident and minister, to whom having explained the reasons, why he desired to have *Chosroes* for his successor, he put his will, which contained the same things, into his hands, conjuring him to use his utmost endeavours to see it executed; which *Mebodes* then solemnly promised, and afterwards punctually performed. Thus died *Cavades*, after reigning thirty years from the time of his restoration, forty-one in the whole, and forty-five, if we take in the time of his imprisonment and exile. As soon as he was expired, *Caoses*, his eldest son, took upon him the title of king; but *Mebodes* interposed, representing that the crown of *Persia* was never to be taken by stealth; that an assembly of ^c the nobles was necessary to recognize his title, and that until this was done, his subjects could not lawfully obey him. Upon this an assembly was called, but whether by *Caoses* or *Mebodes*, does not appear. In this assembly the will of the king was produced and read, and such a regard was paid by the nobility to his memory, that the claim of *Caoses* was set aside, and *Chosroes*, in virtue of his father's designation, declared monarch of *Persia*. ^(S).

Chosroes

^d PROCOPIUS. de bell. Persic. lib. i. c. 16. p. 47. lib. iv. p. 140. CEDREN. p. 369.

^c PROCOPIUS. de bell. Persic. lib. i. c. 21. p. 65. AGATH.

(R) It is evident from this part of the *Persian* history, which is more entertaining, and fuller of events, than the foregoing, that this people were at this time not only numerous and warlike, but prudent also, and polite. The *Roman* authors, for so after the oriental custom we call those who treat of the *Roman* empire, are not fond of owning this; but affect to attribute all the success of the *Persians* to their vast armies, their sudden incursions, and the little respect which their monarchs had to treaties, and to oaths. One thing however is certain, that the *Roman* emperors paid constantly certain subsidies to the *Persian* kings; and this seems to be a very strong proof of the prowess of those monarchs, since it was not the custom of those times to pay subsidies for nothing. This was one of the great causes of the wars which so frequently happened between these empires. As often as the *Roman* empire was in disorder, or had a pacific prince upon the throne, the *Persian* received these subsidies; but when the *Romans* were in a good condition, or a martial prince was at their head, then they were stopped, and of course the *Persians* began their incursions, till either they were beaten by the *Roman* armies, or bought off again with *Roman* money. On the other hand, it must be owned, that when ambitious and turbulent princes wore the *Persian* diadem, scarce any thing could content them. They knew well, that the *Constantinopolitan* empire could not for any length of time support a war with *Persia*, because of the immense expence to which it was put, by keeping a great army on the frontiers. Whenever therefore one of these princes wanted money, he began a war, and as soon as the *Romans* would come up to his price, he sold them a peace. Hitherto we have explained the *Persian*

history and chronology; we intend this note as a key to their politics.

(S) Most of the *Greek* historians are silent as to the reasons which induced *Cavades* so vehemently to oppose the succession of his eldest son. It appears from what *Procopius* says, that it was not any sudden fit of anger, or the effect of the peevishness of old age, but a settled resolution, which he had taken many years before (50). We are obliged to *Theophanes* for unravelling in some measure this mystery, since from him we learn, that *Cavades* was jealous of the *Manichees*, who were in great favour with this son, and who were supposed to have drawn him to their party; for which great numbers of them, together with their bishop, suffered death (51). We are likewise told elsewhere, that these heretics, having once drawn *Caoses* to favour them, were next very impatient to hoist him to the throne, even before the death of his father; which intrigues of theirs were fatal to them, and to him. To them, in drawing on a persecution, which they might otherwise have avoided. To him, in that it deprived him of his birth-right, as well as that of his father's affection. It is very probable, that these schemes were chiefly in the heads of the *Manichees*, and their priests, and that *Caoses* had very little, if any, knowledge of them; for if it had been otherwise, it will be difficult to assign a cause why he escaped, or at least how he came to remain still in the kingdom, nay even at court, and in a condition to appear as a competitor with *Chosroes* on the death of his father. It has also the appearance of reason, that the true ground of rejecting him, and of exalting *Chosroes*, was the diffidence the nobility might have of him as to his religion. For it appears from the history of *Agathias*, that the magi

(50) De bell. Persic. lib. i.

(51) Theophan. chronograph. p. 145, 146. Cedren. hist. comp. p. 368.

- a *Chosroes* being settled on the *Persian* throne, quickly received an embassy from *Justinian*, composed of several persons of distinction, at the head of whom was *Rufinus*. The intent of this embassy was not only to compliment the king on his accession, but also to treat of peace. *Chosroes*, who was a prince of quick parts, received the first kindly, and entered readily into the second; but when they came to adjust the articles of the peace, then it was he discovered his true intention, by insisting that a sum of money should be given him; that the pretensions of the *Persians* and *Roman* should be thoroughly canvassed, and finally settled; all places taken on either side restored, and this peace declared to be perpetual. Some delays happened in the negotiations, and a report being spread that *Justinian* had put *Rufinus* to death, who, at the request of the *Persian* king, had returned to *Constantinople* for instructions, *Chosroes* instantly took the field with a mighty army, which struck such a terror, that the inhabitants began to retire from the villages in all the frontier provinces, supposing that the war would become more bloody than ever. But before *Chosroes* proceeded to hostilities, *Rufinus* arrived, and perfected the treaty; whereupon the *Persians* retired, and the inhabitants of the frontier provinces returned to their habitations.

- The morning of this great prince's reign, like that of his father, was not only darkened with flying clouds, but its lustre in danger of being totally obscured. The *Persian* nobles, perceiving that *Chosroes* had much in him of the same spirit which had made *Cavadès* terrible to his subjects, when he ascended the throne, determined amongst themselves to procure their own safety at the expence of the king's, by deposing him, and setting up in his stead one more tractable. This was *Zames* the brother of *Chosroes*. The law incapacitated him from being king, but they had a salvo for that; he had a son, whose name was *Cavadès*, who was extremely like his grandfather; him they intended to proclaim king, and to vest the regal authority in *Zames*, as his tutor and protector. Into this scheme, when it was communicated to *Zames*, he readily came, and promised the conspirators to act in all things according to their councils. As *Chosroes* made it a rule throughout his life to spare no money for intelligence, so it was not long before he was informed of all these machinations. He suffered them however to go on, that he might by this means discover who were, and who were not, devoted to his service; for as he had the troops intirely at his devotion, and knew every step his enemies took, he was not in any great pain for his own safety. When things grew ripe for execution, he seized the conspirators at once, and had no sooner seized them, than he put them to death. His executions were as wide as the conspiracy; he had no idea of reconciling traitors; but every man, who had the least share therein, or the least knowledge thereof, paid for it with his life.

- The young *Cavadès* alone escaped, and escaped only by accident. He was not in the king's power immediately, being brought up by *Adargudunbades*, to whom therefore *Chosroes* dispatched orders to put him out of the way. This extremely grieved the good old man, who had educated him as carefully as if he had been his own son; but the royal orders, and the royal safety, were things not to be trifled with. But when he came to acquaint his wife with the command he had received from court, she, who had nursed *Cavadès*, forgot all concerns, but for his safety; and as her husband was naturally inclined to pity the unfortunate child, she prevailed upon him to think of concealing the youth in their house, and to dispatch a messenger to court to inform *Chosroes* that his orders had been exactly complied with. This was happily executed for *Cavadès*, who thereby escaped a death he no way deserved. It was no less prudently conducted by his wife and generous protector, who intrusted none with the secret but his eldest son, and an old servant. In process of time, when *Cavadès*

f Procop. de bell. Persic. lib. i. c. 22, 23.

g Procop. de bell. Persic. lib. i. prop. fin.

magi had not only a great influence in all affairs civil and ecclesiastical, but that in the recognition of kings especially, they had a sort of negative voice. *Agathias*, and indeed all the *Greek* writers, censure this influence in terms, that shew that they did not understand it (51). The *Persian* magi did not interfere as clergymen, but as men of learning and experience. Politics was with them a science, not learned, as amongst us, by a long observance of events, but by contemplation of certain maxims,

and by acquiring a skill of applying these to the management of public affairs. It is not our business here to enter into any farther detail of this matter, which we mentioned only to prevent the reader's being tinged with the prejudice of the *Greeks*. He who would be further acquainted with this curious subject, may consult the learned book of the president *Briffon*; as also the no less learned and curious treatise of the celebrated lord *Bacon*, written in imitation of the magical policy of the *Persians*.

(51) *Hist. lib. iv.*

was grown to years of discretion, *Adergudunbades* furnished him with a considerable sum of money, advised him to retire out of *Persia*, and to be careful of his safety, and his own. Sometime afterwards *Varrhames*, this nobleman's eldest son, discovered this secret to *Chosroes*, and produced the servant who was privy to it. The king, who was then employed in an expedition against the *Hunns*, sent instantly for *Adergudunbades* to attend him. That excellent man, being now far in years, fell through weakness from his horse, as he hastened to attend *Chosroes*, and broke his thigh. The king being informed of it, ordered him to be sent to a certain castle, under pretence of taking care of his cure, but in truth to have him privately murdered; which was done, and his office given to his son *Varrhames* (T). As for *Cavadēs*, he retired to *Constantinople*, where he was treated by the emperor *Justinian* with all the respect due to his birth. We have digressed a little, in order to follow so remarkable a transaction to its close; let us now return to the thread of our history ^b.

Chosroes resolves to make war upon the Romans.

As a peace with the *Romans* was at first very convenient to *Chosroes*, so he very faithfully observed it; and when he was informed of the victories obtained by *Belisarius* in *Africa*, he sent ambassadors to congratulate *Justinian* thereupon; and by way of raillery, directed them to tell the emperor, that he had a right to share the spoils of his enemies, since, had he not been at peace with *Persia*, he could not have had either forces or leisure to make these conquests in *Africa*. *Justinian* received these ambassadors kindly, assured them of his great affection for their master, and on hearing his message, presented *Chosroes* with a considerable sum of money. But this fair correspondence did not last long. The *Saracens*, encouraged by the *Persian* king, made several incursions into the *Roman* territories; of which when *Justinian* by his ambassadors made loud complaints, *Chosroes* returned for answer, that he believed what they alledged was not altogether without foundation; but that he could scarce believe his brother *Justinian* took this amiss, because they were arts of empire himself had taught him, having practised, not only on the *Saracens*, but the *Hunns*, to invade *Persia*, as he could prove by his own letters; so that he had only turned his own weapons upon him, as he was obliged to do to preserve his subjects. For a time, however, he suffered himself to be pacified, yet not without making the necessary preparations for carrying on the war whenever he thought fit; to this he was principally excited ^c by *Vittiges* king of the *Goths*, who sent an embassy on purpose to represent the formidable power of *Justinian*, and how much it was the interest of *Chosroes*, as well as himself, to see it reduced. On the heels of this came an application from the *Arfacidæ*, or petty princes of *Armenia*. They set forth abundance of grievances under which they laboured from the *Roman* power; they painted the methods taken by *Justinian* for attaining universal empire in the strongest light, and besought *Chosroes* to consider not so much their case as his own. This determined the *Persian* monarch to break the peace, and to fall upon *Justinian* before he was at leisure to fall upon him. The ^d

^b Procop. ubi supra.

(T) This conspiracy against *Chosroes* was an event remarkably fortunate to him, if we consider it in a political light. It gave him an opportunity of freeing himself from all who were disaffected to him, and he used it without reserve, sparing not his own uncle, who had been in the number of the conspirators. But the most cruel of all his actions was, the putting to death this old general, who had been the faithful servant of his father, and who had subdued twelve barbarous nations, and made them tributaries to the *Persians*. There seems however to have been some justice in giving to his son *Varrhames* the government which *Adergudunbades* had possessed. But it is to be observed, that the *Persians* were extremely strict in two of their maxims, viz. in punishing treason without mercy, and in preserving governments in the hands of one family, so long as they continued faithful to their sovereigns. These customs are so opposite to ours, that of course we have an indifferent opinion of them; but if it be considered, that in the east the slightest disaffection, if disregarded, ripens presently into a general revolt, fatal alike to the person and government of

the reigning prince, the reason of this conduct will be no more a secret, nor can we with any colour of justice deny, that it is full as justifiable as many of our political maxims. As to the other, it is generally supposed, that it arose thus: The *Persian* empire, though extremely wide in extent, being no more than an aggregate body of little principalities, some united to it for the sake of protection, and others, after long wars, by capitulations; their princes, who were formerly independent, by this means became only governors for the *Persian* monarchs, but hereditary governors, with most of their old prerogatives, which in case of treason, however, were forfeited; and this it was which made the children of governors so many checks upon their fathers, as appears, not only in the instance of *Varrhames*, but in what we have heretofore read in the conduct of *Cavadēs*, who by the same policy drew a nobleman to sacrifice his parent to the preservation of the family interest. We cannot pretend to justify such extraordinary transactions. All we have to do is, to account for them; and this, we hope, is effectually done (§3).

(§3) Procop. de bell. Persic. lib. 1. Theophan. Cedren. &c.

- a season of the year did not permit this resolution to be executed as soon as it was formed; but it influenced *Chosroes* to assemble such an army as might be able to act in the beginning of the spring, notwithstanding he was advised of the death of *Vittiges*, and the absolute ruin of his kingdom. *Justinian* being informed of the preparations made in *Persia*, found himself under a necessity of providing for the worst; yet not willing to have recourse immediately to arms, he wrote letters to *Chosroes*, wherein he described at large the bad consequences which would attend a hasty and unjust breach of the peace subsisting between them. To which letters, *Chosroes* being already fixed in his resolution, returned no answer; but went on with his military preparations, as openly and as vigorously, as if there had been a war declared ¹.
- b In the beginning of the spring, *Chosroes*, at the head of a great army, entered the Roman territories. He did not, as it was generally expected he would, fall into *Mesopotamia*; but, on the contrary, made the provinces of *Syria* and *Cilicia* the seat of the war. The first place of consequence which he reduced, was *Sura*, seated on the *Euphrates*, a place of great strength, rich and populous; yet *Chosroes* quickly mastered it, rather by fraud than force, and treated the inhabitants very indifferently, notwithstanding that he married a woman from among the prisoners taken there; for whose sake it might have been expected he would have better treated her country. From hence he moved on, using severity where any resistance provoked him, and using great clemency towards the inhabitants of such places as readily submitted, imposing however heavy contributions upon all. At length, finding no Roman army in the field, he proceeded to *Antioch*, and encamped in its neighbourhood, on the banks of the river *Orontes*. Thence he sent to acquaint the *Antiochians*, that, if they paid him a large sum of money, he would spare them, and retire from before their city. As it was very strong, its fortifications newly repaired, and a numerous garrison in it, the mob were so elate, that they not only rejected the *Persian* monarch's proposition, but also mal-treated those he sent, and threw out unmannerly and impudent speeches against *Chosroes* and his family. This irritated him so far, that, quite contrary to his intention, he invested the place, and, against the ordinary rules of war, and even the dictates of reason, stormed the city, before the walls were at all battered, making use of machines to raise his soldiers against them. This was a rash and desperate attempt, and, notwithstanding the presence of *Chosroes*, who did all that man could do to encourage his soldiers, they were beaten off with a miserable slaughter. When they returned to the charge, a worse accident happened; for the besieged, encouraged by their former success, attacked those who had the keeping of the machines, and having cut the ropes and chains which held them, precipitated them, and all who were upon them, from the top of the walls over the craggy mountains, on which they were erected, into the distant plain underneath. This proved the destruction of the city; for the dreadful noise of the rolling machines, and the horrid cries of the dying soldiers, being heard in the city, and the cause not known, the garrison caused the gates to be thrown open, supposing the walls on the other side had fallen down, and, without staying for better information, hastily riding over women and children, they abandoned the place. Those on the walls seeing this, apprehended, that the *Persians* had made some other attack, and thereupon quitted their post, to retire into the market-place. *Chosroes* did not neglect so fair an opportunity; but drawing fresh forces out of his camp, scaled the undefended walls, and, after a bloody struggle in the market-place, inflicted all the severities that could be expected from an incensed enemy on the miserable inhabitants of *Antioch*. Soon after this, and while the *Persian* army still remained at *Antioch*, came ambassadors from *Justinian*, to expostulate with *Chosroes* on this breach of peace, and to treat of an accommodation. The *Persian* monarch received them with much civility; he heard them patiently, and seemed to pay a great regard to what they said. When they had done speaking, he began to answer them with tears in his eyes; he made a more pathetic description of the miseries induced by the war, than they had done: he declared it was with the utmost reluctance he had taken arms; that he was, in a manner, compelled to it by the nobility of *Persia*, who could no longer see, with patience, *Justinian* stirring up enemies against them on every side, and encouraging his subjects to treat them, on all occasions, with outrageous contempt. He deli-

¹ PROCOPIUS. de bell. Persic. l. ii. anecdot. l. i. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 149. ZONAR. annal. l. xiv. p. 67. EVAGR. l. iv. c. 17. JORNANDI. de regn. success. in vita Justinian.

vered all this with such a solemn sadness in his countenance, with such vehement a
gestures, and with expressions so calculated to stir the passions, that the ambassadors
were quite confounded, openly confessing, that the eloquence of *Chosroes* was more
dreadful to the *Romans* than his arms. In the end however he began to intimate,
that a considerable sum of money in hand, and an annual tribute, would send him
back into *Persia*, and fix the peace between the empires. As the ambassadors de-
murred a little upon this, *Chosroes*, to quicken them, burnt the city of *Antioch* to
the ground, and, not long after, concluded a peace very advantageous to himself, as
well as very ignominious to the *Romans*. However, he did not even keep this; but
burning with a mistaken desire of accumulating wealth, went on taking city after
city, and raising contributions where-ever he came. He did not indeed pretend to b
keep, but, on the contrary, slighted all the places he took, after he had extorted
what he could from the inhabitants; but, by this means, he alarmed and terrified
the *Romans*, raised the courage of the *Persians*, and filled his coffers. The last city
he besieged was *Dara*, a place of mighty importance, and which he was very desire-
ous of having in his power; but whether he intended to keep or demolished it, is
uncertain. The citizens however, weighing within themselves the treatment wh ch
other people had received from the *Persians*, and considering also the strength and
advantageous situation of the place, determined to defend themselves to the utmost;
in which they succeeded so well, that *Chosroes*, finding his troops fatigued, his forces
diminished, and the season far advanced, raised the siege, and returned, loaded c
with wealth, into his own territories ^k.

Drives the Ro-
mans out of
Caucasus.

As he had now answered all the ends he proposed in the war, he was well enough
inclined to let peace take place; to which end he endeavoured to renew the negotia-
tions, and to establish things on the plan of the treaty he had concluded. But *Justi-
nian*, by this time, had quite altered his opinion; and having recalled *Belisarius*,
determined to make the *Persians* feel the weight of the *Roman* power, since, without
it, there seemed no probability of preserving peace for any length of time (V). The
seat of the war was now suddenly transferred to *Colchis*, much to the disadvantage of
the *Romans*, and yet intirely through their own management. This region was at d
that time inhabited by the *Lazi*, a rude and barbarous people; but who had not-
withstanding, for a long course of years, adhered steadily to the *Roman* interest.
This they did merely out of choice, the *Romans* having never subdued them; for the
princes of this country observing, that, by the situation of their dominions, they
should, some time or other, be reduced either under the power of the *Persian* kings,
or of the emperors of *Constantinople*, conceived it to be alike for their own and their
subjects good, to demand the protection of the latter; which was readily granted

^k PROCOF. de bell. Persic. l. ii. EVAGR. l. iv. c. 25. CEDREN. hist. comp. p. 371. THEOPHAN. chrono-
graph. p. 152. ZONAR. annal. l. xiv. p. 68.

(V) The history of all these wars, treaties and dis-
putes between the *Romans* and *Persians*, are to be
found at large in *Procopius*, who wrote expressly on
this topic, who had himself a perfect knowledge of
all these transactions, and as little partiality for his
countrymen, as is to be found in any *Greek* writer.
From thence we might indeed have taken much
more than we have done; but then this part of our
history would have exceeded its natural size; for it
is one thing to use memoirs, and another to trans-
scribe them; and therefore we have endeavoured to
reduce what we have taken from *Procopius* within
such bounds, as might suit it to this history. In
this note however we shall attempt to explain some
particulars in the text, which need illustration. We
have followed *Procopius* cautiously in what he says of
the dissimulation and insatiable ambition of *Chosroes*,
and for this reason: We find in all the *Greek* histo-
rians, and in *Procopius* himself, that the *Persian* king
pretended to be compelled to act in the manner he
did, by the formidable power of *Justinian*, and by
the attempts he had made to the prejudice of his
empire, both in his own days, and in those of his
father. Now, if this charge was true, either in
whole, or in part, then was *Chosroes* more or less

culpable in his conduct. But tho' *Procopius*, in his
memoirs of the *Persian* war, seems generally to ex-
cuse the emperor his master; yet, in his anecdotes,
he plainly confesses, that *Justinian* was a prince bound-
less in his ambition, and who acted under no very
strict ties of conscience; yet, as this piece hath the
air of a satire, we ought not to give full credit to
it, but rather believe on the whole, that each of
these princes had indifferent qualities; that there
were faults on both sides, and that their subjects
suffered through the restless and unquiet tempers of
their governors. As to the complaints of the *Arme-
nian* princes, they were, in all probability, pretty
well founded; but, in order to discover this, we
must remember who these princes were. In the
foregoing period, we have shown how the *Arfacide*,
after losing the *Parthian* empire, came to be con-
tented with small principalities in *Armenia*, where
they sometimes pretended to be independent, some-
times submitted to the *Persians*, and sometimes again
chose the emperors of *Constantinople* for their pro-
tectors: no wonder then that they were seldom
perfectly easy, or that, under so ambitious a prince
as *Justinian*, they were anxious for those shadows of
sovereignty, which they still preserved (54).

(54) *Procop. Evagr. Theophan. Zonar. &c.*

them,

- a them, without prejudice however to their liberties; for they were neither charged with any taxes, nor obliged to admit any new magistrates as a conquered people. The emperor of the east however, on the death of any of their princes, appointed his successor, and thereby manifested a kind of superiority, rather honourable than of any great consequence. But the emperor *Justinian*, having thoroughly considered the importance of that district, which those people inhabited, and which, as it lay upon what is called the *Black-sea*, was a kind of frontier to his empire, and, at the same time, covered his metropolis; moved therefore with the apprehension of the consequences that might follow, if this nation should, at any time, prove unfaithful, he resolved to make some further provision for his security on that side. To this end
- b he recommended it to one *Tzibus*, whom he named a prince of the *Lazi*, to build a city, well fortified, and secured by a strong citadel on the shore of the *Euxine sea*, that it might be a check on the *Lazi*, if they should be at any time inclined to revolt. This commission *Tzibus* very faithfully executed, his countrymen assisting him to the utmost of their power, rejoicing to behold so large and fine a city built in their country at the expence of the *Romans*; but when they found to what end it was erected, and saw that *Tzibus* had received into it a *Roman* garison, they began to be quite of another opinion; and thus all the pains and expence employed about this city and fortrefs, turned to no other account than producing that very effect, which they were erected to prevent; for the *Lazi* instantly dispatched their deputies into
- c *Persia*, to invite *Cbofroes* to their assistance. This they did in the name of *Gabazes*, the greatest of their princes, who besought him to take under his protection a free people; whom *Justinian* was about to enslave. There wanted not much intreaty to induce so enterprizing a monarch to undertake an expedition so visibly for his service. He therefore closed speedily with the proposal of the deputies; and having given out, that the *Hunns* were about to invade the frontiers of his kingdom, he suddenly assembled a great army, with which he marched towards *Iberia*; but, turning short when it was least expected, he entered *Colchis*, through a thick, and, till then, impenetrable forest, which he caused to be cut down before him. As soon as he descended into the plain country, *Gabazes* met and paid his compliments to him, acknowledged him for his sovereign, and joining his army with a considerable reinforcement, they marched together towards *Petra*. *Tzibus*, with the *Roman* garison, made at first a gallant defence; but finding at last, that the place would be infallibly taken, they made their escape by sea, and left to the enemy not only the city and fortrefs, but also all the treasures and valuable merchandize, which had been laid up therein¹.

- WHILE *Cbofroes* was victorious on this side, the *Roman* general *Belisarius* assembled an army, and laid siege to *Nisibis*; but to little purpose, for *Nabades*, the *Persian* governor, made so firm a defence, and so many vigorous sallies, that *Belisarius* was, in a short time, obliged to raise the siege, and, to console himself for that misfortune, to march farther into *Persia*, where ravaging the country, taking some inconsiderable
- e places, and carrying off some spoil, he sent advice to *Constantinople*, that he had triumphed over the *Persians*, tho', in fact, his expedition was rather honourable than advantageous, the enemy having no army in the field. As soon as *Cbofroes* had intelligence of this incursion, he made all imaginable haste back again into *Persia* with his army, that he might, early the next year, be ready to return the *Romans* this favour, by an irruption into their dominions. This he accordingly performed, and having wasted a great part of the frontier country, and raised vast contributions, he at last entered *Comagene*, intending to march from thence into *Palestine*, there to sack and plunder the city of *Jerusalem*. And in this design, if we consider the terror and confusion of the *Romans*, we must allow that he had a fair prospect of success;
- f but *Belisarius*, having with incredible diligence, posted quite athwart the empire to the banks of the *Euphrates*, there unexpectedly assembled an army, which checked the progress of *Cbofroes*, and forced him to have recourse to his old method of negotiating, since nothing was to be got by force. Another reason concurred to drive *Cbofroes* home into *Persia*; for the pestilence, which had wasted *Egypt*, passing over into *Asia*, made such a havock in the *Roman* territories, that the *Persian* king retired hastily out of *Assyria*, and directed his march towards the north. At first the *Romans* conceived, they were intirely rid of this formidable enemy; but it quickly appeared, that their hopes were vain; for having recruited his army in the northern

Belisarius checks his success.

¹ PROCOPIUS ubi supra. CEDREUS. hist. comp. p. 371. THEOPHAN. chronogr. ubi supra. ZONAR. ubi supra.

provinces, he began to discover his true design, which was to fall into *Armenia*.^a *Justinian* being informed of this, ordered an army to assemble on that side, and sent likewise ambassadors to endeavour, by all means, to engage *Chosroes* to think of peace^m.

His general
Nabades beats
the Romans
under Narfes.

In the mean time *Narfes* being appointed general of the *Roman* forces, and finding the *Persians* not yet in the field, he determined to make himself master of *Anglon*, a little town, but of great strength; in which *Nabades*, a *Persian* general, had taken up his quarters, with four thousand men. Full of this conquest, he marched, against the advice of many of his officers, with the utmost diligence to reach the place. When he drew near it, he sent out parties to make prisoners; and these reporting that *Nabades* was retired, *Narfes*, reproaching his officers with timidity, pushed on to take possession of the place. The van-guard of the *Roman* army consisted of a body of the *Heruli*, lightly armed. These entering the skirts of *Anglon*, and perceiving the *Persian* troops regularly drawn up, and ready to charge them, broke, even before they were attacked, and fled. The *Persians* made the best use of this advantage, following them close at the heels; and charging the *Roman* forces vigorously, disordered them also, and soon after compelled them to a plain flight, in which numbers were slain, and more would have been slain, if the *Persians* had not been apprehensive of the ill consequences that might attend their pursuing them too far. With this action ended that campaign; for *Chosroes*, having changed his views, did not endeavour to penetrate any farther on that side; and the *Romans*, taught by their misfortunes, forbore also the siege of this placeⁿ.

Chosroes
shamefully re-
pulsed at E-
dessa.

THE next year *Chosroes* made his fourth expedition into the *Roman* territories, and, if we may credit *Procopius*, upon a very extraordinary account. He had, in his first expedition, besieged the city of *Edeffa*, and, tho' he had taken much stronger, and more considerable places, was constrained to raise that siege. This was said to be owing to the particular favour of *Jesus Christ* to that city, whose letter to their prince *Abgarus* was inscribed over the principal gate of the place. This report so irritated *Chosroes*, that he made this expedition, not so much against the *Romans*, or against *Justinian*, as against the *God* of the christians, who had been said to have driven him from *Edeffa*. His army was very numerous; and it is certain, that tho' he might have done many things more for his glory, and the advantage of the *Persian* empire, yet he chose, after ravaging the open country, to encamp in the neighbourhood of *Edeffa*. In that camp however, having either formed some new project, or doubting of the event of this, he sent deputies to demand of the inhabitants of *Edeffa* a large sum of money; which, if immediately paid him, he offered to turn his arms another way. But as what he demanded was not in their power to yield unto, *Chosroes* was forced to carry his first design into execution, tho' now against his will. We have, in the memoirs of *Procopius*, a long and circumstantial account of this siege, which was by far the warmest that any *Roman* city had sustained; and, after all, tho' it was not either succoured or relieved, the vigorous defence made by its citizens, so diminished the *Persian* army, that, as the season advanced, *Chosroes* lost all hopes, and was compelled, notwithstanding the boast he had made of turning *Edeffa* into sheep-cotes, and placing all its inhabitants in the heart of *Persia*, shamefully to raise the siege, and retire into his own dominions (X). Thither he was quickly followed by the *Roman* ambassadors,

^m *Procop. de bell. Persic. l. ii. CADREN. hist. compend. p. 372. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 186. ZONAR. l. xiv. p. 68. GLYCAS ann. l. iv. p. 167. EVAGR. hist. eccles. l. iv. c. 16.* ⁿ *Procop. de bell. Persic. l. ii.*

(X) As to the miracle which was wrought at the siege of *Edeffa*, it makes a great figure, as well in the memoirs of *Procopius*, as in the writings of ecclesiastical historians. As it is a fact which very nearly concerns the *Persian* history, we might justly have been censured with want of exactness, had we omitted it; and therefore we chose to give it place in a note, in which we shall relate it, as we find it recorded in the history of *Evagrius*. There was an old report, that *Christ* had promised to *Abgarus* king of *Edeffa*, that that city should be inexpugnable. It is true, that no such promise appears in the letter said to have been written by *Christ* to *Abgarus*, and which is printed at large in the history of *Eusebius*; but, notwithstanding that, the report spread of this

prophecy was believed, and some extraordinary deliverances which the city had met with, contributed to keep up its credit. To destroy this report, and thereby to wound, as he apprehended, the honour of the christian religion, *Chosroes* sat down before this place. When all the attempts he had made to induce the people to surrender had failed, and his forces had been repulsed in several assaults, he at length determined to enter upon a laborious and troublesome undertaking; which he did however the more patiently, because he made no question that by it he should effect his purpose. He ordered his soldiers to cut down a vast quantity of timber, with which he began to erect a mount over-against the town-walls; to which when it was become equal in height,

- a ambassadors, whom, as he had often done before, he drew into an insidious treaty; more destructive to their master than an open war °.

THINGS however did not remain long in this situation: *Chosroes* was too stirring a prince to indulge his neighbours with much quiet. He had discovered, that his new subjects the *Lazi* were become already disaffected; and, upon examining the reasons, he found cause to apprehend, that their discontents were such as could never be removed. The country they inhabited stood in need of corn, of salt, and of wine.

- With these, on account of the badness of the roads, they could not well be furnished from *Persia*; whereas the *Romans* easily supplied them by sea, and at a moderate price, which preserved an intimacy between the nations. On the other hand the *Lazi*, who were zealous christians, endeavoured to convert the *Persians* who dwelt among them; by which means they became obnoxious to the magi, who did not fail to insinuate, that difference in religion would everlastingly hinder them from being good subjects to the *Persian* crown. *Chosroes* thereupon formed a project of transporting them from their own country of *Colchis* into the heart of *Persia*, and to settle a colony of *Persians* in their stead. Previous however to the execution of this grand project, he determined to build a navy in the port of *Petra*, which might be able to guard the coasts, and prevent too strict an intercourse between the *Lazi* and the inhabitants of the *Roman* provinces; but knowing that this could not be accomplished, if the people were timely apprised thereof, he caused great quantities of timber to be sent to *Petra*, under pretence of repairing the fortifications, and constructing military machines. However, *Gubazes* king of the *Lazi*, taking offence at these preparations, and doubting the safety of his person, besought the protection of the *Romans*. This was quickly afforded him, and the emperor *Justinian* immediately dispatched a considerable army to his relief. This army was commanded by *Dagistheus*, a young man, very indifferently skilled in the art of war. *Gubazes* kept his word; for as soon as the *Roman* forces appeared, he joined them, and compelled the *Persians* to shut themselves up in *Petra*, the only fortified place in the kingdom. The reduction of this place therefore was the sole point in question; for this once effected, the war was at an end. *Gubazes* quickly invested it on one side, as the *Romans* did on the other, to whom *Gubazes* most pathetically recommended the custody of the streights called *Chisura*, through which only the *Persians*, if they sent an army, could enter, if they attempted the relief of *Petra*. The *Roman* general, having viewed these difficult passages, conceived them to be so strong in their nature, that he left but a hundred men to guard them. As soon as *Chosroes* was informed of this strange turn in his affairs, and that *Petra* was blocked up, he ordered *Mermeroes*, one of the best officers in *Persia*, to march with an army to its relief. This took up a great deal of time, and in this space the *Persian* garison was reduced to the last extremity; nay, the *Romans* actually entered the city, and might have taken it, if the governor of the citadel had not drawn them into a treaty for rendering that fortress, at the same time with the city, into their hands. *Mermeroes*, from the time he entered *Colchis* with his army, directed his march according to his own private intelligence, avoiding any correspondence with the *Lazi*, who pretended to be in the *Persian* interest; so that he arrived at the mouth of the *Chisura* before he was at all expected; and finding how small a guard the *Roman* general had left there, he caused it to be

° PROCOR. de bell. Persic. l. ii. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 186. CEDREN. hist. comp. p. 372. EVAGR. hist. eccles. l. iv. c. 27.

height, his view was, by the help of engines, to make a bridge of communication, over which he might pass as great a part of his army as he pleased into the place. The inhabitants of *Edeffa*, perceiving the drift of this design, instantly began to undermine the new raised work, in hopes they might be able to set it on fire; but when they had done this, they found their labour lost, not being able to make the fire burn for want of air, a circumstance they had not before considered. This put them to their wits, and at last they bethought themselves of the miraculous print of our Saviour's face, which he sent to their king *Abgarus*, and was preserved in their church. Thus they brought into their mine,

poured water over it, and then this water upon the fire and the wood, which instantly lighted, and burnt intensely. Then, to prevent the enemy from apprehending whence the smoke came, they threw all sorts of fire-works from the walls. After three days however, the *Persians* perceived, that the very heart of their mount was consumed. *Chosroes* ordered water to be poured upon it in vast quantities; but when it was observed, that, instead of slackening, it increased the fire as much as if so much oil had been thrown thereon, he, in despair, suffered the mount to burn on; and having sent away his baggage, demolished his works, and raised the siege (55).

(55) EVAGR. hist. eccles. l. iv. c. 27. CEDREN. hist. compend. p. 372.

attacked

attacked again and again, till, with the loss of a thousand men, he carried the pass, and then, without halting, marched directly to *Petra*. There he found, of five thousand men, only nine hundred remaining, and of these three hundred and fifty disabled. The dead bodies they had piled up against the narrow walls of the citadel, that the *Romans* might not be acquainted with their loss, and from thence be encouraged to storm the place. The *Romans* conceived that this was but a slight reprieve, the walls being every-where broken, and the place, as it were, in ruins; *Mermeroes* however repaired it in the best manner he was able, and when he had so done, and left a fresh garison in it, he withdrew his troops from thence, having made a truce with the *Lazi*, though the *Roman* forces still continued the war. When the place was put into a state of defence, *Mermeroes* drew his troops towards *Iberia*, whence he hoped to receive such supplies of provisions, as might be necessary for the occasions of his own army, as well as of *Petra*. Here incamping with a rapid river behind him, he conceived his forces to be in safety. But it so happened, that *Gubazes* devised a method of passing this river, and having informed the *Romans* thereof, and also furnished them with bridges, they fell upon the *Persian* army, and made a dreadful slaughter. *Mermeroes* however repaired this mistake, by incamping more cautiously for the future, and so kept the war alive, notwithstanding the great disadvantages he laboured under. It would oblige us to carry this history into an extraordinary length, if we should relate all that passed in this *Colchian* war, of which we have very large memoirs in *Procopius* and *Agathias*. We shall content ourselves therefore with observing, that in the end the *Romans* were successful, by reason of their having the empire of the sea, which enabled them to supply their armies with provisions and recruits, as often as they stood in need of them; whereas the *Persians* were obliged to make long and fatiguing marches by land, and to bring all their provisions in carriages. *Mermeroes*, so long as he lived, preserved the superiority of the *Persian* power, and a little before his death gave the *Romans* a signal defeat; but his successor *Nachoraganus*, a rash and haughty general, fell as far short of him in his performances, as in his boasting promises he surpassed him. His ill conduct was one of the great causes of the success of the *Romans*; and therefore *Chosroes*, on his return into *Persia*, ordered him to be slayed alive; and perceiving that his affairs were on a declining condition on this side, resolved to make peace with the *Romans*. With this view he sent an ambassador to the court of *Justinian*, who received him graciously, and entered readily into a treaty with his master, whereby it was provided, that each party should keep what they were possessed of in *Colchis* at the time of its conclusion; and thus the *Lazi* were deprived of their liberties, by calling in their too powerful neighbours, *Gubazes* having been assassinated sometime before, who was extremely careful of his subjects, and who, in all the changes of his fortune, constantly sought their good (Y).

P PROCOF. de bell. Persic. lib. ii. AGATH. SCHOLAST. lib. iii. iv. CEDREN. &c.

(Y) The history of the *Colchian* war hath, as we noted in the text, employed the pens of many eminent writers. *Procopius*, in the second book of his memoirs of the wars with the *Persians*, enters into a long detail of the causes, why the *Constantinopolitan* emperors on the one hand, and the *Persian* monarchs on the other, were so solicitous to maintain themselves in the possession of this country. He also prosecutes the account of the military expeditions on both sides, till such time as *Mermeroes* was first obliged to retire into *Iberia* (56). *Agathias*, who continued the history of *Procopius*, resumes the thread here, and describes at large all that happened afterwards in this country, till the conclusion of the peace between the *Romans* and the *Persians*. To him we owe the character of the *Persian* general before-mentioned. *Mermeroes*, says he, was of all the *Persian* officers the most distinguished for his thorough understanding of the art of war. He died full of years and glory, after having for a long space of time intirely lost the use of his limbs, so that he was carried up and down in a litter; yet was he so dreadful to the *Romans*, that they never thought themselves in any security, while he was at the head of the

Persian troops (57). The curious reader, who will take the pains of perusing the authors I have mentioned, will plainly perceive, that the art of war was at this time extremely well understood, as it appears also the art of negotiating must have been, since the conferences for bringing this treaty of partition to a conclusion afforded matter for the fourth book of *Menander's* history of embassies. Of this we have yet an abstract remaining, wherein the principal arguments made use of on both sides, the characters of the *Roman* and *Persian* plenipotentiaries are elegantly described, and the heads of the treaty, which consisted of ten articles, are briefly set down; but yet with such clearness, as demonstrates the skill of the politicians in those times, not to have been inferior to those who have been most famous for this kind of science in succeeding ages (58). We should have inserted some quotations from these valuable pieces, if we had not been apprehensive of extending the history of this period too far; but we could not avoid writing this note, to shew the carelessness of the former writers of the *Persian* history, who have slipped over all these things, as if the accounts of them had been buried in utter oblivion.

(56) *Ap. hist. Byzant. Vol. I.*
ap. hist. Byzant. Vol. I.

(57) *Agath. Scholast. hist. lib. iii. & iv.*

(58) *Menand. Protes.*

- a TOWARDS the end of the reign of *Justinian*, *Chosroes* fell sick of a dangerous disorder; and depending more on the skill of the *Roman* physicians than his own, he requested that some should be sent him from *Constantinople*, which demand of his was readily complied with. On the accession however of the emperor *Justin*, new troubles arose. The inhabitants of the *Greater Armenia*, who were subjects to the king of *Persia*, were by this time become generally christians; and therefore rather inclined to put themselves under the protection of the *Romans*; to which *Justin* rashly consented; and having privately encouraged them to revolt, the *Armenians*, under the command of *Varanes*, one of their petty princes, suddenly took arms, and having murdered all the *Persians* amongst them, declared themselves allies and dependents of the emperor of *Constantinople*. *Chosroes* immediately complained of this, and the emperor *Justin* pretended to colour his conduct by his zeal for the christian religion; and being deceived by the intelligence which the bishop of *Nisibis* sent him, gave orders to his general *Marcian* to enter the *Persian* territories with an army, and to lay siege to that city, which was accordingly done. The *Persian* governor, incensed at the folly and rashness of the action, did not so much as shut the gates, but contented himself with relieving the guards at them twice a day, the *Roman* army being scarce numerous enough to invest the place. In the mean time *Chosroes* passed the *Euphrates*, and marched directly towards *Nisibis*, having first made a great detachment under *Adermanes*, who laid waste the *Roman* provinces with fire and sword. The *Roman* army before *Nisibis* being dissatisfied with the emperor's measures, and his changing their commander, suddenly, and without any reason given, broke up, and retired the best way they could; whereupon *Chosroes* finding no body in the field to resist him, took and sacked all the great cities in *Mesopotamia* and *Syria*, and gave the plunder to his soldiers. He also besieged and reduced *Dara*, a fortress that had always been a curb upon his subjects, and in the fortifying of which the emperor *Justinian* had expended vast sums. Into this place he put a great garison, knowing its importance, and resolving to make use of it for a barrier against its old masters (Z). But while he was meditating new exploits, *Trajan*, a senator of *Rome*, presented to him letters from the empress *Sophia*, her husband *Justin* being run mad. In these letters the empress pathetically described the misery of the *Roman* empire, beseeching *Chosroes* to remember the kindness of former emperors, particularly the sending him physicians, the uncertainty of all worldly greatness, and the little glory that would result to him from conquests made from a headless nation, and a helpless woman. *Chosroes* having read the letters, immediately withdrew with his troops from the frontiers of the *Roman* empire, consenting to a truce for three years, *Armenia* however being excluded ¹.
- THIS respite was very favourable to the *Romans*, who quickly saw their affairs absolutely re-established by the diligence and prosperous success of *Tiberius*, the successor of *Justin*. He was not only an active and vigilant prince, and one of a martial disposition, but a person well skilled in the art of war, and a horse officer of great expe-

Chosroes makes war on the Romans afresh with success.

Refuses to make a peace, and is miserably beaten.

¹ AGATH. SCHOLAST. lib. iv. p. 140. THEOPHANI chronogr. p. 208. EVAGR. hist. eccles. lib. iv. c. 7—13.

(Z) We are obliged to *Evagrius* for the history of this war, which he seems to have written very candidly, since it is plain enough from his relation, that hostilities were begun by the emperor *Justin*, without any just grounds, and that notwithstanding the complaints of *Chosroes*, he refused to desist from the measures he had taken to gratify his ambition. There is however just cause to believe, that he was a little disordered in his senses, even before this war. During the time it was carried on, nothing could be more wild than his conduct. He fancied all the little advantages that were gained, before the *Persians* well knew that the *Romans* were their enemies, so many victories. He commanded his general to lay siege to *Nisibis* with a small army, badly furnished with provisions; and being informed by the bishop of *Amioch*, that his affairs in the east took a very bad turn, he dispatched *Acaces*, an ignorant and assuming man, to demand of his general the keys of *Nisibis*, as if fortune had been subject to his commands. This man executing the orders of his master with

the same temper, that is, with the same stupidity with which he gave them, the consequence was, that the army were afraid to trust either their general, or their distracted emperor, and therefore retired the best way they could. *John* the son of *Timosirates* yielded up *Dara*, either through fear, or from a worse motive; and *Chosroes*, as soon as he was master of it, put part of the inhabitants to the sword, made the rest prisoners, and having disposed of every thing as he thought fit in the place, put a strong garison therein, it being held the best fortress in all that part of the world. *Chosroes* also treated all the frontier provinces in the empire with great severity, assigning the emperor's breach of faith for a reason; for, it seems, he could not bear with patience that sort of behaviour from others, which he was himself but too apt to exercise. This however was the last fortunate campaign he made, and indeed his conquests therein were of very great importance (59).

(59) *Evagr. hist. ecclesiast. lib. iv. c. 7—13.*

tience. The first thing he did was to put the cavalry into better order than they had
 ever been before, knowing that the eastern provinces of the empire were better defended
 by them than by foot; and as he found the treasury full, through the extortions of
 his predecessors, it was no hard matter to make quick levies, especially for one so
 well acquainted with discipline. *Cbofroes*, who had not the least suspicion of these
 mighty changes, prepared early the next spring to enter *Armenia*, resolving to pene-
 trate *Cappadocia*, and to make himself master of *Cæsarea*, and such other cities in those
 parts as were of any consideration. The *Roman* emperor, foreseeing the consequences
 of such an irruption, sent ambassadors to persuade *Cbofroes* from this expedition, and
 to engage him to make a solid and lasting peace; but at the same time that he sent
 these ambassadors, he dispatched *Justinian* with directions to assemble all the forces
 in the eastern provinces, in order, if it was necessary, to repel force by force. When
 the *Roman* ambassadors came into the camp of *Cbofroes*, he was so far from receiving
 them as he was wont, that he refused to give them any audience, commanding
 them to follow him to *Cæsarea*, where he should be at leisure to hear them. Not long
 after he was informed, that the *Roman* army was at no great distance, and that they
 designed to give him battle. He looked upon this as an act of rashness in them, and
 as an accident favourable to himself; and therefore continued his march with the
 utmost expedition, that he might not lose this advantage. But when he drew near
 them, and saw their cavalry extremely numerous, disposed in excellent order, and
 the soldiers eager to engage, he fetched a deep sigh, shewing by the heaviness of his
 countenance how very much his mind was affected by this disappointment. On this
 account therefore he would, in all probability, have retired into some convenient
 camp, instead of fighting immediately: if *Curtius*, a *Scythian*, who commanded the
 right wing of the *Roman* army, had not charged the left of the *Persians*, where *Cbofroes*
 was in person. The combat was sharp and bloody, but in the end the *Persians* were
 beaten, the royal treasure and the sacred fire, before which the king worshipped,
 taken in his fight. In all probability things would have gone still worse, had not the
 night come on, which gave the *Persians* an opportunity to retiring. The next night,
 or rather evening, *Cbofroes* having intelligence that the *Romans* were incamped in
 two separate bodies, he fell upon one of them at midnight, routed them effectually
 with a prodigious slaughter, and having taken and set a village on fire that was behind
 their camp, he marched directly to the *Euphrates*, that by repassing that river, he
 might winter in his own dominions. But *Justinian* the *Roman* general, penetrating
 his design, followed him so closely, that he was himself forced to pass the river on
 an elephant, and many of those who were immediately about him were drowned.
 After this the *Romans* wintered for the first time in the *Persian* provinces, and *Cbofroes*
 retiring to *Seleucia*, was so much affected therewith, that he broke his heart, when he
 had reigned forty-eight years. This is the account which most of the *Greek* writers
 have given us, and the collectors of general history have followed them without scruple;
 yet there is just reason to believe, that this narration is wide of the truth, and therefore
 we take the liberty of subjoining what we apprehend comes nearer it. *Cbofroes* did
 indeed die of discontent, but not so hastily as most of the *Greek* writers assert; on
 the contrary, he lingered on till the following spring, and actually saw a treaty brought
 to a conclusion, which he had begun with the emperor *Tiberius*, so that he had a pro-
 spect of leaving his kingdom in peace. Of this he was the more desirous on account
 of the mighty disorders occasioned by the depredations daily committed by the *Roman*
 vessels in the *Caspian* sea, as also from the mutinous behaviour of his soldiers, and the
 general discontent of the *Persians*, too prone to murmur when fortune was against their
 princes (A). *Cbofroes*, as he had lived, so he died, like a great prince, after enacting

that

* *Agath. Scholiast.* lib. iv. p. 140. *Euseb.* hist. eccl. lib. v. c. 15. *Cassiod.* hist. compend. p. 393.
Theophrast. chronogr. p. 207, 208.

(A) We have more than once observed, that the
Greek writers are excessively partial, and we have
 more than once commended *Agathias Scholiasticus*
 for digressing from the customs of his country in
 this particular. However, with regard to *Cbofroes*,
 who was his cotemporary, and with whose cha-
 racter he had many and great opportunities of being
 fully acquainted, he is at least as faulty as any of the
Greek writers; and with a sort of absurd malice,

first relates the excellent things said of that monarch
 by those who were perfectly well acquainted with
 him, and then endeavours to destroy their characters,
 as well as that of *Cbofroes*, by a number of weak as
 well as ill-natured reflections (60). *Procopius*, who
 had still better opportunities of knowing the true
 character of this prince than *Agathias*, could have
 treated him in a quite different manner; for he
 every-where magnifies his abilities, though he some-
 times

(60) *Agath. Scholiast.* lib. ii, iii, iv.

- a that none of his successors should expose their persons in any general engagement against the *Romans*, and after giving his son the most wholesome instructions for the government of his people, for the management of foreign wars, and for the conduct of himself.

Hormisdas succeeded his father in his dominions, but had neither his abilities nor his fortune. Hasty in his temper, haughty in his behaviour, cruel in his disposition, obstinate in all things, he no sooner put on the diadem, than he proclaimed himself unworthy of it. He was always addicted to a silly curiosity as to future events, and his diviners having suggested to him that his subjects were not well affected, he began to conceive suspicions of most of the great men in the kingdom, and to treat them as if suspicion and conviction was with him the same thing. As to foreign princes, he kept no measures with them at all; he never notified his succession to the emperor *Tiberius*, but left him to learn it from common fame. When that monarch sent ambassadors to compliment him, and to renew the peace, he treated them disdainfully, and refused to grant their request, unless he had a sum of money given him by way of tribute. A demand, considering the circumstances of things, most unreasonable, and which therefore opened afresh those wounds which had been lately healed up, and equally disposed both *Romans* and *Persians* to enter on a new war, and which in the end proved very disadvantageous to both (B). At first the military operations were not of any great consequence; an action happened near the river *Nymphium*, in which neither party had any great advantage. The *Persians* soon after besieged a fortress called *Apbumum*, and the *Romans* invested another fortress called *Acbas*, which siege however was raised by the *Persian* general *Cardariganus*. But when the *Roman* army had received the recruits from *Constantinople*, and *Philippicus*, whom the emperor *Maurice* sent to command, arrived on the frontiers, the *Persians* were obliged to withdraw

* THEOPHYLACT. lib. iii. c. 16. See the history of this reign in the next section.

times bears hard upon his morals (61). According to *Procopius*, *Chosroes* was a very wise, but a very ambitious prince; according to *Agathias*, he was very fortunate, and very vain-glorious. That the latter was not his true character, may be made appear from facts. His conduct towards the *Roman* ambassadors, his harangues, his letters, but above all, his success against the emperor *Justinian*, are so many incontestable proofs of his skill in the art of reigning. As to his knowledge of war, *Agathias* himself confesses it in these words: In the field, no man knew better than *Chosroes* how to contrive; nor did any officer execute his orders with greater alacrity, than *Chosroes* did his own projects; and what was very wonderful, his activity did not forsake him, even in his old age; but he was as quick, or rather quicker, in his last campaign, than in his first. It was not his reputation, as a soldier, that offended *Agathias*; but he could not bear, that a barbarous prince should be cried up for a philosopher, and a man of letters. This, we shall elsewhere shew, was however a tribute justly due to the merit of *Chosroes*; and when we do shew this, it will unquestionably prove, that we were not too rash in censuring the veracity of the *Greek* writers. The ecclesiastical historians tell not at all short in this respect of the authors of civil history. In the present case particularly, *Evagrius* tells us, that *Chosroes* died miserably, over-born by sorrow and grief, and covered with infamy, by the making the law taken notice of in the text (62).

(B) It is to *Theophylact* we owe the account given in the text of the character of *Hormisdas*, and his conduct in the beginning of his reign. This author was an *Egyptian* by birth, a man of letters, and one who proposed to write of things, which either himself was well acquainted with, or of which he had an authentic account from those who were perfectly well acquainted with them. He begins his memoirs

with the succession of the emperor *Maurice* by virtue of his predecessor's nomination, and consequently a good deal later than the times of which we are now speaking. But in the latter end of this third book, he goes back to the succession of *Hormisdas*, that the remaining part of his history might be rendered clear and perspicuous; which it would not have been, if the death of *Chosroes*, and the character and succession of his son, had not been made known to his readers. He assures us, that *Hormisdas* was at once a most ambitious and the most cruel prince that ever held a sceptre; that he loaded his subjects with taxes, at the same time that he had no mercy on their persons; that the severities he was drawn into by his wizards, were not only excessive in their nature, but also spread incredibly wide, since he massacred thousands upon his foolish suspicions (63). *Evagrius* the ecclesiastical historian, who was contemporary with *Hormisdas*, though he mentions him often in his history, doth not enter so particularly into his character, but contents himself with saying, that he was the most unjust king the *Persians* ever had; and that, not content with exhausting their fortunes, he invented new tortures to imbrue the deaths of such as he suspected (64). *Theophylact* gives us likewise the character of *Varamus*, whose rebellion proved so fatal to *Hormisdas*. He observes, that he was a man of great quality, had served for many years in the army, was most successful in his expeditions against the *Turks*, and by his wisdom and valour rose so high in the favour of this very prince, that he not only continued him general in chief of his troops, but promoted him also to the office of mayor of the palace (65). These particulars would have swelled the text of the history too much, and yet are of too great consequence to be totally omitted; wherefore we have placed them here.

(61) *De bell. Persic. &c. in anecdot.* (62) *Evagr. hist. eccles. lib. v. c. 25.* (63) *Theophylact. hist. lib. iii. c. 17. p. 85.* (64) *Evagr. hist. eccles. lib. vi. c. 16.* (65) *Theophylact. lib. iii. cap. ult.*

into the mountains, and leave the open country at the mercy of the enemy. *Philippicus* gratified his soldiers with the plunder of all the places he could take; but the thirst of spoil having drawn them too far into the *Persian* dominions, they were in the utmost danger of being vanquished, without so much as seeing an enemy, for want of water. This prompted them to a very extraordinary action, viz. putting all the men and women they had made prisoners to the sword, reserving only the children, whom they intended to sell for slaves; but they died in the march, and thereby escaped miseries worse than death. After this *Philippicus* was more cautious, and though he plundered other provinces, yet he took care not to march far from cities. The next year he had the command again, and defeated *Cardariganus* in a pitched battle, from which he escaped with a handful of men, rather through the inadvertency of the *Romans*, than any courage or conduct of his own; and with these he fled to *Dara*, but the citizens shut their gates upon him, and the *Romans* at the close of the campaign again made incursions into *Persia*, burnt the villages, and plundered the people. The next spring the *Persians* gained some advantages, upon which *Philippicus* was removed, and *Comentolus* sent to command in his place, who managed the war rather worse. At length *Priscus* was sent to restore the ancient *Roman* discipline; but the army was so far corrupted, that they refused to obey their general; but having chosen *Germanus* against his will to command them, they threw off all regards to the orders sent them from *Constantinople*. The *Persians*, receiving news of this, attempted to take *Martyropolis*; but the *Romans* under the command of *Germanus*, having penetrated their design, marched directly and gave them battle, whereby they saved the city for that time. However, it soon after fell into the hands of *Mebodes* the *Persian* general; for he having an intelligence with *Sittas*, an architect in the place, by his advice sent four hundred men thither, who pretended to desert from the *Persian* army, and were thereupon readily admitted. These men, by the direction of him who received them, surprised the place; and the *Romans* making a quick march to recover it, were engaged, and beaten by *Mebodes*; whereupon *Philippicus* was again removed, and *Comentolus* was once more trusted with the army. This man quickly lost his reputation; for coming to a battle with the *Persians*, he fled at the very beginning of it; but *Heraclius*, who commanded under him, managed things so well, that the *Persians* were intirely defeated with the loss of *Abraates* and *Nabades*, two of their best generals.

He by his imprudence excites a civil war.

In the mean-time the *Persians* were engaged in war with the *Turks*, now first mentioned by the *Greek* writers, and under the conduct of *Varamus* had been very successful. To him therefore orders were sent to pass the river *Araxes*, and to fall on the *Roman* territories on that side. To oppose him, the emperor sent *Romanus*; but before he could assemble an army sufficient to take the field, *Varamus* had done a great deal of mischief. At length, however, *Romanus* found himself in a condition to give the *Persians* battle, which he accordingly did; for *Varamus* presuming on his former success, desired nothing more ardently than an engagement. This proved fatal to his master's affairs; for the *Persian* cavalry being defeated, *Varamus*, with all his skill, had much ado to make an indifferent retreat. As soon as *Hormisdas* received advice of this disaster, he gave a signal proof of his small capacity for government. He sent to *Varamus*, instead of a vest of honour, a woman's garment, and threatened the troops with decimation; this inflamed their general, and united them to his interest. The issue of this business was, that *Varamus* wrote a letter to his master, in which he used always the feminine gender, as if he had been writing to a female slave, and prepared at the same time to treat him worse. *Hormisdas*, who began to see his error, sent *Sarames*, a man of great quality, to take upon him the command of the army, ordering him to pacify the soldiers at any rate, and to send him *Varamus* in chains. This *Sarames* would have done; but as soon as he arrived in the camp, and had declared the nature of his commission, *Varamus* ordered him to be thrown down from his elephant, and by provoking the beast, caused it to trample him to pieces. He spent the winter preparing for the execution of his purposes, and at the same time took all the care he could to hinder the progress of the *Roman* arms. The garison of *Nisibis* declared for him, and the malecontents began every-where to commit such disorders, that when *Hormisdas* was informed of them, and saw how unable he was to repress them, he began almost to lose his wits, breaking out into such furious fits of passion, as frightened all who were near him, and contributed no less to increase his misfortunes, than the arts of his

^a THEOPHYLACT. lib. i. li. iii. EVAGR. lib. v. c. 30. THEOPHAN. chronogr. p. 217. CEDREN. hist. com. p. 396. ZONAR. annal. lib. xiv. p. 74.

enemies.

a enemies. *Pherocanes* commanded the troops which were still faithful, and he seemed inclined to attempt the reducing *Varamus* to his duty by force; but when the two armies were near each other, *Varamus* sent deputies to harangue the king's army, and to inform them, that his revolt, far from having any tendency to the destruction of the *Persian* empire, had no other motive than its conservation; that *Hormisdas* was no longer worthy to rule them; and that he sought only to bring about such a revolution, as the ill conduct of that prince had made necessary for the safety of the state. The general himself made no answer to these representations, but the army, easily debauched from its duty, began visibly to waver; so that in the night, *Zoanab*, who was of the guard to the general, fearing that he would head the defection, stabbed
b him in his tent, and gave the plunder of it to the soldiers.

Hormisdas having intelligence of this fact, and not knowing what consequences it might have, retired out of *Persia Proper* to *Ctesiphon*, where he kept his court. The people in the mean time revolted in all the royal cities, and plundered the palaces, which afforded the nobility an opportunity of rescuing their relations from prison; and amongst those who were at this time released, was a person of the royal blood, whom *Hormisdas* for a slight offence had loaded with chains, named *Bindoes*. This man making all the haste he could to the troops formerly commanded by *Pherocanes*, was by them readily received for their chief. In three days they reached *Ctesiphon*, whither they no sooner came, than *Bindoes*, well attended, entered the royal palace, and forced
c themselves into the presence of the king. It was after dinner, and *Hormisdas* was sitting in the hall, clad in his robes of state, and with his tiara on his head. As soon as he saw *Bindoes*, he asked him, how he escaped out of prison, and wherefore he came thither? He answered by a torrent of injurious language, upbraiding his master with his ill conduct, and exciting all who were present to reject him from their king. *Hormisdas* ordered some of his servants, who were present, to seize *Bindoes*; but they were afraid to execute his commands. On the other hand, *Bindoes* taking the king by the arm, drew him out of his chair, took the tiara from off his head, and ordered some of his soldiers to conduct him to prison; which they did without the least reluctance, though he was their prince. In the midst of this tumult, *Cbofroes* the son of *Hormisdas*
d made his escape out of the palace, being apprehensive that his own life was not safe; but *Bindoes* having intelligence where he was, dispatched a person to assure him, that he was so far from having any intentions against his person, that his design was to set him upon the throne. Upon this *Cbofroes* returned, and they took their measures together; but while they were consulting, *Hormisdas* sent a message from his prison, requesting that a great council of the nobility might be called, and that he might have the liberty of speaking to them freely. When the *Persian* lords were acquainted with this demand, they instantly assembled at the palace, and then ordered that *Hormisdas* should be brought from his prison, and have liberty given him to say what he pleased. The king, after looking several times round on the assembly, made a long and vehement
e speech, in which he deplored his own calamity much, but the misery of the people more, inveighing bitterly against the authors of this anarchy and confusion, exhorting them to save the state from that destruction with which it was threatened, and to beware of establishing a tyranny, while they endeavoured to avoid it. He then adjured them not to think of making *Cbofroes* his successor, because he knew him to be of a haughty, turbulent, and cruel nature, prone to all sorts of vices, and equally careless of his own honour, and the public good. His other son, however, he recommended as a young prince of a mild and docile nature, one who was inclined to think right, and to do well. Lastly, he entered into a detail of the services he had himself rendered his country, in subduing many provinces, and in reducing several
f of their barbarous neighbours so low, as to pay them tribute. When he had finished all he had to say, *Bindoes* made a long insulting answer, exhorted the people to have no regard to his words, but to act in such a manner as might best insure their own safety. This language suited well the genius of the people, ever prone either to slavish submission, or to licentious insolence; they followed implicitly the directions of their leader, who caused the young prince *Hormisdas* had recommended to be murdered in his presence, and afterwards to be cut to pieces. Then they sacrificed the unhappy woman his mother in the same manner; and that fortune might never restore *Hormisdas* to his former dignity, they ordered his eyes to be put out with a hot iron.

^a THEOPHYLACT. lib. iv. EVAGR. lib. vi. c. 14. THEOPHAN. chronogr. p. 221. CLEDEN. hist. comp. p. 396.

All which was performed with the same ready barbarity with which it was directed. ^a
This end had the reign of *Hormisdas*, when it had continued one and twenty years * (C).

Chosroes II.
Year of Christ
589.

Chosroes, as soon as these objects of popular cruelty were removed, was seated on his father's throne; whence rising up, he came and stood under a golden arch, according to the *Persian* custom, and having received the homage of the principal persons present, the rest with loud acclamations celebrated the accession of their new king, and made vows for his felicity. At first he treated his father with the utmost lenity, sent him diet from his table, ordered him proper attendants, gave him rich wines, and provided for him many amusements; but this prevailing nothing over the spirit of *Hormisdas*, who continued to reproach his son with his barbarity, and unnatural baseness, ^b
Chosroes doubting what effect his reproaches might have, caused him to be cudgelled to death. Then supposing himself firmly seated on the throne, he gave sumptuous entertainments, and distributed most profusely the royal treasures amongst those he thought most capable of assisting him; mighty largesses he likewise bestowed upon the people, and ordered the prison doors to be every-where set open, that the same of his lenity and liberality might effectually secure the hearts of his subjects. On the sixth day after his accession he wrote letters to *Varamus*, and sent him also magnificent presents, exhorting him to come speedily and pay his duty to him, promising him, in case he did so, to make him the second man in his kingdom. *Varamus* refused his presents, and in a haughty letter, at the head of which, among a multitude of other ^c
titles, he called himself the friend of God, the glorious conqueror, and the scourge of tyrants, he rejected his proposal, ordered him to lay down the crown, to come immediately and pay his respects to him, on which condition he should have a government given him. *Chosroes* having exhibited these letters to his council, they were extremely provoked, and gave it as their opinions, that he ought to be punished. *Chosroes* however wrote again to him, signifying his apprehension that his secretary had imposed upon him, and written rather his own dreams than what was dictated to him by *Varamus*, exhorting him by his future conduct to redeem his credit, and not to persist in his design of making his country a field of blood. *Varamus* however prepared for war, and *Chosroes*, since it could not be avoided, advanced to meet him. ^d
They faced each other near *Nisibis*, the city being in the power of the king, while *Varamus* encamped before it. Here a negotiation was begun, but it proved ineffectual; and *Chosroes*, suspecting some of the nobility about him, put them to death without hesitation, which created him many more enemies than it delivered him from; so that shortly after, when *Varamus* attacked the suburbs, and put part of the army

* THEOPHYLACT. lib. iv. c. 6. THEOPHAN. chronogr. p. 223. ETAGR. lib. vi. c. 16. CEDREN. hist. comp. p. 397.

(C) It is impossible to read this part of the *Persian* history without emotion. One may safely number this among those extraordinary revolutions, which appear but rarely in the records of nations; and when they do, strike the judicious reader with an amazement mixed with horror. The Greek historian, *Theophylact*, relates the whole of this extraordinary transaction very circumspectly, and inserts at large the speeches of *Hormisdas* and *Bindoes* (66). One would be apt to think from the many rhetorical turns which are in them both, but in that of the king's especially, that they were not genuine; but when we find the rest of the Greek writers, and which is still more extraordinary, the oriental historians putting the same words into the same persons mouths, one is constrained to banish suspicion, and to admit, that one of the most excellent harangues that was perhaps ever composed, flowed from the mouth of a *Persian* prince, in a situation, when eloquence would have been least expected. But there seems to be something fatal in distressing majesty, and that the divine character of kings, like the essential qualities of gold, appear most clearly from the

severest trials. The speech of *Hormisdas*, too long to be transcribed, but faithfully abridged in the text, proved a sort of prophecy; for after this sedition the reader will perceive the *Persians* were never quiet. *Chosroes* was indeed just such a king as his father foresaw he would be, and the people suffered from his ill conduct much greater evils, than they had ever felt under this unfortunate prince, his father. Authors do not agree about the manner in which *Hormisdas* was put to death. Some say that he earnestly desired it himself, rather than to have his eyes burnt out with a hot iron, which was thought necessary to prevent his escaping as *Carandas* had done (67). These add, that his son, provoked by his reproaches, ordered him to be beat to death (68). Others affirm, that *Hormisdas* refusing food, *Chosroes* directed him to be slain (69). However it was, the people detested the cruelty of their new king, and he had the mortification to see himself abandoned by those who had lately saluted him with the loudest acclamations. It is probable, that his resentment for this continued with him as long as he reigned.

(66) *Theophylact. hist. lib. iv. c. 3. 4.*

(67) *Theophan. chronogr. p. 223. Theophylact. ubi supra.*

(68) *Cedren. hist. comp. p. 396. Zonar. anal. lib. xiv. p. 75.*

(69) See an account of his death in the next period.

quartered

a quartered therein to the sword, the rest presently joined him, and shewed a strong disposition to treat *Cbofroes* as ill as they had done his father; to avoid which, he fled, as privately as possible, exceedingly dejected under his misfortune, and the more so, because he had scarce any friends to share it with him. His women, menial servants, and a few of his guards, about thirty persons in the whole, fled with him, they knew not where; sometimes he had thoughts of retiring among the *Scythians*, at others, he hoped to hide himself in the mountains.

A 1 length, committing himself and his affairs wholly to providence; he came as it were by accident to a frontier post in the *Roman* dominions; and that too far in the night. *Probus*, who commanded there for the emperor, received him, and all who b were with him, kindly and courteously, permitting the king to write immediately to the *Roman* general, who as readily consented to his sending an express with his letters to the emperor. In these he besought *Mauritius*, who then possessed the imperial dignity, to assist him against his rebellious subjects; preserving in the midst of a most pathetic supplication all the dignity of a king. While *Cbofroes* was in this distress, *Varamus* entered the city of *Ctesiphon* in great splendor. *Bindoes* he seized, and threw into prison, treating all such as had shewn any affection to the royal family with great severity; but towards the rest of the *Persians*, he affected the greatest humanity, and a superabundant condescension. He did not fail however to issue his orders for apprehending *Cbofroes*, if it was possible; and when he found that all his caution in this c respect was vain and fruitless, he turned his thoughts to the securing the frontier garisons, and the most considerable cities in *Persia*, in which he had better success. He likewise gave great feasts, and very bountifully bestowed that treasure he had so easily obtained; yet in the midst of all this pomp and splendor, he saw with concern, that the nobility were greatly dissatisfied, and the people not to be relied on. He could not however either extinguish or contain the violent desire he had to be a king. On a religious festival therefore, when of course there was a grand assembly of the nobility at the palace, he took upon him to use the royal ornaments and furniture with all the state of a monarch, though he forbore the title with reluctance. The *Persian* nobility seeing clearly what he intended, and disdaining to become the subjects d of one born their equal, they began to cabal together, in order to concert measures for emancipating themselves and their country, and for restoring the ancient lustre of the *Persian* empire. In their conferences upon this subject, it was unanimously agreed, that *Bindoes* was the most proper person to conduct an affair of this kind; and therefore they immediately delivered him out of prison, and acknowledged him for their chief. By his advice they came to a resolution to attack *Varamus* in the palace in the dead time of the night. This they performed with great courage; but *Varamus* and his attendants defending themselves gallantly, the engagement was very obstinate; and at last the nobility were vanquished, many of them being slain upon the spot, and the rest thrown to the elephants; only *Bindoes*, with a few who fought about his e person, escaped, and marching towards *Media*, endeavoured to raise forces for *Cbofroes*.

AFTER this victory, *Varamus* thought fit to send ambassadors to court the friendship of the *Roman* emperor *Mauritius*; but they were sent back without answer, the emperor having already made a treaty with *Cbofroes*, and having ordered the governors of his frontier provinces to furnish him with whatever might be necessary for his restoration. These timely supplies had a proper effect; for the *Persians*, seeing their king now in a condition to protect them, began almost every-where to acknowledge him, and to open their gates to receive his forces. Among the rest, *Nisibis* submitted to the king, and *Martyropolis* was recovered by the *Romans*, to whom likewise *Cbofroes* himself f delivered *Sittas* the architect, who had betrayed the place to his father *Hormisdas*, for which traiterous act he was now burnt alive. On the other hand, *Varamus* continued to raise forces, chusing rather to hazard all things, in order to make himself a prince, than to descend again to the condition of a private man. The christian writers suggest, that *Cbofroes*, during his distress, seemed to abandon the religion of the magi; and not only worshipped God after the christian manner, but also vowed to dedicate a cross of pure gold in the church of a certain martyr, in case he proved victorious against his enemy. *Zadesprates*, one of *Varamus*'s commanders, having attempted

Flies into the Roman service.

He enters Persia in conjunction with the Romans.

¹ THEOPHYLACT. lib. iv. c. 7. THEOPHAN. chronogr. ubi supra. EYAGR. lib. vi. CEDREN. hist. comp. ubi supra. ² THEOPHANES chronogr. p. 223. EYAGR. hist. eccles. lib. vi. c. 17. CEDREN. hist. comp. p. 397. ZONAR. annal. lib. xiv. p. 77. GLYK. annal. p. 274.

to enter the quarters of one of the lords who had declared for *Chosroes*, was defeated, ^a and put to death, and his head, and the spoils of his army, sent to the king. The same fate had *Anatbonus* very shortly after, of which *Chosroes* advised the emperor his protector by *Sarames*, one of the principal lords of his party; by whom likewise he signified, that *Comentiolus* was very backward in assisting him in the recovery of his dominions; whereupon the emperor sent an order, forbidding that general to meddle any more in the king of *Persia*'s affairs, appointing at the same time *Narfes* to have the command of the *Roman* auxiliaries destined to the service of the *Persian* king ^a.

Drives the rebels, and settles himself on the throne.

^b *This* was very grateful to *Chosroes*, who early the next spring, with his own forces, and those lent him by the emperor, under the command of *Narfes*, marched into *Persia* with an intent to decide the war at once. Most of the frontier places on his approach rendered to *Chosroes*, as did the great and strong city *Dara*, formerly the chief bulwark of the *Romans* on this side. *Chosroes* in testimony of his sincere gratitude, and cordial affection towards the emperor *Mauritius*, determined to deliver it into his hands. About the same time the *Persian* king received from his protector a tiara, richly set with jewels, golden household utensils of all sorts, and a chosen guard to attend upon his person. When the emperor learned that *Dara* was given up to him, he was so well pleased with the conduct of *Chosroes*, that he honoured him with the title of his son. In the mean time the *Persians*, in great multitudes, quitted the service of *Varamus*, and went to serve under the banners of their prince, who now sought to bring *Varamus* to a battle. Before this could be brought to pass, several skirmishes happened, and among the rest one, in which *Beyzacius*, a great officer in the army of *Varamus*, was taken prisoner; and after his nose and ears were cut off, brought to their king by the *Persians*, by whose command he was soon after put to death. A short space after, *Seleucia*, and most of the great cities near the river *Eufrates*, submitted to the king, and *Varamus* was forced to retire, and to avoid fighting. His army consisted of about forty thousand men, whereas the *Romans* and *Persians* under the command of *Chosroes* were upwards of sixty thousand. The former, however, often attempted to fall upon the latter in the night, but were prevented through the vigilance of the *Roman* officers; sometimes also they presented themselves in the field by day, so disposed, as if they intended immediately to give battle; and after harassing and fatiguing the confederates, withdrew at last into their camp. ^c The *Roman* officers all this time had much ado to restrain the ardor of *Chosroes*, who was always for attacking the enemy, though on disadvantageous terms. At last, however, an opportunity offered, and the *Roman* officers consenting, he attacked the army of *Varamus*, defeated it, and took six thousand prisoners, most of whom he ordered to be put to the sword, or to be thrown to his elephants. The very tent of *Varamus* was taken, with all his golden furniture, which the *Romans* presented to *Chosroes*, who on the other hand, attributed all his success to them, and chose a thousand of them for his body guard, and in every other respect did all he could to testify his gratitude towards them. *Chosroes* likewise took this opportunity to send to the church of *Sergius* ^e the martyr the golden cross, set with jewels, which he had vowed, and with it one taken away by *Chosroes* the son of *Cavadas*, together with a letter, which is still extant in the history written by *Theophylact* (D). *Chosroes* also married a christian woman,

^a ZONAR. annal. ubi supra. THEOPHYLACT. lib. v. c. 1. EVAGR. hist. eccles. lib. vii. c. 19. CEDREN. hist. comp. p. 397. THEOPHAN. chronogr. p. 224.

(D) *Evagrius*, the ecclesiastical historian, assures us, that *Chosroes* sent back to *Gregory*, bishop of *Antioch*, a cross of gold enriched with precious stones, which had been taken out of the church of *Sergius* the martyr by his grandfather *Chosroes*, and that he also sent therewith another cross of gold with the following inscription: "It fell out, that when I *Chosroes*, king of kings, son of *Hormisdas*, was obliged by the criminal infidelity of the accursed *Varamus*, and certain troops of horse, who adhered to him, to fly for safety to the *Romans*, and that I sent some troops of my cavalry to the city of *Carcas*, under the command of a certain officer, to traverse the designs of the accursed *Zadespras*, who was come from *Nisibis* with an intent to debauch the troops I had in that city from my service, I having heard that the most celebrated

"martyr *Sergius* granted to every one, who sought his protection, whatsoever on their parts was desired, besought him on the seventh day of *January*, in the first year of my reign, to grant me victory against *Zadespras*, promising, that in case my troops either killed that rebel, or took him alive, that I would give to his church a cross of gold, enriched with precious stones. On the ninth day of the month of *February* the troops of horse I had dispatched against him returned, and presented me with the head of *Zadespras*. Having obtained my petition, and being willing to give the most public as well as sincere marks of gratitude and thankfulness, I have sent to his church this cross, which I caused to be made on purpose, together with one given by the emperor *Justinian*, and taken by my grandfather *Chosroes* the son of *Cavadas*, which

"I found

- a woman, whose name was *Sira*, and honoured her with the title of queen, notwithstanding the prohibition of the *Persian* laws, shewing on all occasions such favour to the christians, that many were of opinion he himself was that way inclined; though in a few years after, he gave the strongest demonstrations, not only of his zealous attachment to the religion of his ancestors, but of his peculiar aversion to the faith of Christ ^b.

- FROM the moment he was settled on his throne, he laid aside the foreign customs he had hitherto made use of to ingratiate himself with the *Romans*, and put on the state and behaviour of a *Persian* prince, as if he had never experienced what adversity was. The *Roman* general *Narjes* intimated to him, before he left his dominions, the vast obligations he was under to the emperor *Maurice*, and to the *Roman* people, whose power that general highly magnified, and spoke of them as lords of the universe. *Chosroes* modestly answered, that he was very sensible of the kindness shewed him by the emperor; but as to the *Roman* power, he predicted so exactly its declension and destruction, that the *Greek* writers will needs have it *Chosroes* was a great astrologer, and drew his knowledge of future events from the skill he had in that science. As to his own subjects, *Chosroes* treated them with great rigour, or, as others phrase it, with unreasonable severity; he prosecuted without mercy all such as had any share either in the favour, or in the government, while *Varamus* held the supreme power. By this method he quite extinguished that faction, and by restoring the ancient *Persian* constitution, he aggrandized himself so as to become terrible to his neighbours; whence it came to pass, that the barbarous prince, with whom *Varamus* had sheltered himself, and who had at first thoughts of lending him troops to invade *Persia*, began to grow so apprehensive of the vengeance of *Chosroes*, that he ordered his competitor to be poisoned ^c.

- WHEN the *Persian* monarch found all things quiet at home, and himself at leisure to lay hold of any advantages that might offer, he began to threaten the *Roman* provinces on account of the excursions made by the *Saracens* into his dominions, by the encouragement, as he pretended, of the *Roman* generals, who commanded on the frontiers. When the emperor *Maurice*, whose affairs were already in disorder, was informed of this, he sent ambassadors to *Chosroes* to set this matter in a true light, and to prevent, if possible, a war on this side, which he knew, as things were circumstanced, could not but be fatal to the empire. On the arrival of the *Roman* ambassadors, *Chosroes* treated them but indifferently, suffered them to remain a long time at court without an audience. At last, he who was at the head of the embassy, took an opportunity of speaking to the king, and after a short recapitulation of the favours done him by the *Romans*, he proceeded to shew the weakness of the grounds *Chosroes* pretended to have for making war, and the injustice of such a proceeding towards his benefactor; which free representation so affected *Chosroes*, that far from taking it amiss, he told the ambassador, whatever causes he might have for the measures he meant to take, he would for the present lay aside his resentment for his sake; and thus for this time war was prevented ^d.

- IT was not long, however, before a fresh opportunity offered for the gratifying the ambition of the *Persian*. This was the murder of *Maurice* the emperor by *Phocas*, an impiety which filled the *Roman* empire with blood shed and confusion, and gave at the same time *Chosroes* a fair opportunity of taking arms under colour of revengeing the death of his protector and father; for so he was wont to call the emperor *Maurice*. In vain did *Phocas*, by his ambassador *Bilius*, endeavour to appease him with large presents, and larger promises; he regarded neither; but having sent a rude

^b THEOPHYLACT. lib. v. c. 5. THEOPHAN. chronogr. p. 225. EVAGR. hist. eccles. lib. vi. c. 21. ZONAR. annal. ubi supra. CEDREN. hist. comp. p. 404. GLYCAS. annal. ubi supra. ^c ZONAR. annal. lib. xiv. p. 80. THEOPHYLACT. lib. v. c. 7. THEOPHAN. chronogr. p. 243. EVAGR. hist. eccles. lib. vi. c. 23. CEDREN. hist. comp. ubi supra. ^d THEOPHYLACT. lib. viii. c. 1. GLYC. annal. p. 276. THEOPHAN. chronogr. p. 244. CEDREN. hist. comp. ubi supra. ZONAR. annal. ubi supra.

"I found deposited among my treasures" (70). There is another pompous inscription in the history cited below; but this is sufficient to shew the hypocrisy of *Chosroes*, who afterwards declared himself the open enemy of Christ, and of christians, not only by persecuting them in his own dominions, but by endeavouring

to oblige the *Greeks* to quit that religion, the principles of which induced them to set him upon the throne of his fathers. We shall hereafter see, that he had reason to say with the emperor *Julian*, *Vicisti ô Galilæ!*

answer to *Phocas's* letters by a messenger of his own, threw the ambassador into prison, ^a making all the preparations possible for entering speedily the *Roman* frontiers. At first he gave out, that he had no other view than revenging the murder of *Maurice*, and restoring the empire to his family; but this soon appeared to be only a pretence, since the king refused to send assistance to *Narjes*, who at this time had taken arms against *Phocas*. The true intent with which *Chosroes* made war was the enlarging his own dominions, while the *Romans* were divided, and in no condition to resist him. In his first campaign he met with some trouble, the *Roman* troops endeavouring to make the best defence they could; but their general being slain, and themselves indifferently supplied, he at length triumphed over them, and laid all the frontiers under contribution. In the seventeenth year of his reign, he continued the war, and reduced ^b several fortresses. The next year he recovered the strong city of *Dara*, plundered all *Mesopotamia* and *Syria*, and carried off such immense riches, that no computation could be made of them. In his nineteenth year he passed the *Euphrates*, ravaged *Syria*, *Palestine*, and part of *Phœnicia*, wasting all places, where-ever he came, with fire and sword. The year following, his general *Cardaregas* wasted *Armenia* and *Cappadocia*, defeated the *Roman* army with a great slaughter, and then meeting no opposition, destroyed *Galatia*, *Paphlagonia*, and all the country as far as *Chalcedon*, burning cities, and putting people to death without any respect to sex or age ^c.

Makes a rapid conquest of its principal provinces.

In the two and twentieth year of his reign, *Chosroes* took *Apamea* and *Edeffa*, and blocked up *Antioch*. This induced the *Romans* to hazard a battle, though they were much inferior in strength; wherein they were so totally defeated, that it is said the *Persians* scarce left any to mourn the death of their companions. The year following he took *Cæsarea*, and carried away myriads of people into captivity. *Syria* had in the next campaign the same fate that *Cappadocia* felt in this. In his twenty-fifth year, *Chosroes* made himself master of *Damascus*, to which city the emperor *Heracius* sent ambassadors, beseeching him to have mercy upon his subjects, and supplicating a peace on any terms he would impose; but *Chosroes* would not afford his ambassador so much as an answer. The year following he conquered *Judæa*, took and plundered the city of *Jerusalem*, carried away the cross on which *Christ* suffered, and the patriarch *Zacharias*, into *Persia*. In this campaign he sold ninety thousand christians for slaves to the *Jews* in his dominions, who, out of their wonted humanity, cut every one of their ^d throats. These vast conquests served only to increase the ambition of the *Persian*, and to swell his imagination with mighty ideas of his own power; insomuch that in the twenty-seventh year of his reign, he made an expedition into *Egypt*, and having divided his forces, with one part of his army he took *Alexandria*, and subdued all the country towards *Libya*, while the other was employed in the reduction of the *Upper Egypt*; wherein he pushed his conquests to the very frontiers of *Ethiopia*; adding thus the empire of *Afric* to that of *Asia*, executing in the space of a few years what all his ancestors from *Artaxerxes* had been so long endeavouring at in vain. The year following he once more turned his forces against the *Constantinopolitan* empire, and that with such success, that he reduced the city of *Chalcedon*, which he had long blocked up. ^e The remaining part of that year, and all the next, was employed in thoroughly subduing and regulating in all respects the government of the conquered provinces. As for the emperor *Heracius*, incapable of resisting, and at the same time extremely afflicted at the sight of the horrible cruelties every-where practised by the *Persians*, he resolved once more to make an effort towards obtaining peace. With this view he sent deputies to *Chosroes*, with instructions to lay before him the miserable condition of *Asia*, the deplorable consequences of continuing the war any longer, and the earnest desire that himself had to purchase quiet upon any terms. To all this *Chosroes* made a very short and plain answer; that he would never spare the subjects of *Heracius*, or grant him peace, till he and they abjured their crucified God, and embraced the religion of the *Persians* ^f.

Forces the emperor Heracius to take up arms.

In the thirty-first year of his reign, *Chosroes* besieged and reduced the city of *Ancyra* in *Galatia*, and prepared against the next year to carry his conquests farther. Indeed, there was no probability that any check could be put to them, the emperor being so embarrassed in *Europe* by other barbarous enemies, that he was only able to lament, without having it at all in his power to remedy, the mischiefs suffered by his sub-

^a CEDREN. hist. comp. p. 410. ZONAR. annal. ubi supra. THEOPHYLACT. lib. viii. c. 3. GLYC. annal. ubi supra. THEOPHAN. chronogr. p. 245. ^b GLYC. annal. ubi supra. THEOPHAN. chronogr. p. 246. ZONAR. annal. lib. xiv. p. 84. CEDREN. hist. comp. p. 413. GREGOR. ABUL-FHAR. hist. dynast. p. 157.

ajects in *Asia*. Yet when things were come to this extremity, and nothing could be more apparent, than that *Chosroes* intended the utter destruction of his monarchy, *Heraclius* determined to put all to the hazard, and having granted his enemies in *Europe* what terms they thought fit, began to make the necessary dispositions for turning the whole of his force, such as it was, upon the *Persians*. This happened in the thirty-second year of the reign of *Chosroes*, who, far from being displeased, rejoiced at this news, believing that it would afford him the opportunity he had so long sought of conquering all the *Roman* dominions, without appearing to make war on an unarmed and defenceless people. After *Easter*, in the succeeding year, the emperor *Heraclius* marched with all his forces towards the frontiers of his empire. *Sarbanazas* at that time commanded the *Persian* forces, and lay incamped in *Armenia*, where he was every day committing new outrages, having nothing else in view but the amassing money, and plundering the helpless inhabitants of what little they had left. On the approach of the *Roman* army the *Persian* general sent out spies to discover its strength; and on their report that it was very numerous, and that the emperor *Heraclius* had inflamed his men with a sort of religious enthusiasm, he thought it expedient to recal his parties, and to intrench his forces on the summit of a hill, where they could not be attacked, but at a great disadvantage. This he did, supposing that the emperor could not long keep the field, especially in that season. But in this he was mistaken, as he was afterwards in his notion of breaking through the *Roman* army, which he attempted in the night, but without success. At last, weary of being besieged, he determined at all events to fight. This resolution once taken, he divided his army into three bodies, and attacked the *Roman* camp in as many different places. *Heraclius*, who had previous intelligence of what the *Persian* general intended, suffered the *Persians* to prevail in every one of their attempts. By this means he effectually divided them, and then falling upon the rear of each corps, cut the far greatest part of them to pieces. This victory was so far from making *Heraclius* elate, that it served only to encourage him to make new propositions of peace and friendship to the *Persians*, which were received, as all the former were, that is, with the utmost contempt and indignation.

Chosroes, to repair the mistakes of his former general, appointed *Sais*, a noble *Persian*, to command in chief a more numerous army than that which had been defeated the last spring; and to make all things secure, when the season for action drew on, *Sarbanazas* was sent again to the army with a considerable reinforcement; nay, the king himself went thither soon after in person. However, *Heraclius* did not fail pressing as hard upon this army, as he did upon that which he had defeated in *Armenia*; and the *Persians*, wearied with long service, and corrupted through their neglect of discipline, gave such evident tokens of timidity, when the enemy drew near, and had skirmished against them with some success, that *Chosroes* thought it high time to provide for the safety of his person; which he did by leaving the army, and thereby increased the general consternation so much, that the *Persians* were quickly after totally defeated (E). It is said, that no less than fifty thousand persons were taken

6 ZONAR. annal. ubi supra. CEDREN. hist. comp. p. 414. THEOPHAN. chronogr. p. 253. GLYC. annal. ubi supra. GREGOR. ABUL-PHAR. hist. dynast. p. 158.

(E) There cannot at first sight be any thing more surprising, than this sudden extinction of the *Persian* power in less than twenty years after it had been carried to a greater height by *Chosroes* the second, than it had ever attained since the demise of *Alexander the Great*. A little attention however to the facts preceding this destruction of the *Persian* empire, will lead us to a satisfactory account of its causes. From the death of *Chosroes the Great* the minds of the people had never been thoroughly settled. At the very beginning of the reign of *Hormisdas*, they were prejudiced against his government by the strange measures he took, and the infamous company of diviners, forcerers, and necromancers, that he kept about him. During the time that *Varanus* was at the head of affairs, who, by the way, is by some authors reckoned one of the kings of *Persia*, things went still in a worse channel. His title to the crown was very indifferent; and therefore, to support it, he first lavished immense sums

among the nobles; but finding this method unsuccessful, he had recourse to its contrary; that is to say, he oppressed the nobility, and turned the streams of his bounty on the lowest sort of people. This answered his purpose better; but it made the condition of the *Persians* much worse, by spreading the poison of corruption through the mass of the people. The severity of *Chosroes*, or rather his cruelty, kept up a constant spirit of disaffection, which all his numerous conquests could not allay; though these served to waste his veteran troops, and to exhaust *Persia* of able men to such a degree, that it was with great difficulty, and not without having recourse to the harshest methods, that he set armies on foot, sufficient to struggle with the *Romans*, as he did; and yet these struggles put the last hand to the exhausting of *Persia*, and left it in a deplorable condition, when *Siroes* came to the crown. If that prince had lived, he would, in all probability, have restored the lustre of the *Persian* diadem. As it was, he only procured

taken prisoners by *Heraclius*, who when he found it impracticable to maintain them, first distributed amongst them all that could be possibly spared them, and then gave them their liberties, whereby he gained great reputation. *Chosroes* now found it necessary to exert his utmost strength, and having in the winter gathered as great a number of forces as he possibly could, he sent them under the command of *Sarablagas* and *Perozites*, two of his best general officers, into *Albania*. He likewise took care to recruit his other army in *Armenia*, and when he understood that the emperor *Heraclius* was determined to penetrate into the *Persian* dominions, he sent orders to his forces in *Armenia* to advance behind the *Romans*, as they pressed upon the grand army in *Albania*. This scheme, as it was well contrived, so it was also faithfully and exactly executed; infomuch that the emperor found himself in the deepest distress, and in all probability would have perished with all his army, if the *Persian* generals had not been jealous of each other, which tempted them to engage the *Romans* separately; an act of rashness so apparent, that it revived the drooping courage of *Heraclius's* soldiers, and was the chief cause of gaining such a victory, as left not a *Persian* officer of distinction at liberty; so that *Heraclius* was forced to release one of his prisoners to carry the news of the defeat. After this the inhabitants of *Albania* rose upon the *Persians*, so that they were obliged totally to abandon *Albania*, where the *Romans* wintered^b.

Makes new efforts to no purpose.

THE two succeeding years the war was carried on in the same way, and with the same success; that is to say, *Chosroes* made prodigious efforts, which yet were altogether ineffectual, or rather served to increase the power and reputation of *Heraclius*, who was alike successful in pitched battles, and in long and painful expeditions. For his soldiers, flushed with conquests, and fully persuaded that victory attended them on account of the justice of their cause, and the strictness of their discipline, made no scruple of undertaking whatever the emperor commanded. In this manner he penetrated into *Assyria*, passed the rivers *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, after routing several times the *Persian* armies, which endeavoured to obstruct his passage. In the mean time *Chosroes* abated nothing either of his cruelty, or of his haughtiness. The christian churches he plundered throughout his dominions, and compelled all such of his subjects as had embraced the faith, to profess themselves *Nestorians*. He exhausted likewise all his provinces, in order to form new armies to oppose *Heraclius*, who defeated them as soon as he met them in the field, proceeding so rapidly in his conquests, that *Chosroes* saw himself obliged to abandon two of his palaces, burning the rich furniture he could not carry away, and with his wives and concubines to fly first to *Ctesiphon*, and then to *Seleucia*. There he received intelligence that his general *Sarbarus* corresponded with the *Romans*; which, though a calumny, he easily gave into, and in consequence thereof, dispatched orders to his colleague then before *Chalcedon* to put him to death, and to march his army back into *Persia*. The courier, who carried this order, being taken by the emperor's party, they opened his letters, and having read them, sent them to the general, who was intended to be cut off. He, by interpolating these orders, signified the pleasure of *Chosroes*, that four hundred officers of distinction should be put to death with him, and then caused them to be delivered to his colleague. On the reading these dispatches, the whole army was in a tumult, and great numbers began openly to cry out, that *Chosroes* was unworthy to reign. Among these, *Gundabunas*, a principal officer, made the greatest figure; who, to secure himself from the resentment of so blood thirsty a prince, retired with a considerable body of men to the camp of the emperor, where he remained in safety^c.

Attempts to alter the succession, and is deposed.

AGE, fatigue, and sorrow, having by this time much weakened *Chosroes*, he began to think of settling the succession; but, as he had ever acted on very odd principles, so now, out of some pique to his eldest son *Siroes*, he determined to transfer the crown to *Merdasas*, the youngest of his sons. This scheme of his could not be long kept a secret, and therefore, as soon as it reached the ears of *Siroes*, he immediately projected to hinder it from being carried into execution. With this view he entered into a correspondence with *Gundabunas*, who, as was observed, remained in the emperor's

^b THEOPHAN. chronogr. p. 263. GREGOR. ABUL-PHAR. histor. dynast. viii. p. 158. CEDREN. ZONAR. &c.
^c THEOPHAN. chronogr. p. 264. GREGOR. ABUL-PHAR. ubi supra. ZONAR. &c.

procured recruits, by the exchange of prisoners, sufficient to keep up such an army, as enabled his general to destroy his family, and to seal the ruin of his empire. The last monarch had visibly no force capable of opposing the mighty armies of the Sa-

racens; therefore we must look on the battles he fought as the last efforts of a languishing people. From whence it follows, that though they might be brisk and vigorous, yet they could not be either lasting or effectual.

camp

- a camp with a body of *Persian* troops. The issue of this negotiation was, that application was made to the emperor *Heraclius* to increase the forces under the command of *Gundabunas*, by setting at liberty the *Persian* prisoners, on a promise that *Siroes* would instantly put himself at the head of that army, and march against his father. This proposition was no sooner made than accepted; and, as all the parties concerned therein were alike interested in its speedy execution, all things were quickly ready, and *Siroes* in a condition to perform his part of the agreement, which he did very effectually. As for *Chosroes*, his tyranny had rendered him so hateful, that, as he wanted an army to support him, he was not only disappointed in its fidelity, but also found himself so destitute of friends, that to escape appeared as impracticable as to resist. In a word, he was seized by his own soldiers, imprisoned, and deposed by his own son, when he had reigned thirty-nine years. We shall quickly see, that these were but the beginnings of his misfortunes ^k.

- Siroes* having assumed the regal dignity during the life-time of his father, and while he was a prisoner, as his father had done in prejudice to his grandfather *Hormisdas*, began instantly to endeavour the rectifying those miscarriages, which had brought the flourishing kingdom of *Persia* into so miserable a condition. In the first place, he ordered his father should have his legs, arms, and neck, loaded with chains, and that he should be exposed in the dungeon, where he lay to all the scoffs and insults of an incensed unthinking populace. These, forgetting the indelible majesty of kings, upbraided him with his insatiable avarice, reproached him with his present abject condition, telling him, that as he had acted like the common enemy of mankind, and the peculiar curse of the *Persian* people, he now justly tasted that bitter cup, of which he had made whole nations drink, and was deservedly degraded from a throne to a dungeon, who, while he sat on his throne, had filled all the dungeons in his dominions. Five days he languished in this miserable way, having only bread and water allowed him for a subsistence; then his beloved son *Merdasas*, whom he would have raised to the throne in prejudice to *Siroes*, was put to death before his face, together with his other sons. After all this, and sustaining a fresh load of indignities, *Siroes* gave orders that he should be shot with arrows, and left to expire of his wounds ^l. Of all these severities, as well as of the cruel death of his father, *Siroes* advised the emperor *Heraclius* by letter, desiring his friendship, and that the league between their empires might be perpetual. As a proof of his sincerity in all his promises, he set the patriarch of *Jerusalem*, *Zacharias*, at liberty, and sent him, together with the holy cross, back into *Palestine*, well attended, and with rich presents. On the other hand, *Heraclius* received the *Persian* ambassadors with great kindness, and readily embraced the peace offered him by their master. The next year, in consequence of this league, all the *Persians*, who were prisoners in any part of the *Roman* dominions, were set at liberty; and notwithstanding they were many thousands in number, yet in their return to their own country, no ill accident happened; so soon were those nations reconciled, who were inveterate enemies so long. But as there is not any thing so precarious as human happiness, while on the one hand the *Romans*, and on the other the *Persians*, promised themselves nothing but peace, plenty, and mutual good offices, from the union which subsisted between their princes; all their hopes were blasted by the death of *Siroes*, when he had reigned little more than a year, and had scarce effaced, by his mildness towards his subjects, the terror arising from his unnatural treatment of his father ^m.

- Ardeser* the son of *Siroes*, according to the *Greek* writers, succeeded his father. They might as well have called him *Artaxerxes*, since the name they give him is only a corruption of that *Persian* appellation, which the ancient *Greeks*, to accommodate it to their own way of speaking, changed into *Artaxerxes*. We may be indulged this criticism on names, where we have little to say of things. This hapless prince was but seven years old when he was set upon a throne, where he remained but seven months, before he was barbarously murdered by the command of *Sarbarazas*, who had commanded the armies of *Chosroes* his grandfather. This ambitious man had still the chief command of the troops, when *Siroes* died. He thereupon pretended a right of being consulted, before the son of his master was exalted to the throne of his ancestors; and on

Siroes
Year of Christ
626.

Ardeser or
Arhesyr
Year of Christ
627.

^k THEOPHAN. chronogr. p. 272. GREGOR. ABUL-PHAR. ubi supra. CEDREN. GLYC. &c. ^l THEOPHANES chronogr. ubi supra. GREGOR. ABUL-PHAR. ubi supra. CEDREN. ZONAR. &c. ^m THEOPHAN. chronogr. p. 273. GREGOR. ABUL-PHAR. ubi supra. GLYC. &c.

this slight foundation rebelled against the child, slew him, and seated himself in his place ^a.

Sarbas and
Bornarim.
Year of Christ
628.

Sarbarazas, or, as some authors call him, *Sarbaras*, having seized the diadem stained with blood, found himself immediately involved in new crimes to keep it on his head. An opposite faction had set up *Bornarim*, a prince of the blood-royal, who for six or seven months had the shadow of royalty, and then lost it, together with his life, leaving the throne once more empty to this *Sarbarazas*. He held it now about six months, but always in fear, the friends of the royal family, and especially a sister of the deceased *Artaxerxes*, endeavouring, all that in their power lay, to disturb his reign. These contrivances broke at last out into several insurrections, till the flame of civil war caught almost every province in the kingdom, and all *Persia* ^b began to swim with the blood of its inhabitants. This opened the eyes of the nobility, who now clearly saw that peace could never be restored whilst this usurper lived. They therefore made choice of the nephew of *Siroes*, the son of the only one of his brothers, who escaped his rage, when he put his father to death; and having once determined to raise this young prince to the throne, they opened him a passage to it by the death of *Sarbarazas*, the implacable enemy of his family ^c.

Isdigertes.
Year of Christ
630.

Hormisdas, or, as most writers call him, *Isdigertes*, was by this means raised to the regal dignity, as well by the free election of the people, as in consequence of his right of descent. He did not however enjoy the kingdom long, I may say, scarce at all, in quiet; for by the time that the domestic stir of the late factions in *Persia* were ^c thoroughly quelled, he found a new and most formidable enemy ready to over-run his country. These were the *Saracens* under the conduct of the successors of *Mohammed*. We shall elsewhere treat expressly of these people, their religion, government, and exploits. At present, we shall only remark on such circumstances of their affairs, as have a connection with their conquest of *Persia*, concerning which we have very different accounts from the several *Greek* writers, who have mentioned it. Some report, that the emperor *Heraclius* had a great body of *Saracens* in his army, when he invaded the *Persian* dominions; and that after the peace was made, they on their return home, inflamed their countrymen with a desire of making themselves masters of so pleasant a country, as this of *Persia* was represented to be. Others affirm, that *Mohammed* ^d himself, when he was thoroughly settled in his principality, made an irruption into *Persia* in the days of *Chosroes*; but that this monarch, with the assistance of the *Turks*, totally defeated the *Saracen* army, after a very long and very obstinate engagement, which so far broke their spirits, that they did not renew the war till now. But the general opinion is, that the *Saracens* did not invade *Persia* till after the reduction of *Jerusalem*, and that then the war lasted some time, and with variety of success. Some authors represent *Hormisdas* or *Isdigertes* as an effeminate and indolent prince, while others again assert, that he defended his country with the utmost intrepidity, till after various defeats the spirits of the *Persians* were intirely broken; nay, some say, that he was himself killed in the field. However, there appears to be no just cause for ^e censuring either the courage or conduct of this prince, unless it was criminal in him to be unfortunate. He was the last of the line of *Artaxerxes*, who sat upon the *Persian* throne; and with him fell that empire, which had subsisted with so much glory for upwards of four hundred years P (F).

^a THEOPHAN. chronogr. ubi supra. ZONAR. CEDREN. GLYC. &c.
GREGOR. ABUL-FIHAR. ubi supra.

^c THEOPHAN. chronogr. p. 275.

^d THEOPHAN. chronogr. p. 278. CEDREN. ZONAR. &c.

(F) As at the opening of this period, we endeavoured in a note to point out the advantages the reader would receive from the method pursued therein, so we judged it necessary to close it, by briefly exhibiting a view of those deficiencies, which have made the following section, not only expedient, but necessary. In the first place, as we have confined ourselves therein to the materials furnished us by the *Greek* authors, the reader must necessarily observe many wide chasms in the narration, occasioned either by the ignorance or carelessness of the *Greek* historians, as to such affairs of their neighbours, as did not immediately concern themselves. Secondly, the judicious peruser must have observed very imperfect accounts of very important transactions, and not a few, which carry in themselves the strongest appearances of falshood. These defects flow from the same

cause, and there was a necessity of suffering this part of the history to appear in this dress, that the reader might know in what light the *Greek* writers set these transactions. Thirdly, the proper names, titles of honour, wars and conquests of the *Persians*, are so disfigured by the mistakes of the authors, from whom we were obliged to take our accounts, that if we had published them alone, they must have tended rather to the propagating of error, than of knowledge; since it is better to know nothing, than to apprehend we know what we know not. All these deficiencies, misrepresentations, and mistakes, will be supplied and corrected in the following history; which will effectually demonstrate the great use of studying the oriental writers, hitherto much neglected, and which is stranger, still despised amongst us.

- ^a THE total subversion of so great a monarchy in so short a space must appear somewhat wonderful in our eyes, who are accustomed to see provinces defended for a much longer time, than was taken up by the *Saracens* in the conquest of *Persia*; but we ought to consider, that the successors of *Mohammed* led vast armies of a needy starving people, who fought for new habitations, and who easily settled themselves in the countries they subdued. In this empire of *Persia* especially, they had no sooner defeated *Isdigerdes*, than they began immediately to canton out his dominions, and to make as exact a survey of them, as the Conqueror did of our country, when he framed what we call the doom's day book; such a record, and for the same purposes, being taken here. Besides, the *Persian* prince, as the best authors assure us, though he laid aside the ensigns of majesty, after the great defeat he had received, yet he sheltered himself in one of the distant provinces of his empire, and died there about the year 640 or 642. As to the condition of the native *Persians* since, we need not wonder that it hath been always very abject and depressed, since nothing can be more visible, than that it hath been the chief maxim amongst all *Mohammedan* conquerors, without exception, to break the spirits, and exhaust the substance of the natives of all the countries which fall under their dominion. This they were particularly led to do in *Persia*, on account of the difference in religion between them and the natives. At this time the *Saracens* were not only rude and barbarous, but a furious and enthusiastic people; they were therefore incapable of distinguishing the true doctrines of the magian sect, or of reclaiming, by gentle means, those whom they conceived to be idolaters. They therefore persecuted the natives through a misguided zeal, and having stamped on them opprobrious names, transmitted to their posterity the same brutal disposition which they had exercised themselves, as will be shewn in the following, and in several other sections.
- ^b
- ^c

S E C T. II.

The history of the Persians, from their recovering the empire, to their being subdued by the Arabs.

According to the oriental historians.

- ^a THE wide difference there is between the histories of eastern nations, as written by *European* authors, and by their own, obliged us originally to distinguish the history of *Persia* into two sections; the first, according to the former; the second, consonant to the memoirs furnished us by the latter. When we last treated of this subject from the oriental authors, we ended with the conquest of the *Persian* dominions, by *Esfander*, or *Alexander the Great*^a. In order therefore to connect this period with that, it is necessary, previous to our account of the kings, who succeeded *Ardshir-Babegan* or *Artaxares*, to speak of those who reigned in the intermediate space, between the death of *Alexander*, and the accession of the before-mentioned *Artaxares*. The former part of our history contained the succession of the *Persian* kings of the two first dynasties, and the third dynasty is called by the oriental writers *Molouk-al-Thaouaif*, i. e. *The kings of the nations*. In order to have a just idea of the sense and meaning of this term, we must observe, that the word *Molouk* signifies kings, and that all the oriental historians assure us, there were in the courts of the ancient kings of *Persia* *Aulud-Molouk-Fars*, i. e. *Children of the Persian kings, or princes of the blood, who* were honoured with the chief governments, and when they resided in them, lived like princes. When therefore the captains of *Alexander the Great* cantoned all his conquests among themselves, and set themselves up for so many independent princes, the eastern writers gave to this new race of monarchs the general title of *Molouk al Thaouaif*, or kings of the nations^b. Some however of the *Persian* writers incline rather to call this the dynasty of the *vizers*, and it must be allowed, that it is by far the darkest and least intelligible period of the *Persian* history, according to the orientals. This how-
- ^b
- ^c

^a See the history of the *Persians*, according to the oriental writers, in the *Universal History*, Vol. II.

^b MIRKHOND. sect. xxii. D'HERBELOT. biblioth. orient. tit. MOLOUK AL THAOUAIF. SCHIKARD. tarich. p. 101.

ever is no reason, that, like some modern historians, we should hurry over it, and leave it just as dark as we found it; had the great men of the last century been of this lazy disposition, all ancient, nay, and all modern history, had been a chaos. But to proceed, some of the writers of the *Persian* history split this dynasty into two, and consequently call them the third and fourth dynasties of the *Persian* kings: the first they distinguish by the name of *Ascbkaniens*: the latter, by that of *Ascbganides*. To the first they allow twelve kings, who, according to them, reigned altogether one hundred and sixty-five years. Of the second race, they say, there were eight kings, and that they reigned altogether one hundred and fifty years. The truth seems to be, that these two dynasties were invented to fill up the time between the death of *Alexander*, and the commencement of the fifth dynasty. Our opinion therefore is, that the *Ascbkaniens* and *Ascbganides* are in fact one and the same succession, and no other than that called by the *Latin* writers *Arfacida*; *Ascbek*, whom the eastern writers make the first monarch of this house, being, as we believe, no other than *Arfaces* the first of the *Parthian* kings. But as the proof of this proposition, and the shortest detail possible of the princes of this family, would exceedingly embarrass the thread of our narration, the reader will find what we have farther to say on this point in a note. In the mean time we will pass on to the proper subject of this section: The history of the fourth dynasty of the *Persian* kings, distinguished by the name of *Sassanians* (A).

* D'HÉRELLOT. biblioth. orient. tit. ASCHKANIENS.

(A) The design of this note is to give a short account of the *Parthian* kingdom from the oriental historians. Previous to this, it is necessary to observe, that though it is an error of a very old date, and an error universally embraced by all the *Latin* and *Greek* writers, yet it is still an error, to suppose that there was any real distinction between the *Parthians* and the *Persians*. Therefore, notwithstanding the titles of the three last sections, in which, for the sake of conforming to the received history of these times, we have admitted this distinction, yet here we give our readers notice, that it is groundless in itself, and took birth from the ignorance of the western writers, who would make distinct kingdoms of two provinces in the same kingdom.

Khondemir, the *Persian* historian, very wisely makes but one dynasty of the kings who succeeded after *Alexander* to the accession of *Artaxares*. The first of these was *Ascbek*, or rather *Arfach*, who is the same with *Arfaces*. He is said to have been descended from *Darius* the last king of *Persia*, and to have taken thence his claim to the throne. He revolted therefore from *Antiochus*, whom the oriental writers call *Anthakash*, or rather from the *Seleucids* his successors, about the year 248 before Christ, in the third year of the hundred and thirty-second olympiad, and from the building of *Rome* the five hundred and third.

To him succeeded *Ascbek* the second, whom the *Greeks* also called *Arfaces*; but how long he reigned, we find not.

Schabour succeeded his father *Ascbek*, and was the first of that name who governed *Persia*. He was surnamed *Padischahi Buzurk*, that is, *The Great King*, because he recovered the treasures of the ancient *Persian* monarchs from the *Greeks*, and brought them back to the royal palaces at *Susa* and *Persepolis*. He reigned fifteen years, and was succeeded by his grandson.

Baharam I. This word is properly the name of the planet we call *Mars*. The monarch of whom we speak ruled eleven years, and then left the throne to be filled by,

Balas. He governed eleven years likewise, and was succeeded by

Fironz, which, in the *Persian* language signifies, good luck, or victory. He was a very gallant prince, and we meet with various particulars relating to his reign in the eastern histories. Of these the most remarkable is, his discovering, as he was hunting, a

cave, wherein *Feridoun*, one of the ancient *Persian* monarchs, had buried a great quantity of gold and silver, which *Fironz* took from thence, and made use of in paying his soldiers. He held the kingdom nineteen years, and then left it to his brother.

Narzi or *Narzes*, a warlike prince, who made very considerable conquests on the side of *Tartary*. He held the sceptre fourteen years, and then transmitted it to his nephew.

Fironz II. who was the son of *Fironz I.* who, after governing seventeen years, incurred some way or other the displeasure of his subjects, and lost his life by a conspiracy. To him succeeded his son.

Balas II. Of whom we find nothing remarkable; only we are told, that he reigned twelve years. He had for his successor

Ardevan, whom the *Latins* and *Greeks* call *Artabanus*. Some writers, as we apprehend, give this prince the title of *Khosrow*, which, amongst the *Persian* princes, was both a proper name and a surname; whence hath sprung great confusion. This prince governed thirteen years, and by such of the oriental historians as divide the successors of *Alexander* into two dynasties, he is held to be the last of the first. He was succeeded by

Ascbek III. but how long he governed is uncertain. Some authors report, that he was descended from the ancient kings of the second dynasty. There are others however who affirm, that he was of the same family with his predecessors, who, instead of *Parthians*, were *Armenians* by birth, and only made choice of *Parthia* for the seat of their empire, because it was in the heart of their dominions. After him reigned

Chosroes II. his son, who governed the empire for twelve years in peace. The eastern writers place the birth of our Saviour under his reign. He was succeeded by

Balas III. his son, or his grandson, the time of whose reign is uncertain; but he left the throne to his son.

Gudarez, who performed nothing of note, but after reigning twenty-one years, left the throne vacant to his son *Narzi* or *Narzes* the second.

This *Narzes II.* was a very warlike prince, and made great conquests in *Khorassan*, governed with great reputation twenty years, and then left the crown to

Narzes III. who reigned ten years, and extended his father's conquests. He was succeeded by

Ardevan

A TABLE of the fourth dynasty of the Persian kings called Sassaniens or Khosronians, according to the Persian historian Khondemir.

- I. *Ardeschir Ben Babek* or *Babegan*, who reigned fourteen years after the defeat of *Ardevan*, the last king of the third dynasty.
- II. *Schabour Ben Ardeschir*, who reigned thirty-one years.
- III. *Hormouz Ben Schabour*, who also reigned thirty-one years.
- IV. *Babaram Ben Hormouz*, who reigned three years and three months.
- V. *Babaram Ben Babaram*, who reigned seventy years.
- b VI. *Babaram Ben Babaram*, *Ben Babaram*, who reigned thirty years and four months.
- VII. *Narfi Ben Babaram*, who reigned nine years.
- VIII. *Hormouz Ben Narfi* reigned seven years and five months.
- IX. *Schabour Dboulaktbas*, who reigned seventy-two years.
- X. *Ardeschir*, grandson to *Hormouz Ben Narfi*, who reigned four years.
- XI. *Schabour Ben Schabour Dboulaktbas*, who reigned near five years.
- XII. *Babaram Ben Schabour*, surnamed *Kerman Schab*, who reigned thirteen years.
- XIII. *Jezdegerd' Al Atbim*, or, *The Wicked*, who reigned twenty-one years.
- c XIV. *Babaram Gour Ben Jezdegerd*, who reigned twenty-three years.
- XV. *Jezdegerd Ben Babaram Gour*, who reigned eighteen years.
- XVI. *Hormouz Ben Jezdegerd*, who reigned one year.
- XVII. *Firouz* the brother of *Hormouz*, who reigned twenty-eight or thirty years.
- XVIII. *Balafch Ben Firouz*, who reigned somewhat less than fourteen years.
- XIX. *Cobad Ben Firouz*, who reigned forty-three years.
- XX. *Nouschirvan Ben Cobad*, who reigned forty-eight years.
- XXI. *Hormouz Ben Nouschirvan*, who reigned twelve years.
Babaram Tchoubin, who held the sovereign power some years, and is therefore by some reckoned amongst the kings.
- d XXII. *Khosrou Perviz Ben Hormouz*, who reigned thirty-two years.
- XXIII. *Schirouieb Ben Khosrou Parviz* reigned six or eight months. There is a tradition in the east, that paracides, such as this king was, survive not their parents above six months.
- XXIV. *Ardeschir Ben Schirouieb*, who reigned one year and six months.
- XXV. *Scheberiar*, who was not of the royal family. He reigned two years, and twenty days.
- XXVI. *Touran Dokbt Benal Khosrou Parviz*, who reigned but two months.
- XXVII. *Azurmi Dokbt*, sister to the last-mentioned king, who reigned one year and four months.
- e XXVIII. *Farakhzad Ben Khosrou*, who reigned only one month.
- XXIX. *Jezdegerd Ben Scheberiar*, *Ben Khosrou Parviz*, who, according to some writers, reigned twenty years, and was the last king of this dynasty ^d.

THOUGH we have followed *Khondemir* exactly in this table of the *Persian* kings, yet we do not conceive ourselves bound to submit always to his authority in our subsequent history. We followed him in the table, because he is more consistent and exact in his list of kings than any other writer; but in respect of facts, we must take the liberty of dissenting from him, as often as probability and better authority than his

^d KHONDEMIR IN KHELASSAT ALAKHBAR.

Ardevan II. who governed long, and in whose days idolatry, or rather polytheism, after the *Greek* manner, became the prevailing religion of the east. He is said to have had for his successor

Ardevan III. who, after a reign of twenty-three years, was defeated and slain, as we have shewn in the text, by *Ardeschir Babegan* (1). To have attempted the reconciling all these names and dates to the accounts given us by the *Greek* and *Latin* writers,

would have required a volume, and perhaps nothing of certainty would have resulted from such an attempt at last. A very learned *German* hath taken a great deal of pains in this way, whose work the inquisitive may consult (2). Our business was to make this note an introduction to the following history, by connecting it to the last period of the *Persian* affairs, according to the oriental writers; and this being effected, our end is answered.

(1) *Khondemir*, *Lebtarikh*, *Mirkhond*, *D'Herbelot*, *bibl. orient. Art.* *Molouk*, *Thaouaif*, *Afshkanien*, &c.
(2) *Tarich*. i. e. *Series Regum Persia*, &c. *Antore W. Schikardo*, 4to. *Tubinga* A. D. 1628.

shall require it. This being premised, we proceed to speak of these kings, and of the principal transactions in their reigns, according to the order in which they are placed above.

Ardshir Babegan.

Ardshir, or rather, according to our orthography, *Ardshir Babegan*, according to the most ancient histories, was the grandson of *Sassan*, the brother of a certain queen of *Persia*, who, seeing himself excluded from the throne, and being a little apprehensive that his life was not perfectly safe, thought fit to travel; and having spent many years abroad, died at last in exile, and left among other children the father of this *Ardshir*, who having a curiosity to see his native country, returned thither privately, and entered into the service of *Babec*, who was governor of a province for *Ardavan*, or, as the *Greeks* call him, *Artabanus*, the last monarch of the *Parthians*. This nobleman, after some time, perceiving in this youth the evident tokens of an extraordinary genius, resolved to fix him in his family, and with that view gave him his daughter in marriage, by whom he had *Ardshir*, who, in gratitude to his mother's family, took the surname of *Babegan*.

His adventures at the court of Ardavan.

He was educated by his grandfather with great care, in all the learning of the *Persians*, and was also taught by his father all the exercises becoming a person of quality; and being equally assiduous in acquiring both, he became, while a very youth, the wonder of the province; and, in fine, was so much talked of, that his fame reached the ears of *Ardavan*, who sent for him to court, where he became so highly in his favour, that he ordered him to remain constantly about the young princes his sons, and seemed to love him as tenderly as he did them. One day, however, when the young princes went a hunting, *Ardavan* followed them privately, that he might have a better opportunity of observing their behaviour; and having by this means an occasion of seeing how much they were excelled in horsemanship and archery, as well as in strength and gracefulness, by their companion *Ardshir*, he from that moment entertained a jealousy of him, and determined within himself to remove him from court, by bestowing upon him some office, which should require his constant attendance. Accordingly, he gave him the command of his forces in a distant province, whither he went immediately, and remained there till such time as he was informed of the death of his grandfather *Babec*, which made him return to court, in hopes of procuring his government. *Ardavan*, far from listening to his intreaties, immediately bestowed it upon the prince his eldest son.

His flight from thence.

THIS misfortune was quickly followed by another; the king was much disturbed by a dream, and on consulting the most eminent diviners in his court, they told him, it portended, that a certain fugitive from his court would deprive him of his life and crown. It so fell out, that there was in the king's serail, a lady, who was passionately in love with *Ardshir*, and she being apprehensive that this interpretation might be fatal to him, immediately gave him notice of it, upon which he instantly retired with all imaginable secrecy. His flight alarmed the king, who never thought of him before; but it was too late, for *Ardshir* was gone into *Persia Proper*, the province of which his grandfather had been governor. He was met at the city *Eshbechar*, or *Persopolis*, by a croud of the nobility of the province, who were all devoted to his family, and who readily offered him their service in any thing he desired. In all probability, the interpretation of the king's dream was what first put it into the head of *Ardshir* to attempt the recovery of the kingdom of his ancestors; wherefore taking council from ambition on the one hand, and a just sense of the extreme danger he was in on the other *Ardshir* began to set before the eyes of the *Persian* nobility the advantages that would accrue to them from an intire revolution, and he was so fortunate in his applications as to bring them over intirely to his interest. From the moment he entered the province, the young prince, who was governor of it, conceived a jealousy of him; but before he could get any thorough information of his designs, *Ardshir* took the field with a considerable army. The prince presently drew together such of his father's forces as remained faithful, in order to oppose him; but after several engagements, there happened at last one which was decisive; his army being totally defeated, and the prince himself slain upon the spot. The like fate soon after befel *Ardavan* himself, who, entering the province of *Fars* with all the forces of his empire, was there presently defeated and slain by the victorious *Ardshir*, who thereupon immediately assumed the regal dignity, and soon after the swelling title of *Shah-in-Shah* or king of kings.

* *TARIKH-KOZIDEN* & *BINA-KITS* sp. *KHONDENIR*. *MIRKHOND*, sect. xxiv. *GREGOIR*. *ABUL-FHAR*. H. D. dynast. vii. p. 126.

- THIS monarch, in the beginning of his reign, very artfully tempered the severity of a conqueror with the mildness of a natural prince. Where-ever he found resistance, he destroyed it by the sword; but, to such as submitted to his government, he shewed all imaginable kindness, without any respect of persons. On this account he spared all the family of *Ardavan*; and, to do them still greater pleasure, he married the eldest daughter of that prince. This lady however conceived such a hatred towards him, for depriving her family of the empire, that, within a very short space after her marriage, she attempted to poison him, in order to set the imperial crown on her brother's head. Being detected in the fact, *Ardschir* gave orders to his prime minister to cause her to be put to death. When he came to acquaint the unhappy lady with her sentence, she told him she was with child; upon which the minister, without acquainting his master, concealed her privately, and caused the son of which she was delivered to be brought up with the utmost care, giving him the name of *Schabour*, i. e. *king's son*, the same name as the *Greek Sapor*. The vizir waited a long time for a favourable opportunity of breaking this secret to his master. At length, observing the king to be one day in high good humour, after exercising on horseback with many of the nobility, he brought forth the young prince, introduced him to his father, and, not without some apprehension, entered into the whole detail of his preservation. *Ardschir*, on the other hand, received the young prince with the utmost tenderness, and, after reflecting severely on himself for his rashness, highly commended the prudence of his minister; and having caused *Schabour* to be conducted to the palace, declared him not long after his heir, and took all imaginable pains to instruct him in the arts of government.

*Acquires a son
and successor by
the prudence of
his vizir.*

- THE *Oriental* historians agree in affirming, that the character of *Ardschir* was that of a complete hero; one no less distinguished for knowledge and virtue, than for valour and military skill. From the moment he was seated on his throne, he conceived the important design of restoring all the dominions which had belonged to his predecessors in the *Persian* throne. By arms he recovered large provinces from all his neighbours; and, when he had recovered them, he took care to make the people very sensible of the difference between his government, and that which they had been under before. He erected new cities, where-ever he found inviting situations; he fortified all the considerable towns on his frontiers; he divided the inhabitants of his empire into several classes or tribes, according to their professions, and not only appointed magistrates to govern them, but also counsellors, whose business it was to instruct them in their true interest, to procure for them the redress of their grievances, as also such grants and privileges as might be for their service. *Ardschir* likewise rebated the edge of the law, taking away the excessive use of capital punishments, in order to make way for milder chastisements, pursuant to a maxim frequently in his mouth, *That the sword was never to be employed where the cane might do as well*. But the greatest of his performances as a lawgiver was in the literary way. He composed a book, intituled, *Adab alaisch*, i. e. *Rules for attaining a happy life*. In this treatise he laid down the maxims necessary to conduct a man in every station, from that of a monarch to that of a mechanic; and this he did with such penetration and perspicuity, that *Nouschirvan*, the wisest and greatest of his successors, caused this book to be solemnly published throughout all his territories, obliging every family in *Persia* to have a copy thereof (B).

*His character
as a legislator.*

THE

† LESTARIKH.

‡ KHONDEMIR. LESTARIKH. RAQUDHAT. AL AKHIAR.

(B) The true orthography of this prince's name is, *Ardeschir Bâbecân*. The reason we have not writ it so in the text, is this; all the authorities that we have quored make use of that manner of spelling which is inserted therein, and which consequently became necessary in our text. He was not only the restorer of the *Persian* monarchy in respect to its civil concerns, by assuming the ancient title, following the ancient customs, and laying claim to all the dominions of the ancient kings; but he was likewise so in respect to the religion of the *Persians*, which, by this time, was miserably corrupted. For the purging out all idolatry and superstition, the king summoned a general council of all the wise men in his kingdom; the number of these was forty thousand. Out of these were selected four thousand;

from these four hundred; from them forty; and from these seven. Among these was a young man, whose name was *Erdâvirâph*, of unspotted reputation, and perfectly versed in the writings of *Zerdusht*. This man, having drank three glasses of a certain odoriferous wine, remained in the presence of the king, and of the other six learned men, seven nights and days in an ecstasy or trance. Then rising up, he dictated to a secretary all that he had seen in his vision, and a very large recapitulation of the magian faith. This miracle, or pretended miracle, wrought so strongly on the king *Ardschir*, that he immediately cancelled all the laws which had been made from the time of *Alexander the Great* in favour of idolatry or polytheism, and fully re-established the religion of *Zerdusht*. This, as the reader will perceive

He dies in peace
and glory.

THE wisdom, moderation and success of *Ardeshir Babegan*, as they made him almost adored by his subjects in his life-time, so they caused his character to be regarded as a model by those who succeeded him in his throne, which he left vacant, after a reign of fourteen years. A certain historian says, he reigned forty; but, if any regard be paid to his assertion; we must suppose that term to commence from his first taking up arms against *Ardavan*; whereas most of the historians reckon, as they ought to do, from his accession to the throne on the defeat and death of that prince^b.

Schabour I.

Schabour, or *Shab-pour*, whom the Greeks call *Sapor*, succeeded his father, having been preserved, as we have related before, by the tenderness of his prime minister. He was very young when he came to the throne, and therefore the nobility thought it necessary to give him a guardian or protector, who was his uncle by the mother's side, and might consequently have pretended to the crown. He not only executed his charge with integrity and reputation; but when the Persian nobility besought him to change his title, and assume that of king, he absolutely refused it, giving up the government to his nephew, as soon as he was of an age capable of ruling his subjects. *Schabour* was so well educated, that, after he came to the exercise of the sovereign authority, he did not pretend to use his uncle as a counsellor, but rather affected to consult him as a parent; and whenever he had occasion, either to go into the field against the Romans, or to make a progress into any distant province of his dominions, he left his uncle clothed with a royal authority; so that the Persian historians have actually accounted this *Ardeshir* one of the kings of Persia. There cannot be any thing more different from another than the character of *Schabour*, as it is drawn by the Oriental historians, and that of *Sapor*, as it stands in the Latin and Greek writers. We have already seen what the latter say; our business at present lies with the former. They report, that this *Schabour* was a prince of a magnificent disposition, who sought, above all things, to adorn his country with fine cities and stately public buildings. With this view he made frequent visits to all the provinces of his empire, that he might be the better acquainted with their situation, their trade, and manufactures, and consequently have it more in his power to confer upon them real benefits. In the province of *Kboubistan*, which we call *Susiana*, he built a fine new city, restored also its ancient capital to its pristine beauty, and caused a most stupendous dike to be erected, to bear the weight of a river, which he brought to run over it, for the sake of supplying the adjacent country with water. In the province of *Fars*, or *Persia proper*, he built the city of *Naoubendgian*, in one of the finest plains in the universe; which city, in gratitude to its founder, was a long time called *Casbah Schabour*. But the most famous, and by far the greatest city of all he built, was that *Nischa-bour* in *Korassan*. It seems the king was marching his army through that province, and by accident encamped near the ruins of an ancient city, which had been destroyed by *Alexander the Great*, the remains of which were almost every-where over-grown

^b LESTARIKH.

ceive by our quotations, we have from the very best authorities among the eastern writers (3). It is however very singular and worthy of observation, that a Rabbinical writer also hath conserved the memory of this very fact: "*Orschir*, the son of *Babec*, "the first prince of that family, caused it to be proclaimed throughout all Persia, that he had taken away the sword of *Aristotle* the philosopher, "which had devoured the inhabitants of that empire five hundred years (4)." By the sword of *Aristotle* are to be understood the political maxims of *Alexander* and his successors, which, by this reformation, *Ardeshir* thoroughly extinguished; and on this account the Oriental writers attribute to him the subversion of the third dynasty, which they called *Molouk Thaounif*, i. e. the kings of the nations; because tho' the *Aracida* were Persians, yet they adhered to the Macedonian maxims, and suffered all the petty princes, to whom *Alexander* had given dominions, to retain them; whereas *Ardeshir* resumed them all, assumed the title of *Shah-in-Shah*, or king of kings, and transmitted a new set of maxims to his succe-

sors, who followed them very carefully. As to the famous book mentioned in our text, it may not be amiss to quote from thence some maxims relating to the conduct of princes, as a taste of that excellent work, which was, and is still, so highly esteemed throughout the east. It begins thus: *So long as a prince applies himself with diligence to the administration of public affairs, and the rendering justice to all degrees of people, his subjects continue affectionate to him, and look upon obedience in the light of their own interest.* Elsewhere he says, *The worst of all princes is he, from whom the wicked have all things to hope, and the good all things to fear. That all the branches of society are inseparably united to the trunk, and that neither can be affected independent of the other; whence it follows, that kings have their cares, and subjects their duties, which reciprocally answer each other, and which, when neglected on either side, produce ruin and confusion to both (5).* The Greeks certainly knew nothing of this book, otherwise they would never have styled *Artaxares* a barbarous prince.

(3) Vide lib. cui titul. *Erdâvirâph-nâma Shahnâma-nefr.* p. 108.

(5) D'Herbelot. B. O. *Artic. Ardeshir, Babegan.*

(4) R. *Abrah. in Kab. ap. Tarikh Schichard.*

by

- a by rose-bushes. The king, charmed with the situation of the place, returned thither again as soon as the campaign was over; and after having ordered all the rose-bushes to be cut up, cleared away the ruins, and by sending regular detachments from his army to work upon the foundations of his new city, he, in a short space, saw it in such a forwardness, as invited all the inhabitants of the adjoining country to come and settle in it. On account of the rose-bushes, he called it *Nischabour*, i. e. *the rose of Sapor*, *nei* signifying, in the *Persian* tongue, a rose. As the *Latin* and *Greek* writers are very silent as to his victories, so the *Persian* historians say as little of his vices, and not a syllable of his ordering the emperor *Valerian* to be slayed alive¹. *Mirkbond* is the only writer who gives us any account of his death, which, according to him, b happened in a very surprising manner. His severe justice so much alarmed some rapacious courtiers, that they took the opportunity offered them by a stormy night, to enter the royal tent, where they murdered *Schabour* and his attendants; which when they had done, they cut its cords, and set it on fire; so that the guards apprehended his tent had been set on fire by lightning. There are different accounts of the years of his reign; but the best writers agree, that he held the sceptre thirty-one years².

- Hormouz*, whom the *Greeks* call *Formisdas*, succeeded his father *Schabour*, and was *Hormouz I.* a most generous prince; inasmuch that most of the ancient historians call him *Hormouz*, *al Horri*, i. e. *Hormisdas the liberal*. We are told of him, that when one of the governors of his provinces on the frontiers of the *Indies* sent him an express, to inform him, c that he could purchase a quantity of very fine diamonds for a hundred thousand pieces of gold, the king wrote him back, that he should let them alone. Upon this the governor sent him a second express, to acquaint him, that they might be sold for two hundred thousand, so that his majesty might gain *cent. per cent.* *Hormouz* replied, *A hundred or a thousand per cent. will not tempt me. If I become a trader, who must take up the trade of being a king? Or what will become of the Persian merchants, if the royal treasures are employed to forestal them?* He was one of the handsomest princes of his time, and exceedingly beloved by his subjects, tho' it does not appear, that he was a very martial monarch, or that he made any conquests. It is said, that he shewed a d great deal of favour to the famous heretic *Manes*, and that he built for him, on the borders of the province of *Susiana*, a castle or place of retreat, called *Dasearab*; and it is further reported, that he embraced his opinions. This, we apprehend, ought to be understood in a limited sense, and be construed only as to the notions that arch-heretic had in philosophy; for tho' it be true, that *Manes*, or, as the *Oriental*s call him, *Mani*, held very pernicious tenets in theology, yet it is as true, that he was a very great mathematician, and, by constant practice, attained such a facility of drawing geometrical figures, that he would strike circles of any given diameter with a pencil only, without the assistance of compasses. During the reign of *Sapor*, he was obliged to abscond, that prince being an enemy to the setting up of all new religions e in his country; and on this account it was, that *Mani* fled into *Turquestan*. There, by dint of his eloquence, and skill in the sciences, he acquired many disciples. He affected great austerity of life, and used to retire sometimes for a day or two to meditate in the desert. This was very advantageous to him; for it made the people believe him a very holy person, and gave him leisure to study how to confirm them more and more in that belief. Once, as he was rambling in this manner, he discovered a cave, which, tho' it had a narrow entrance, was very large within, and had a fine stream running through it. Thither he privately transported his books and papers, with as much bread and dried fruits as might serve him for a year. These measures taken, he told his disciples, that God would call him for a time up into heaven; but f that, after a year, he would return and meet them in such a plain. Upon this he withdrew into his cave, and, during the twelvemonth that he lived there, he wrote a large book of *enigmatical schemes, and pretended revelations*; which book, at the end of the year, he produced to his disciples, affirming, that he brought it from heaven. Shortly after, hearing that *Schabour* was dead, and that his son *Hormouz* was a very learned man, and a great patron of the sciences, he returned into *Persia*, and, as we have observed, ingratiated himself so with the king, that he built for him a hermitage, which was so well fortified, that so long as he remained therein, his enemies were not able to do him any hurt. If *Hormouz* had reigned long, in all probability

¹ KUONDEMR. LEBTARIKH.² MIRKOND, sect. 25.

Mani would have secured to himself a party strong enough to have supported him; ^a but his protector died before he had reigned two years, with the reputation however of having been an excellent prince, one equally tender of his subjects welfare, and of the prerogative of the crown ^m (C).

Baharam I.

Babaram, the son of *Hormouz*, succeeded him. This is the name which the *Greeks* endeavour to express by the several appellations of *Varanes*, *Varbaranes*, and *Vararanes*. At the beginning of his reign he affected to treat *Mani* with greater deference than ever his father did, and even suggested to him a design of settling his opinions as the national religion of *Persia*; in order to which he invited him to a conference with his magi, that the people might be the better convinced of their monarch's caution in so important an affair. His vanity engaged *Mani* to comply with the ^b king's request; so that, leaving his fortrefs, he went, without the least apprehension, to court, in order to dispute with such learned men as he supposed would be assembled there. On his arrival, *Babaram* ordered him to be seized; shortly after he caused him to be staved alive, and his skin being stuffed with straw, he ordered it to be set on the top of a hill, with a good guard, as a signal to the *Manichees* of his kind intention towards them. This had the proposed effect; for all the disciples of *Mani* retired immediately out of *Persia*, and not believing themselves safe even on its frontiers, they fled into the very heart of the *Indies*, and some of them as far as *Cbina* ⁿ. This seems to have been the greatest exploit that *Babaram* performed, tho' he was a prince of parts, and who earnestly sought the welfare of his people, as we may gather ^c from this saying of his; *That humanity was not to be defined, because therein were comprehended all the other virtues*. He reigned with great applause three years and three months, at the end of which he was murdered in the basest manner that can be imagined. A tumult happening in his capital, he went in person to appease it; which when he had effected, a kinsman of his took the advantage of the croud and confusion to let fly an arrow, which struck the king to the heart, to the great grief, as well as to the great loss of his subjects ^o (D).

B.haram II.

Babaram II. succeeded his father *Babaram I.* Some writers say, he was only the adopted son of the last king. However that might be, it is generally agreed, that, at the beginning of his reign, he gave his subjects no great hopes of him. On the ^d

^m KHONDEMIR. LEBTARIKH. D'HERBELOT. B. O. art. Hormouz.

ⁿ D'HERBELOT. B. O. art. Mani.

^o LEBTARIKH. KHONDEMIR. MIRABOND, sect. 26.

(C) Besides what is said in the text, we shall add here some anecdotes concerning the heretic *Manes*. The learned *Schikard* is much mistaken, when he affirms, that his name was not *Manes*, but *Manicheus*, quasi *manum fundens* (6). The great *Epiphanius* is as much out. He would needs suggest, that this heretic assumed the name of *Manes*, because, in the *Chaldaic* tongue, *Man* signifies a vessel; whereby he would intimate, that he was a pure and chosen vessel. The truth is, he was a *Persian* by birth, and his name *Mani*. Had he been a *Chaldean*, or had he lived on the borders of *Chaldæa*, when he first vented his heresy, there might have been some ground for this conjecture; but as he spread his heresy first in the deserts towards *Truqueslan*, what probability is there, that he should assume a name, the etymology whereof could not there be understood (7)? He was by profession a painter; and we are told, that he could draw a line with a pencil twenty yards exactly straight. His excellency in drawing made him convert most of his lectures in religion into emblematical devices, not unlike those of *Jacob Boehm*. Hence the book he pretended to bring from heaven, was called *Ertengh*, *tengh* signifying a picture (8). What we have recorded of him in the text, we have transcribed verbatim from *Khondemir*, who opens his account with these words: *Mani the Sadducee was a man excellently skilled in painting and sculpture, who when he heard that Jesus had promised the Comforter should come, the devil sug-*

gested to him, that he should pretend to be that Comforter; which accordingly he did, &c. As to the notions of him and his disciples, all the *Oriental* writers agree, that they were a mixture of the magian and christian doctrines; and that, in a very short space of time, they split into several sects, according as they entertained different explications of their master's principles (9). The *Oriental* writers likewise agree, that his patron *Hormouz* was a most learned and beneficent prince; his favourite saying was this, *That kings were like fire, they warmed those who stood at a distance, and scorched such as ventured too near* (10).

(11) As we often quote the excellent work of *D'Herbelot* in this history, it is necessary to give the reader notice, to prevent his suspecting him or us of a mistake, that we do not reckon the *Babarams* kings of *Persia* in the same order as he does; but so, that his *Baharam III.* is our *Baharam II.* his *Baharam IV.* our *Baharam III.* and so on. The reason is this: He reckons *Baharam* of the third dynasty *Baharam I.* which, his method considered, is very just; but as the periods of *Persian* history in this work are at a distance one from another, such a mingling of dynasties would occasion confusion; which to avoid, we have taken a contrary method. We likewise take this opportunity of noting, that we cite the *Oriental* historians as we use them; so that the reader may at all times distinguish on what authority any remarkable fact is built (11).

(6) *Tarikh. Schikard*, p. 111. (7) *Hares*. (8) *Hind relig. vet. Pers. c. xxi. p. 281.* (9) *Shavistan* in *lib. de relig. Orient.* (10) *D'Herbelot. B. O. art. Hormouz. Ben Schabour.* (11) *D'Herbelot. B. O. art. Baharam*

contrary,

- a contrary, he acted with such austerity, haughtiness and cruelty, that the people gave him the surname of *Kbalef*, i. e. *the unjust*. The nobility of *Persia*, who were never over complaisant to tyrants, began to think of ridding themselves of so bad a master, by deposing him at least, if not by putting him to death. The magi however checked this design in its birth, offering to risque their own safety for the good of the people, by remonstrating to the king on the folly of his conduct. This they did with such warmth, and at the same time with such an evident display of loyalty, that *Babaram* acknowledged them for his counsellors and protectors, changed the whole bent of his conduct, and from being a very bad, became a most excellent prince, during the remainder of his reign. A certain christian author affirms, that
- b this monarch vanquished the *Romans*, and that, having taken prisoner the son of the emperor *Galienus*, he caused him to be put to death. Of this however the *Oriental* writers say nothing; and there is reason to suspect, that this author was imposed on. Most authors agree, that this prince reigned but seventeen years¹.

Babaram III. succeeded *Babaram II.* During his father's life-time, he was governor of the province of *Seigistan*, which is the reason that the *Greek* writers call him *Seganfaa*. He reigned thirteen years, without performing any thing extraordinary; or, if he did, the *Oriental* historians, as well as the *Greeks*, have treated him very indifferently; for we find little said of him, even in their most copious authors; and as for *Mirkbond*, he says nothing of him at all. Hence it is apparent, that the

c *Oriental* writers are not so fond of fiction, as they are generally represented to be; for, if they were, they would not certainly suffer such chasms in their histories, but rather try to fill them up with inventions of their own, as some of our northern writers have done².

- Narfi Ben Babaram*, that is, *Narfi* the son of *Babaram*, succeeded *Babaram* the third his brother, tho' from his surname, some authors have taken him for his father, and in truth he was the son, not of *Babaram III.* but of *Babaram II.* He proved a prince of a mild temper, gracious to his subjects, and desirous, as far as was in his power, of doing them good; but he had the misfortune to attack the *Romans*, when they had many great generals, and several potent armies on foot; in consequence of
- d which he was defeated, and lost all his frontier provinces; for grief of which, it is said, he broke his heart, when he had reigned nine years³.

Hormouz the son of *Narfi*, or, according to the *Greeks*, *Hormislas* the son of *Narfi*, succeeded his father. All the *Oriental* historians agree, that he was a prince endued with all the virtues capable of adding lustre to a crown. Among these his justice was by far the most conspicuous. He saw with regret the ill use that too many of the nobility made of their great power and riches, in oppressing the meaner sort of people, and thereby discouraging industry and trade, the chief supports of all well-governed kingdoms. To eradicate so dangerous an evil, he fixed a particular tribunal or court of justice, wherein the complaint of the meanest man in *Persia* might be

e heard against the greatest; and for fear that interest or authority might beget partiality even here, he came frequently, and presided in person. He likewise devised many new laws and regulations for the benefit of the middling sort of people, and for the encouragement of trade; out of regard to which he was extremely careful of the maritime coasts, and of all the ports of *Persia*. He likewise built in the province of *Kerman*, which the *Greeks* call *Caramania*, a very famous city and port, which he called by his own name *Hormouz*, or, as we pronounce it, *Ormus*. It was seated conveniently along the sea-shore, and, towards the land, was shaded by groves of palm-trees; so that, in process of time, it became equally remarkable for its being a trading city, and also the market for the commodities of a multitude of industrious people,

f who cultivated the fertile plain behind it. In the end however its riches proved its ruin; so that the inhabitants, finding themselves exposed to continual ravages, abandoned it, and transported themselves into an island in the *Persian* gulf, almost over-against their old place of residence; where they built a new city, which they likewise called *Ormuz*, the same that was afterwards conquered by the *Portuguese*, and of which, in the subsequent part of our history, together with its kings, we shall give a particular account. But to return to *Hormouz* or *Hormislas*; he is said to have extended his dominions very considerably, and to have been no less fortunate in war, than he was wise and temperate in peace. The province of *Susiana* was peculiarly

¹ LESTARIKH. EDN. BATRIK. in chron. artic. *Narfi*.

² LESTARIKH. KHONDEMIR.

³ D'HERSELOT. B. O.

favoured by this monarch; insomuch that he built several cities therein, and repaired all such as were fallen to decay: more he would, without question, have done, if he had reigned longer; but having sat on the throne nine years, he gave way to fate' (E).

Schabour II.

Schabour II. surnamed *Dhoulafas*, i. e. *Schabour of the shoulders*, succeeded his father even before he was born, the crown being placed on his mother's belly, and the nobles swearing to acknowledge for their sovereign the child she should bring forth. In his nonage the *Persians* were exposed to many disasters, more especially to the insults and ravages of the *Arabs*, who, under their king *Tbair*, broke in vast numbers into *Persia*, and spread desolation where-ever they came, plundering the royal cities, and carrying off the sister of the late king *Hormouz*, and the aunt of *Schabour*, into captivity. When the young king came to attain the age which qualified him for martial exploits, he determined, at all events, to revenge the injuries which had been done him and his subjects during his infancy. With this view he, with a choice body of troops, made a quick march, and surprized *Tbair* in one of his frontier provinces. The place was indeed invested, before the *Arab* prince had any notice of it; but it was so strong, and the garison so well provided, that, in all probability, *Schabour* must have abandoned his enterprize, if *Malekab*, whom some call the sister, others affirm to have been the daughter of *Tbair*, had not betrayed the place to *Schabour*, with whom she fell in love, and thereby put the king, the nobility and the garison, into the hands of their mortal enemy. *Schabour* took this opportunity of revenging the cruelties committed by the *Arabs* in *Persia*, by putting *Tbair*, and all who were with him, to the sword, assigning this as his reason, that if a king would so far forget his own dignity as to turn robber, he ought not to expect that his enemies should consider him in any other light. This prince was sovereign of *Yemen*, which province *Schabour* immediately over-ran, putting numbers of the inhabitants to the sword, and causing the shoulder-bones of all who were able to bear arms to be broke; whence he had the surname of *Dhoulafas*, as the general opinion is. The *Arab* writers however give us somewhat a different account of this matter: they say, that, on *Schabour's* return into *Persia*, *Malek Ben Nasser*, one of the ancestors of *Mohammed*, was deputed by the *Arabians* to intercede with the king, and to beseech him to treat them with greater lenity, or at least to discover the true cause of his implacable hatred. *Malek*, in pursuance of this commission, took all the pains he could to soften the inflexible temper of the *Persian* king, who at length told him, that his aversion to the *Arabs* proceeded from his being advised by his astrologers, that they would one day subvert the *Persian* empire, and inflict the greatest cruelties upon his people. *Malek Ben Nasser* took this occasion of remonstrating against the severity of his proceedings on so slight a pretence, since the predictions of such sort of people were at least as often false as true, and therefore could never be of weight enough to pass for reasons of state. On the other hand he remarked, that if there should be any grounds for believing this prophecy, the king's conduct was the most impolitic that could be; because his treating the *Arabs* so harshly, could not fail of giving them the most inveterate hatred against the *Persians*, which must prove fatal to them, whenever they became subject to those whom they had thus maltreated. *Schabour* having reflected upon this, altered his conduct intirely, and not only put an end to those miseries which he had inflicted on that unhappy people, but also favoured and encouraged them on all occasions; whence, as the *Arab* writers say, he acquired the surname of *Dhoulacnaf*, i. e. *on the wings*; by which the *Arabs* would signify, that he was their protector, because the eagles are said to carry their young ones on their wings¹.

Schabour, as we have already seen in our former period, was at continual enmity with the *Romans*; and tho', during the reign of *Constantine the Great*, he durst not attempt any thing very considerable, yet that did not hinder him from taking all the

¹ LESTARIKH. KHONDEMIR. D'HERBELOT. B. O. art. Hormouz Ben Narsî.

² KHONDEMIR. LESTARIKH.

(E) The *Oriental* writers differ among themselves as to the foundation of the city of *Hormouz* on the continent, some attributing this to *Hormouz* the first, the son of *Schabour*; but we incline to think it was erected by this prince, because the most accurate

historians are of that sentiment (12). A learned critic suggests, that the planet *Mercury* in the *Persian* language was called *Hormouz* (13); but we are of another opinion, for we apprehend it to have been an attribute or name of the Supreme Being (14).

(12) *Khozideh. Lestarihh.*

(13) *Schikard. Tarich. p. 112.*

(14) *Hidrelig. vet. Per. c. xi. p. 177.*

necessary

- a necessary steps to act effectually, whenever an opportunity should offer. The *Oriental* writers give us an instance of this, of which there is not the least trace to be found in any of the *Greek* historians, tho' it be more singular than any thing they have recorded: *Schabour* was so desirous of being thoroughly acquainted with the state of the *Roman* empire, that he went to *Constantinople* himself, under colour of being an ambassador from *Persia*. He had not however been long there before he was suspected, and thereupon imprisoned; during which time the *Romans* made several incursions into the *Persian* provinces, and treated the people with great severity. At length *Schabour* having corrupted a lady of the court, she not only procured him his liberty, but fled with him. They were obliged to travel with great circumspection, and not without much-ado, and after many dangers passed, they arrived at a little hermitage in *Media*; which place hath ever since been called *Schabbouran*. It is not very clear, whether the religious *Persians*, who resided here, were of the christian, manichean or magian religion; but, whatever they were, their chief was very loyal, acquainted the king with the present situation of things, took pains to convey his orders wherever he directed; so that, by degrees, *Schabour* assembled a very considerable body of troops, and with them fell so opportunely on the *Roman* forces, that they gave them an intire defeat. The king's stay in *Media* gave him an opportunity of observing the situation of that country, and the improvements of which it was capable: This determined him to build a new city not far from the hermitage, where he had reposed himself after his return from *Constantinople*, hoping, that when it became considerable, and was thoroughly peopled, it would serve as a barrier, and protect the open country from the insults of neighbouring nations".

- As soon therefore as the circumstances of the times would permit, *Schabour* laid the foundations of the city of *Cazvin*, which we call *Casbin*. When he first began this work, he found himself excessively annoyed by the *Delemites*, who began to be jealous of his undertaking. *Schabour*, who was a very wise prince, perceiving that it was not at all in his power to carry on the building of his city, and a war with these people, at the same time, resolved to bribe them; which accordingly he did, by considerable gifts for the present, and promises of still greater things hereafter. When *Casbin* was finished, and the *Delemites* began to renew their incursions, *Schabour*, who was by this time at peace both with the *Romans* and the *Arabs*, turned his whole force upon them, and easily subdued them, adding thereby the province of *Deilem* to his empire, which had been an ancient and independent kingdom till then, and which became so again after the *Arabians* made themselves masters of *Persia*. This monarch also beautified and enlarged the ancient city of *Scheusfar* in the province of *Kboufistan*, where he likewise re-edified another ancient city, called *Corkb*, and which he afterwards called by his own name. He was one of the greatest and most fortunate monarchs of this dynasty, and, during his long reign of seventy-two years, not only made great conquests on all sides of his dominions, but also wonderfully improved his territories, by building of cities, and encouraging the trade of his subjects * (F).

- Ardshir* succeeded *Schabour*, and governed the *Persian* kingdom for twelve years. *Ardshir* II. One author assures us, that he was uncle by the mother's side to the last king; another, that he was only his cousin; and a third, that he was brother by the mother's side to *Schabour Dhoulaetaf*. However it was, he assumed the government at first as tutor only, or protector to *Schabour* III. tho' afterwards the nobility prevailed upon him to take the title of king. The reader will easily perceive, that the *Persians*

* KHONDEMIR. D'HERBELOT B. O. artic. Schabour Ben Hormouz.
artic. Hormouz Schabour Dhoulaetaf.

* KHONDEMIR. D'HERBELOT.

(F) The learned *Schikard* (15) takes a great deal of pains in rectifying a mistake in the version of *Mirkhand* by *Trixer* (16). The surname of the *Persian* king is there written *Zabel Keraf*, which, the judicious critic rightly conjectures, should have been *Dhul-Aktaf*; but then he is in a great mistake himself, for he attributes this surname to *Schabour* the first, to whom it did not belong. He is however perfectly just in his censure of *Reinssius* (17), who had condemned *Nicephorus*, an ancient writer, for calling *Schabour* the first *Chofroes*, since that was no mis-

take all the kings of this dynasty preserving this appellation. The history of *Schabour's* being crowned in his mother's belly, is not only to be found in the *Oriental* writers, and in the *Greek* historians, but also in the writings of the *Rabbins*; and therefore, tho' the fact is an odd one, yet it cannot be called incredible (18). We thought it unnecessary to load this reign with recapitulations of facts mentioned in the former period, or with such immaterial circumstances, as might have swelled this part of our history beyond its due bounds.

(15) *Tarich*. p. 110.

(16) *Lib. i. c. 26.*

(17) *De gens. Asacid.*

(18) *Ben Dier. in Kab. ap.*

Schikard. p. 116.

were afraid of nothing so much as of being governed by a child, which was the true cause that they were desirous of conferring the regal dignity on him, whose birth and abilities made him the most proper for discharging its essential functions. It may be, the miseries the kingdom had endured under the minority of the last king, might the more strongly incline them to make use of this expedient to prevent their falling under the like misfortunes a second time. It is also very remarkable, that the nobility did not suffer this *Ardjibir* to transfer the crown to his family, though they gave it him for life; but immediately upon his demise called his kinsman the son of *Sababour II.* to the succession, who was by this time become a man, and capable of taking the reins of government into his own hands.

Schabour III. *Schabour III.* the son of *Schabour Dboulafas*, governed the kingdom of *Persia* five years and four months in great tranquillity. He was cotemporary with *Theodosius the Great*, with whom he made a strict alliance, and lived in the greatest friendship during his whole reign. As he was a very pacific prince, and sought nothing so much as to keep his kingdom from feeling the plague of war, that his subjects might have leisure to repair all their former losses, we ought not to wonder, that the account we have of his reign is very succinct, and amounts to neither more or less than we have recorded ^a.

Baharam IV. *Baharam IV.* succeeded his father *Schabour*, whom he very much resembled in his disposition. He had in his father's life-time been governor of the province of *Kerman*, and according to the privilege of the royal family was styled *Kerman-Sbab*. This the *Greek* writers converted into a surname, which is the reason, that in their histories, he is called *Varanes Cermanfas*. He governed the kingdom eleven years, in which space of time the *Persians* grew so extravagantly rich, that their pride inclined them to frequent revolts; in one of which the king, presenting himself suddenly amongst the rebels, and expostulating with them on the folly and madness of their behaviour, was basely shot with an arrow behind his back, and died upon the spot ^b.

Jezdegerd. *Jezdegerd* succeeded his father *Baharam*, and proved a very bad prince. Equally cruel and avaricious, he distressed his subjects alike in their persons and their properties. This was the more grievous to the *Persians*, because in the life-time of his father he had affected so much modesty, humanity, and condescension, that never any monarch promised more at his accession, or performed less during his administration. Hence he was surnamed *Al Atchim*, i. e. *The Wicked*, or, *The Abandoned*. There is some reason to suspect, that his character hath been injured through the malice of the magi, who could never forgive him his strong inclinations to the christians, and his keeping so strict a hand on the clergy of the established religion. This king had the misfortune to see all his children die within a month after they were born. This made him very uneasy; and therefore he consulted not only the *Persian* physicians, but also all the travellers who visited his dominions, as to the wholsomest air they were acquainted with, in order to try whether, by removing a child as soon as possible thither, he might not conserve the succession in his family. The result of this inquiry was, that the province of *Hirab* was recommended to him as that where the best air was to be found. This country was a part of *Chaldea*, which, on the falling out of *Alexander the Great's* successors among themselves, an *Arab* prince had seized, and having built a city therein, called it *Hirab*, and made it the capital of a little principality, which in process of time became tributary to the *Persians*. The name of the present possessor of this small sovereignty was *Nooman*, for whom *Jezdegerd* sent as soon as his son *Baharam* was born. When he came to court, the king put the child, who was then about a month old, into his hands, acquainted him how unlucky he had been in the rest of his children, and told him, that what he expected from him was the education of his son, after the manner of the *Arabs*, in all those exercises which usually increase the strength of the body, and render men healthy and robust. *Nooman* on his part promised to take all imaginable care of the child, whom he immediately carried home with him; and *Jezdegerd*, being now at ease in his mind, governed his dominions according to his own maxims, and little to the satisfaction of the magi, twenty-one years. At the end of this space, as he was looking upon a horse extremely beautiful, and which he much valued, the beast suddenly struck him with one of its hind feet on the stomach with such force, that he immediately fell down dead, and thereby delivered the discontented part of his subjects from a master, whose government they hated, and whom yet they were not able to depose. As soon as he was

^a KHONDEMIR. LESTARIKH.^b D'HERBELLOT. art. Baharam Ben Schabour.

dead,

a dead, those who were so much disaffected to him, having taken advantage of the absence of the prince his son to transfer the regal dignity to another family, accordingly, they fixed on *Kerfa*, a nobleman of fair qualities, and great fortune; from whom having drawn many advantageous concessions in their own favour, they saluted him king, and actually put him in possession, not only of the royal robes and ornaments, but also of the royal treasure, procured the submission of the forces then on foot, and the consent of the greatest part of the provinces of that extended empire^c.

Babaram V. surnamed *Gaur*, or rather *Jur*, for a reason that will appear in the course of our history, was, as we have seen, sent in his infancy to the court of an Arab prince for the sake of establishing his constitution; which end was perfectly answered by the care his guardians took of his education. *Nooman Ben Mondir*, to whose care he was committed, caused two palaces to be built for his reception in the capital city of his dominions. These were built by the greatest architect of the east, whose name was *Sennamar*. These castles or palaces were called *Sedir* and *Kbaouarnak*, and the Arab writers tell us, that amongst other singularities, the stones of which they were built, were hewn in such a manner, as to change their colour several times in a day, by their different reflections of light; and that they were so contrived, as to lean upon a single stone, which, if removed, the whole building would have fallen to the ground. *Nooman* most bountifully rewarded *Sennamar* for his care and skill; but that unfortunate person having indiscreetly given out, that he could have performed still greater things, if he had expected to have been paid in such a manner, *Nooman* began to doubt his fidelity, and whether he might not be induced by money to divulge the secret of the supporting stones in the palaces he had built; and therefore ordered him to be thrown from the top of one of them to the bottom, whereby the miserable man lost his life. In process of time, *Nooman*, the tutor of *Babaram*, became a convert to the christian religion, and, in consequence thereof, thought fit to retire from the world, and to spend the rest of his days in a hermitage in the desert, resigning the crown, and the care of the young *Persian* prince, to his son *Hendu*. This prince was no less careful of *Babaram* than his father had been; he provided for his health both in body and mind; he took care to have him taught all the exercises, and to be instructed in all the learning, with which a person of his high quality ought to be acquainted. He gave him lessons himself in the art of governing, and at the same time that he discharged the duty of a governor, shewed himself on all occasions his friend in the circumstances of private life, as he was his constant companion in all his diversions. By this means *Babaram*, who had an excellent genius, grew one of the most accomplished princes of his age, and had a sagacity and resolution almost incredible considering his tender years^d.

WHEN the news of his father's death reached *Hirab*, the young prince could not help expressing not only his amazement at the conduct of the *Persian* nobility, but his resolution not to part with the crown on such easy terms. He therefore addressed himself to *Hendu*, and besought him to furnish him with some troops, that he might endeavour by force to recover what was undoubtedly his right. The king of *Hirab*, who owed him his allegiance as being dependent on the *Persian* empire, promised him all the assistance in his power. When he was thus imbarqued in the business, he thought proper to invite all the *Arabian* princes his neighbours to a council, wherein he exposed the right of *Babaram* to the *Persian* throne, and the indignity offered them in his exclusion on account of his being bred up among them. The petty princes, to whom he addressed himself, easily received the impressions he sought to make upon their minds, and with great alacrity, promised to support the pretensions of his pupil with their utmost force. This point gained, *Babaram*, at the head of ten thousand *Arabian* horse, entered the *Persian* territories, and was shortly after followed by *Hendu*, and the confederate princes, with thirty thousand more. The *Persian* nobility, obstinate in their rebellion, drew together a great army, in order to maintain the king they had made choice of, upon the throne. Things being in this situation, a general and decisive battle was daily expected, the armies being within half a day's march of each other; but by the wisdom of *Hendu*, a negotiation was set on foot. Both parties were desirous of deciding the business without blood, and yet neither of them would recede in the least from their pretensions. In this critical juncture, *Babaram* proposed an expedient, which was instantly accepted. It was this; that the

^c LEBTARIKH. MIRKHOND. scđ. xxvii. KHONDEMIR.

^d KHONDEMIR. MIRKHOND. scđ. xxviii.

crown of *Persia* should be placed on a cushion between two hungry lions, and that the prince, who would fetch it, should wear it. On the day appointed the experiment was made, and the crown placed between the lions. Then *Babaram* turning to his competitor, said, *Kersa*, *Why don't you go and fetch the crown? I need not*, answered he; *I am in possession of it already; you desire it, therefore do you go and take it.* *Babaram* instantly fell upon the lions, killed them both, and took up the crown. Upon which *Kersa* immediately ran towards him, embraced him, and did him homage. His example was followed by all the *Persian* lords; and thus this controversy, which had armed all the east, was determined without bloodshed, and to the satisfaction of all parties, the *Persians* being charmed with the generosity and valour of their new king; and *Hendu* and his *Arabian* confederates were no less pleased with the success of their undertaking, and with the vast presents, and other marks of gratitude, which were given them by *Babaram* at parting^e.

The Turks invade the Persians with a prodigious army.

Babaram, on taking possession of the throne, treated his subjects with such lenity, and excused them from so many duties and taxes, that the oriental historians say, he turned the heads of the whole nation; insomuch, that computing the hours between sun-rising and sun-set, they divided these into equal parts: the first for business, the second for diversion. The king was so far from disliking this, that he sent for twelve thousand musicians from *India*, not only to divert his subjects, but to prevent their becoming fidlers and dancers themselves; and it is said, that those who follow this profession at this day in *Persia*, are descended from these *Indians*. The khacan, for so the orientals call the sovereign of *Turquestan*, having intelligence of the merry disposition the *Persians* were in, conceived that a better opportunity would never offer for invading that rich and fertile country. Without therefore any previous declaration of war, he assembled a mighty army, some historians say, of three hundred thousand men, with which he broke into *Persia* like a torrent, spreading fire and sword, destruction and desolation, where-ever he came. *Babaram*, as soon as he had intelligence of this, knowing well that it was impossible for him to raise any forces sufficient to repel them, left his capital, and with a thousand chosen horse fled to the mountains, leaving the government in the hands of his brother *Narsi*. The *Persians* instantly concluded, that the king had abdicated the government, and endeavoured to make the best terms they could with the conquerors; and thereupon sent deputies to acquaint the khacan with the desertion of their prince, and to implore his mercy. The khacan did not however take things upon trust; he sent out parties to observe the motions of *Babaram* and his horse; and these on their return, having reported that they had followed the *Persian* king two days march into *Armenia*, their master concluded from thence, that he was fled into the *Roman* territories, and that *Persia* was absolutely subdued^f.

They are defeated and destroyed.

Babaram in the mean time pushed with his thousand horse through the streights of *Derbent*, and keeping close by the *Caspian* sea, came quite round into *Turquestan*; and having there refreshed, and remounted his troops, he suddenly and silently stole into *Persia*; surprized the forces of the khacan, who no longer kept any discipline, in the dead of the night; advanced in person to that monarch's tent, where he found him scarce awake, huddling on his cloaths, so that he struck off his head without any resistance; and the *Persians* rising every-where upon the flying army, scarce a man of this huge multitude returned again into *Turquestan*. This wonderfully raised the reputation of *Babaram*; his subjects began to look upon him as a person inspired, and he on the other hand, being better satisfied with his brother's administration than his own, resolved to travel for a time, and leave to him the settling the affairs of *Persia*. This unaccountable vivacity in otherwise so great a prince, cannot be accounted for any other way, than by considering where he received his education. This roving disposition is the very character of an *Arab* chief, and indeed all the accounts we have of this monarch shew, that his manners were exactly those of that nation. As for instance, the word *Jur* signifies a wild ass, and this prince was called *Babaram Jur*, because he spent the greatest part of his time in hunting that creature, a diversion he had learned among the *Arabs*. But to return to the current of our history, leaving the government of *Persia* in the hands of his brother, he appeared in the habit of a private person at the court of an *Indian* prince; where he quickly distinguished himself so far as to merit the notice of the king, whose favourable inclinations towards him he greatly

^e LESTARIKH. D'HERBELOT, biblioth. orient. art. Nooman Ben Mondir.
^f KHONDENIR. D'HERBELOT. biblioth. orient. art. Baharam.

improved,

^a improved, by killing a monstrous wild elephant, which had done a prodigious deal of mischief. At length, the king sent him at the head of an army to oppose a very potent neighbour of his, who, notwithstanding he had offered him tribute, invaded and plundered his country. This prince *Babaram* was so fortunate as to defeat, and he made so prudent a use of his victory, that he put it out of the enemy's power to think of renewing the war for a considerable number of years at least. On his return to court, the *Indian* king thought himself obliged to promote him to the office of *prime vizier*, and to give him his daughter to wife; which he accordingly did, with an immense fortune ⁸.

BUT as the graces of kings usually produce envy in the minds of their subjects ^{He returns into his dominions from India.}
^b against those on whom they are conferred, so here the promotion of *Babaram* drew upon him the hatred of the *Indians*, though he had rescued them from oppression, and by his wife administration procured them as great felicity as a people could enjoy. When therefore he perceived this, he resolved to bear no longer with their ingratitude, especially when he found their whispers had pierced the king's ear, and inclined him to alter his conduct towards him, though on his side not the least occasion had been given. This resolution once taken, *Babaram* soon after discovered himself to the king, who was exceedingly alarmed, when he knew that the person, to whom he was so much indebted, was the king of *Persia*, his potent neighbour, and one whose ancestors had deprived him of a part of his dominions. The *Persian* monarch, to rid ^c him of all apprehensions, acquainted him with his resolution of returning forthwith into his own territories; and that as well out of tender affection for his wife, as in return for the many favours he had received, he was content to yield up the places in dispute. The *Indian* king received this declaration with the utmost joy, and *Babaram* conceiving that no time was to be lost, quitted his court immediately, and returned with his wife and family, with all the immense riches he had acquired, into *Persia*. His subjects received him with all the demonstrations of loyalty and cordial affection; and the king on his part promised to apply himself more assiduously to public affairs, than the vivacity of his disposition had hitherto allowed him to do ^h.

THE first step of importance he took after his return, was to send his brother *Narfi* ^{Turns his army on the Greeks and Arabians.}
^d with a great body of troops into *Rumestan*, so the *Persians* call the dominions of the *Greek* emperor; and being informed that his forces met with no great opposition on that side, he ventured to make an expedition in person into *Arabia*, where he reduced the kingdom of *Yemen*, with all its dependencies. After this he returned into *Persia*, and reigned the rest of his life in peace, beloved by his subjects, and revered by his neighbours. Authors differ very much concerning the manner of his death. Some, and indeed the most considerable, say, that being exceedingly addicted to hunting, and passing full speed through a wood, his horse fell with him into a deep pit, where he was stifled before any body came to his assistance ⁱ. Others affirm, that being engaged in a war with a neighbouring prince, and having defeated his army in ^e battle, *Babaram*, in the pursuit, was so unlucky as to plunge his horse into a morass; whence being unable to extricate himself, he was either suffocated, or perished with hunger. The reason this point remains so full of doubt and uncertainty, is this; the body of *Babaram* was never found, and consequently all accounts of his death must be conjectural only ^k. It is however generally agreed, that this accident arrived in the twenty-third year of his reign, and that, notwithstanding the many irregularities in his conduct, he left behind him the character of being one of the bravest and most generous, as he was evidently one of the most fortunate princes that ever swayed the *Persian* sceptre ^l.

Jezdegerd II. succeeded his father *Babaram Gour*. As he had been chiefly educated ^{Jezdegerd II.}
^f by his uncle *Narfi*, he became a prince of great knowledge and experience, though but a young man, when he ascended the throne. He followed his father's example, in placing his uncle at the head of all his councils, yet without neglecting business himself, or deserting any branch of it, to give himself up to another more agreeable to his temper. He was peculiarly strict in doing justice, especially between the great, and such as depended upon them. He restored all the excellent constitutions of his ancestors, which in process of time were sunk into dissuetude; where he found these insufficient, he framed new laws, by the advice of his council. The care of seeing these executed he took wholly upon himself. The army on the other hand he ren-

⁸ LESTARIKH. MIRKHOND. scđ. XXIX. ^h KHONDEMIR. LESTARIKH. ⁱ LESTARIKH. ^k MIRKHOND. ubi supra. ^l LESTARIKH. KHONDEMIR. MIRKHOND. ubi supra.

dered more affectionate to himself, than they had ever been to any of his predecessors; for he caused it to be excellently paid, and though he took care to preserve discipline amongst his soldiers, yet he caused their duty to be so thoroughly explained to them, and when he was obliged to punish, did it so gently, and with such visible reluctance, that he acquired the surname of *Sifabdoft*, or the lover of his soldiers. There is however but one expedition of his mentioned, and that is against the *Greeks*, who, in his opinion, had broken the terms of their alliance with the *Persians*. In order to convince them of the folly of this proceeding, *Jezdegerd* marched with a very numerous army into the *Roman* territories. Far from suffering his troops to live, as in an enemy's country, he obliged his soldiers to pay for every thing they had, to treat the inhabitants with the greatest civility, and to behave rather like strangers, who came to see the country, than like enemies, disposed to destroy it. The *Greek* emperor, fearing the consequences, in case his subjects should come to change their opinion as to the *Persian* government, sent to acquaint *Jezdegerd*, that he was ready to accept the terms he had formerly refused, and that he would pay the arrears of the tribute which he demanded, upon which the *Persian* retired with his forces into his own country, without committing the smallest disorder, which gained him more reputation than all their conquests had done his predecessors^a.

Makes choice
of his younger
son for his suc-
cessor.

THIS great prince had two sons, the eldest called *Fercuz*, and the younger *Hormouz*. The latter was the favourite of his father, who took all imaginable care of his education, and also very assiduously promoted his interest with the nobility, that upon his own demise he might succeed him in the throne. This naturally induced great disturbances in the kingdom, the elder brother taking all possible measures for defeating the project of his father in favour of his brother. To cool these heats, as also to pave the way to his own designs, the king thought fit to make his eldest son governor of *Nimrouz*, an ancient province of the *Persian* empire, comprehending the greatest part of those countries which are now called *Sigistan* and *Makran*, obliging him also to go and reside in his government. This had a fair appearance, but was so far from answering the purpose of *Jezdegerd*, that it proved the means of defeating all the other precautions he had taken. This however did not happen in his life-time; for the good king, after a reign of eighteen years, died suddenly, to the great grief, as well as to the inexpressible loss, of his subjects, who saw themselves plunged upon his death into a miserable situation, out of which they were not extricated, till they had felt almost all the various calamities by which providence chastises offending nations^b.

Hormouz III.

Hormouz III. being upon the spot, having a great interest through his father's solicitations, and being himself a person of so great merit, as to have deserved the name of *Firzaneb*, i. e. *The Sage*, seated himself upon the throne, and was acknowledged by almost all the nobility. As he reigned but a very short time, most of the *Persian* historians are silent as to his character. One of them however assures us, that his conduct, after his accession, was very unlike his behaviour during the life-time of his father; for that he no sooner found himself possessed of the sovereign authority, but he began to tyrannize over his subjects, and to treat the nobility with equal contempt and severity, though his title to the crown depended in a great measure upon their choice. However it was, he did not long enjoy that dignity, which it had cost him so much pains to acquire. His brother *Fercuz* no sooner heard of his accession, than he determined in himself not to lose tamely what he looked upon to be indubitably his right. It so happened, that the province of which he was governor lay on the frontiers of the country of the *Haiathelites*, who in the works of the *Greek* historians are called *Nephtalites*, and by the translator of *Mirkbond* *Eutbalites*. To the king of this nation, whose name was *Khaschnaouar*, he applied himself, offering him a part as least, if not the whole, of his province, if he would assist him in taking the crown from his brother's head to set it upon his own. This proposition was readily accepted, and *Fercuz* furnished him with a body of thirty thousand horse. With these auxiliaries he entered *Persia*, and was quickly joined by such as had a good opinion of his title, and such as had not been well received at his brother's court. *Hormouz* was no sooner acquainted with this step taken by his brother, than he immediately marched towards him with all his father's forces. But it so fell out, that part of the *Persian* army being disaffected, and the other part afraid of the *Barbarians* *Fercuz* had brought along with

^a LESTARIK. KHONDEMIR. D'HENBELOT, biblioth. orient. art. Jezdegerd.
HOND, sect. xxix.

^b KHONDEMIR. MIRK-

him,

- a him, made but a poor resistance ; so that, without much difficulty, the situation of things was intirely changed, and *Hormouz* was not only thrust from the throne, but also put into chains, and committed to prison, when he had reigned but one year °.

Ferouz being now exalted to the regal dignity, could not think himself safe, while his brother lived, tho' in a prison ; and therefore the first act of his reign was the cutting off the head of *Hormouz*, together with the heads of three of his chief counsellors. As to his conduct afterwards, it was pretty much of a piece with this extraordinary severity, which darkened the very dawn of it : neither was it long before the *Persians* began to perceive that heaven visibly punished them, as well for their own offences, as for the great wickedness of their prince. The rod by which they were chastised was a most severe drought, all the brooks and small rivers being every-where dried up, the earth parched, and its fruits withered. It lasted six years, and in that space destroyed such multitudes, and brought the remainder into so miserable a situation, that we are told the king and the nobility consented to do open penance to avert the wrath of the Almighty. This they performed, and in the seventh year all the seasons were wonderfully kind and pleasant ; the earth being thoroughly moistened, bore the next year as it was wont, and the scourge being removed, *Ferouz* and his people returned to the old manner of living ; that is to say, the king ruled according to his will, and his subjects, as soon as they had the utensils of luxury, plunged themselves into all sorts of excesses. The obligations conferred upon the *Persian* monarch by the king of *Haia-theletes* were so great, that one may easily judge of the disposition of *Ferouz*, by his behaviour towards his benefactor. The people were no sooner recovered from that misery and consternation, which had been spread amongst them by the late famine and drought, but presently *Ferouz* was for turning his arms against him who had set him on the throne. It is true, that some *Persian* authors alledge, that the subjects of this prince entered the frontiers of *Persia*, and plundered them in a hostile manner ; but there is little reason to believe this, because the same writers confess, that the *Persians* were out of comparison more powerful, and that the misfortunes they afterwards met with could not possibly have befallen them, but by their own temerity, and ill conduct p.

- d *Ferouz* was not long in executing his project ; he drew together as numerous an army as the circumstances of the *Persian* affairs would allow, and as soon as he had drawn them together, he marched northwards in order to invade the country of the *Haia-theletes*. The king of that people was under the greatest amazement, when he heard of the preparations *Ferouz* had made. An officer in his troops, as some historians say, but, as others affirm, his grand vizir took upon him to revive his courage, by promising him a victory without fighting, if he would listen to his advice. This man had, as some say, a hand wanting by an accident prior to this event ; but others assure us, that when his master had promised him to be intirely guided by his counsels, he cut off his nose, his ears, a hand and foot. In this mangled condition, he caused himself to be laid in a wood, through the skirts of which he knew that the *Persian* army must pass. When the van-guard of *Ferouz's* army reached him, they took him up, and carried him to their king, who, struck with the miserable condition of the man, received him kindly, asked him, Who he was, and by whom he had been so cruelly mangled ? The artful *Haia-thelete* readily answered, that he had been thus treated by his king for having exhorted him to give any kind of satisfaction to the king of *Persia*, rather than engage in a war, the more, because he was so excessively hated by his own subjects. *Ferouz* rejoiced at this account, inquired narrowly into the strength of the enemy, and where the king of the *Haia-theletes* was incamped ? The wounded man answered, that the king had with him the flower of all his people, and that they lay in ambuscade behind certain mountains, which were but a few days march from thence, if the king took his road through the woods ; but if he continued in that wherein he now was, he would be obliged to pass on the other side of those mountains, and thereby give the *Haia-theletes* an opportunity of falling upon his rear. *Ferouz*, not in the least suspecting the fidelity of his wounded guide, listened readily to the advice he gave him ; and without more ado turned out of the ordinary road, and suffered himself to be led, sometimes through thick woods, at others through wide deserts, till at length his army was on the very point of being famished for want of necessary provisions. Then the *Haia-theletes* appeared on all sides, and in such vast

° KHONDEMIR. MIRKHOND, scđ. xxx. D'HERBELOT. biblioth. orient. art. HORMOUZ. P LESTARIKH, MIRKHOND, scđ. xxxi, KHONDEMIR.

numbers, that *Ferouz* seeing it alike impossible to defend himself, or to escape, surrendered with the small remains of his army, throwing himself intirely on the mercy of his injured benefactors. The king of the *Haiathelites*, supposing that this disastrous expedition would prove a sufficient warning to *Ferouz*, offered to send him, and those that were with him, safely back into their own country, provided they took an oath never to invade his dominions any more. This they readily consented to do, and as soon as they had done it, were permitted to return without the least injury done them ^a.

Invasions the
Haiathelites a
second time.

THE first thing *Ferouz* projected after his return into his own kingdom, was the attacking the *Haiathelites* a second time in breach of the solemn oath which he had so lately made. The chief reason which induced him to apprehend that he should be more successful in this expedition than his first, was the observation he had made of the number of forces about the king of that people, when he had assembled the whole force of his nation. The *Persian* army appeared to *Ferouz* capable of beating twice the number of *Haiathelites* he had seen, if they had not been circumvented by the policy of the wounded *vizir*. This fault therefore he determined to repair by marching directly into the heart of the country without turning either this way or that. Accordingly, as soon as the necessary levies could be made, he appointed *Saouk*, a prince descended from the ancient kings of *Persia*, regent in his absence; and with a prodigious army marched once more against the people, by whose assistance he was seated on the throne. There is no need of repeating here the same story which hath been already inserted in the history of this prince's life under the name of *Perozes* in the former period. Let it suffice that he and his army were by a new stratagem buried all together in a pit, and the *Haiathelites* delivered from all apprehensions of suffering any more by the incorrigible disposition of *Ferouz*. The oriental historians differ however widely from the text in the accounts they give us of the consequences of this war; for they affirm, that *Saouk* the lieutenant of *Ferouz*, as soon as he received the news of his master's defeat, marched with a considerable body of horse he had drawn together from an apprehension of this disaster, and incamping with them on the borders of the *Haiathelites*, prevented their invading *Persia*, and even obtained from their king, who was a prince of great wisdom and justice, a peace upon honourable terms, on a suggestion that the *Persians* were by no means well affected to the measures of *Ferouz*, but were constrained to follow that unhappy prince, because he was their sovereign. The king of the *Haiathelites*, on this consideration, not only made peace, but sent back all the *Persians* he had taken prisoners without ransom, as thinking the death of *Ferouz* a sufficient satisfaction for the injuries he had done him. According to the best of the eastern historians, *Ferouz* reigned thirty, though some say, not above twenty-seven years. ^b

Balafch II.

Balafch succeeded his father *Ferouz* or *Firouz*, and was not his brother, as the *Greeks* give out. His accession to the throne was very grateful to his subjects, but his younger brother *Cobad* was so dissatisfied therewith, that he instantly retired from court, and fled to *Turqueslan* with the son of *Saouk*, who was his friend and counsellor. It does not appear that *Balafch* either ordered his brother to be pursued, or attempted by any means to take away his life; but on the contrary, left him at full liberty to live abroad at his ease, since he would not live at home. This however had no effect upon *Cobad*; his heart was full of ambition, and his head as full of sinister contrivances. His friend had prevailed upon him to marry his daughter, who is represented by the *Persian* historian, from whom we have these particulars, as a woman of exquisite beauty, and of as exquisite parts. By her *Cobad* had a son, whom he left with his mother, that he might return again to the court of the *Kbacan*, in order to solicit his assistance against his brother. Having prevailed in his suit, and orders being issued for raising an army, at the head of which he was to make an irruption into *Persia*, *Cobad* thought fit to make a visit to his father-in-law's family, in order to have his sentiments of this expedition; and while he was there seeking to draw the best intelligence he could from his friends in *Persia*, he first received advice that his brother was so extremely beloved by his subjects, that any attempt to dethrone him would be vain; and while he was afflicting himself with the thoughts of being defeated in all his schemes, he received another courier, who brought him advice that *Balafch* died suddenly a few days before, and that there required no army to set him on the throne, his subjects being very ready to receive him. Upon this he set out with his father-in-law, his wife, and young son ^c.

^a KHONDEMIR, LESTARIKH. MIRKHOND, sect. xxxi. D'HERBELOT, biblioth. orient. art. FIROUZ.
^b KHONDEMIR, MIRKHOND, sect. xxxi. D'HERBELOT, biblioth. orient. art. FIROUZ.

Nouschirvan,

- a *Nouschirvan*, to receive that crown by succession, which he sought to have seized by force, or to have acquired by his intrigues. Authors are not agreed how long *Balafsch* reigned, some giving him fourteen years, and others little more than four *.

Cobad ascended the throne with all the advantages possible : He was in his person one of the handsomest men in *Persia*, very adroit in his exercises, of a very generous disposition, and of quick parts ; but as to his morals, they were exceedingly depraved, and he had in his exile sucked in such false notions of politics, as served only to make himself uneasy, and to put him upon oppressing his subjects. The first wrong step he took was the putting to death *Saouk*, his wife's grandfather, because that under his father and brother he had had the chief direction of all things, which *Cobad* supposed he would expect during his reign, a thing he did not care to grant, and which ; considering *Saouk's* great power, he thought it might not be safe to refuse. He therefore made use of one *Schabour* ; a soldier of fortune, who offered him his service on his accession to the throne, and to whom he gave orders to take off *Saouk* in such a manner, as might least reflect upon his government. Having this commission, *Schabour* went to pay his respects to *Saouk* ; and having drawn him into a conversation, quarrelled with him, and cut his throat. In the tenth year of the reign of *Cobad* a certain impostor appeared, whose name was *Mazdek* †. He followed the steps of *Mani* pretty closely ; for he set himself up for a prophet in the desert, and having drawn together a multitude of people by his specious pretences, firmly persuaded them of his having revelations from heaven. The drift of these revelations was to the old purpose, viz. the establishing a more pure and holy religion, than had been hitherto made known to mankind. But as aulterity and self-denial were never very popular doctrines, he invented some new notions of purity ; and in order to take away the lust of wealth, and of women, he proposed rendering them both common. This suited well with the disposition of *Cobad*, who, as we observed before, was a very dissolute prince ; and therefore he countenanced this impostor, brought him to court, treated him with respect, and under pretence of promoting purity in religion, fell to plundering his nobility, and debauching their wives and daughters. This is that decree for the rendering women common, which the *Greek* writers speak of, and which they make the pure effect of the corruption of the king's heart, and represent as an action which lost him the hearts of all his people. But this is so far from being true, that the bulk of the people were more attached to this prince than any of his predecessors. The poor hoped to have a share in the treasures taken from the rich, and the youth were so transported with the thoughts of having all the women they pleased, that the nobility found it a very difficult matter to do what they did. *Cobad* had a sister, who was wonderfully beautiful, and of whose adventures the oriental romance writers have written very largely. This sister *Mazdek* gave him a dispensation to marry, which is the clearest proof in the world, that the *Greek* writers are altogether in the wrong in suggesting that such marriages were conformable to the magian religion ; had it been so, *Cobad* needed not have turned heretic to have obtained such a dispensation, nor would his making use of it have alarmed the nobility as it did. It was this that put the finishing stroke to his ruin ; for the *Persian* lords looked upon it now as a thing certain, that he would stick at nothing. Coming therefore in great numbers to court, with such of their dependents as they could trust, they seized the person of the king, committed him to prison, and appointed one *Giarnasp*, a person of great wisdom and integrity, regent of the kingdom ‡. As to the impostor *Mazdek*, they would likewise have secured his person, if they could ; but he was too circumspect to put it in their power. His disciples were very numerous, and he failed not to keep a sufficient number of them about him to repel any attempt of this sort ; and he likewise took care not to trust himself in cities or fortresses, where the nobility might shut him up as in a cage §.

THE account the oriental writers give us of the manner in which *Cobad* escaped from his prison, differs so little from that given by the *Greeks* already inserted at large in the life of *Cavades*, that, to avoid prolixity, we shall repeat nothing of it here. The eastern writers assure us, that it was some time before the king of the *Hiatbelites* could be prevailed on to raise forces, in order to re-establish *Cobad* on his throne. At length he sent thirty thousand horse into the frontiers of *Persia* to try the disposition of the

* MIRKHOND, sect. xxxii. LESTARIKH.

D'HERBELOT. biblioth. orient. art. Mazdak.

de religion. orient.

in vita Kobad. LESTARIKH.

† SHARISTANI de religion. orient. MEGJDI in vita Kobad.

‡ MIRKHOND, sect. xxxiii. KHONDEMIR. SHARISTANI

de religion. orient. § KHONDEMIR. SHARISTANI de religion. orient. MIRKHOND, sect. xxxiii. MEGJDI

people; and it appearing that they were well affected to *Cobad's* interest, that prince ^a followed in person, and was shortly after peaceably restored, *Giamasp* readily resigning all title to the imperial throne, which procured him a very favourable reception from *Cobad*, who treated him with much respect as long as he lived. After his restoration, it is said, he altogether reformed his conduct, and became in every respect an excellent prince, equally careful of extending his empire by arms, and of improving it by the encouragement of arts. It appears not however that he quitted the sect of *Mazdek*, though he durst never attempt to carry his notions into practice after his return; and in all probability he was the less inclined to attempt any thing of this sort on account of the trouble he had with one of his own sons, who embraced the opinions of *Mani*, and in whose favour all the *Persians* infected with that heresy, discovered an inclination to revolt, in order to have placed him on the throne before the death of his father, had they not been prevented by the diligence of *Cobad*, who was of a most active disposition, and preserved his activity even in old age. Authors are not very well agreed as to the length of his reign; some giving him more years, some less. The best historians, however, agree, that he reigned forty-three years with great variety of fortune, and that he died beloved by his subjects, and revered by his neighbours, after having restored peace and order throughout *Persia*, repaired such cities as were falling to decay, and erected many new ones to serve as monuments of glory to his posterity* (G).

Nouschirvan.

To *Cobad* succeeded his son *Khosrou* or *Chosroes*, so famous throughout all the east ^c under the surname of *Nouschirvan*, i. e. the magnanimous. This word, literally taken, signifies a soul candied in honey, and metaphorically a mind equally distinguished by sweetness of temper, and great abilities. He was by very far the greatest prince of this dynasty, and, in the opinion of most of the oriental historians, the most glorious monarch that ever reigned in *Persia*; happy in his genius, more so in his education, excelling in all royal virtues, deficient in none requisite to distinguish a man in private life. The dawn of his government promised much felicity to his people, and he reigned long enough to make good to them much more than that promised. The first act of sovereignty with which he distinguished himself was full of severity, though he was naturally the mildest prince in the world. He found means to cause the impostor *Mazdek* to be seized, and to be brought prisoner into his presence. On this occasion *Nouschirvan* made a long oration, in which he explained the many and great mischiefs brought on mighty kingdoms by such deluders, declared his settled resolution to extirpate all this new sect, and as an earnest thereof, he ordered *Mazdek* to be immediately put to death. That deceiver, desirous of keeping up some reputation, addressed himself to *Nouschirvan* in these words, as the officers were about to take him out of that prince's presence: *Providence, O king! appointed thee to rule over us, that thou mightest protect, and not destroy. True, thou son of corruption, answered Nouschirvan; but dost thou not remember that thou didst once impudently demand of Cobad my father permission to lie with my mother, and that thy followers have pillaged all the rest of my subjects? I do not therefore seek to destroy thee and thine, but to preserve myself, and the people committed by providence to my care.* After the execution of *Mazdek*, *Nouschirvan* did not proceed to any farther severities. The death of their chief struck such a damp ^d

* Mirkhond ubi supra. KHONDEMIR. SHARISTANI de religion. orient.

(G) There are some varieties in the relations we have of the reign of *Khobad*, which deserve to be remarked. *Khobad*, according to *Mirkhond*, married *Zarmehar*, the grand-daughter of *Saouk*, who had governed the kingdom after the miserable defeat of his father; but of this we find no distinct account in any other historian. What is stranger still, *Mirkhond* makes this lady the mother of *Nouschirvan*. As to his sister, whose beauty and accomplishments tempted him to accept of the impostor *Mazdek's* disputation, *Mirkhond* assures us, that she was taken prisoner at the time her father *Feronz* was killed, a circumstance we did not insert in the text, because it seems to be altogether improbable. The march which *Feronz* made into the enemy's country was in itself attended with great difficulties, and who

can imagine that he would expose a young lady, the only daughter he had, in such a manner? All the oriental historians agree, that during his reign there were prodigious numbers of *Jews* settled in his dominions, especially in *Chaldea*, where sometimes he treated them with great lenity, and at others he loaded them with heavy taxes. It does not appear that he ever had any good opinion of the *Manichees*, though they had been in favour with his father, and though the impostor *Mazdek* had concurred with them in some of their notions. The truth seems to be, that he was far from being nice in religion himself, and only pretended a high zeal for the sect of *Mazdek*, because it gave him an opportunity of filling his coffers, and gratifying his passion for his sister (19).

(19) Mirkhond sect. xxxiii. Lebnarikh Sharistani de religion. orient.

- a to the hearts of his followers, that they willingly laid hold of the alternative offered them by the king's edict, viz. either to restore what they had wrongfully taken from others, or to suffer capital punishment as thieves. Thus the peace and properties of the people of *Persia* were secured against the attempts of these debauched enthusiasts, without any extraordinary effusion of blood *.

- Nouschirvan* also removed at the very beginning of his reign such officers of his court, as by their conduct in his father's life-time had rendered themselves disagreeable to his people. Among these there was one particular person whom he forbade ever to come into his presence, and who by this sudden and total disgrace fell into extreme poverty. On the birth-day however of the king, when all the *Persian* nobility came to make presents, and to pay their duty to their sovereign, this officer appeared amongst the rest, and after having dined at the royal table, put one of the golden plates into his bosom, unperceived by any but *Nouschirvan*. When the plate was missed, and the servants began to make some stir, the king bid them be at quiet; For, said he, the man who took it will not bring it again, and he who saw him take it will not discover him. On the next birth-day the officer came to court again, clad in a new robe, upon which the king calling him, whispered in his ear, Did my plate go to buy that fine robe? The man readily answered, Yes; and then drawing it aside, shewed him a pair of ragged breeches: But you see, Sir, said he, that it would go no further. *Nouschirvan* was so charmed with the frankness of the man, that he restored him to his place as well as favour, and the *Persians* were so delighted with the generosity and good-humour of their prince, that in all their histories this story is preserved as a monument of his beneficence and clemency. For the better dispatching of justice, and the more easy management of all public affairs, the king in the second year of his reign divided all the *Persian* dominions into four vizirships: the first consisted of the frontier provinces towards *Tartary* and *India*: the second included *Parthia*, *Armenia*, and the provinces bordering on the *Caspian* sea: the third comprehended *Persia Proper*, and all the provinces between it and the gulph: the fourth was composed of *Mesopotamia*, *Chaldea*, the countries taken from the *Arabs*, and those conquered from the *Greek* emperors. Over each of these he appointed a governor of the royal blood, who, in all ordinary cases, judged without appeal: But in all extraordinary cases, and where judgments were capital, they could not proceed, till they had instructions from court *.

- EARLY also in his reign he made an expedition into *Rumestan*, or the territories of the *Greek* emperor, of which we have given a long account in the foregoing period. In this war, however, he did not so much endeavour to augment the bulk of his territories, as to increase the number of his subjects. It was with this view that he transported all the inhabitants of the great city of *Antioch* into the province of *Irak*, where he gave them the city of *Mabouza* for their habitation, the name of which, to oblige them, he changed for that of *Antioch*. This city lay at no great distance from *Babylon*; but the new name conferred upon it by *Chosroes* did not remain with it long; for after his decease the old one of *Mabouza* came again into use, and it is so called even at this day. After this he resolved to restore the *Persian* frontier on the other side of his empire, on which the *Haiathelites* had trespassed exceedingly, supposing they could never be too well rewarded for the assistance they had given to his father *Cobad*. At first *Nouschirvan* endeavoured to proceed by way of negotiation, representing to these people, that the wide-spread countries of *Thebet*, *Candabar*, and *Brantolah*, suited better their way of life, than the provinces they had usurped from *Persia*; but the *Haiathelites* having treated these representations with contempt, *Nouschirvan* was constrained to have recourse to force; whereby he answered his purpose better, and obliged this barbarous people to repass the mountains; by which means his subjects were delivered from those apprehensions with which the neighbourhood of this mighty nation had tormented them for upwards of fifty years. This manner of proceeding alarmed all the neighbouring princes, and more especially the *khacan*, who immediately raised a great army, and while *Nouschirvan* was on the borders of *India* with his troops, broke like an inundation through the *Persian* provinces into the very heart of the kingdom. *Nouschirvan*, as soon as he was acquainted with what had happened, resolved to send his son *Hormouz* against this formidable invader, being afraid to leave his frontiers

* MEGJDI in vita *Nouschirvan*. MIRKHOND, sect. xxxiv. KHONDEMIR. SHARISTANI de religion. orient. * KHONDEMIR. MIRKHOND, ubi supra. MEGJDI in vita *Nouschirvan*. LESTARIKH. D'HERSELOT. biblioth. orient. art. *Nouschirvan*.

towards *India* uncovered, lest some advantages should be taken by his enemies on that side ^a.

His son Hormouz defeats the khacan.

Hormouz discharged his duty to his father, and to the *Persian* nation, not only with great fidelity, but with great capacity also. Though but a young man, he had been a soldier from his childhood, and therefore wanted not experience, as he naturally abounded with courage. The troops he had about him were daily augmented by the country people, who looked upon the army as the surest asylum, and prudently chose to hazard their lives in the service of their country, rather than to fly and hide themselves from the enemy with equal hazard. *Hormouz* judged perfectly well of the strength of his own forces, and did not, because they were numerous, pretend to give the enemy battle, which, if he had lost, must have lost *Persia*; but by harassing the unwieldy army of the khacan by continual skirmishes, by withdrawing all sorts of provision out of the open country, by garrisoning strong cities, and by abandoning weak ones, he obliged that monarch to think of retiring, as by burning all the country behind him, he had rendered his retreat almost impracticable. The khacan, ignorant of this, began his march back, and was amazed when he found a desert before him, and the *Persian* forces behind, and on every side. In this miserable situation himself, with the principal nobility, and a great corps of the best horse, deserted the rest, and precipitately escaped into their own country, leaving to the young prince of *Persia* the glory of having defeated him, and of having defeated him by his conduct. *Nouschirvan* on the other hand having completed his designs in respect to his *Indian* frontiers, made an offensive war on the khacan, and pushed his conquests so far, that he obliged him to accept peace on the terms he thought fit to give him; after which *Nouschirvan* married his daughter. This remarkable event happened in the twelfth year of his reign, and as it delivered him from any apprehensions of danger from foreign enemies, so he laid hold of this opportunity to settle the boundaries of his vast dominions, and then to return to *Madain* his capital city; where he gave audience to the ambassadors of the greatest potentates of the world, who came to compliment him on his victories, and to penetrate, if possible, any new designs he might have formed ^b.

The bounds of the Persian empire.

It may not be amiss to take notice here of the boundaries which *Nouschirvan* gave to his empire, because the reader will from thence perceive with how great justice the *Persian* writers acknowledge this prince for the greatest monarch that ever ruled in their country. The city and country of *Farganab*, which lies along the river *Sibon* or *Jaxartes*, was the limit of *Persia* on that side; the river *Indus* separated his territories from those of the independent *Indian* princes. *Arabia*, to the frontiers of *Egypt*, acknowledged him for its sovereign, and in *Syria* he had pushed his conquests as far as the sea would permit. While *Nouschirvan* enjoyed in peace an empire of such an extent, he formed two projects highly commended by the eastern writers, and which, it may be, would not have gained him so much honour, had he reigned in another part of the world. The first was the bringing out of *India* a certain book, intitled *Homaoun Nameh*, i. e. *The Royal Manual*, the work of the famous *Pilpai*, containing a multitude of parables relating to the art of government. This, by the care of his chief minister *Buzurge Mibir*, he procured, and caused it to be translated into the *Persian* language for his own use. His other project was of the same sort, but undertaken for the sake of his people. It was the publication of his predecessor *Ardschir's* instructions for all degrees of men. Of this he caused a multitude of copies to be made, and obliged every family in *Persia* to receive one ^c.

Nouschizad the son of Nouschirvan rebels against him.

We must not however suppose, that the life of *Nouschirvan* was spent without meeting with any troubles: For what prince, what private man, ever spent his life so? The source of his uneasiness was his own family, and the enemy who gave him most trouble was his own son. In one of his expeditions into *Rumestan*, or the dominions of the emperors of *Greece*, he had taken a female captive, by whose beauty he was subdued himself. This woman was a christian, and very devout. *Nouschirvan* espoused her, and had by her a son, whom he dearly loved. The name of this young prince was *Nouschizad*. His mother took care from his cradle to educate him in her religion, and impressed the truths thereof so strongly on his mind, that when he grew up, he was not to be moved by the arts of the magi, or by the threats or promises of his father. *Nouschirvan* perceiving this, and being afraid of the consequences, confined him. For, as we have seen, religious disputes were dreadful to ^d

^a KHONDEMIR MIRKHOND, sect. xxxiv. Megjdi in vit. Nouschirvan.
LESTARIKH. KHONDEMIR.

^b MIRKHOND ubi supra.
^c Megjdi in vit. Nouschirvan. KHONDEMIR. MIRKHOND ubi supra.

- a this wise prince, who thought he could not be master of the hearts of his subjects, if they were not united amongst themselves. The prince's custody was easy enough, the king designing, not so much to punish him, as to prevent any thing which might deserve punishment; and therefore, when he found himself obliged to visit the frontiers of his empire towards *India*, he did not think fit to alter *Nouschbizad's* condition, but left him under the same gentle restraint, wherein he had lived for some years. During his absence from his capital, he had a fit of sickness, whereupon a report was spread that he was dead. *Nouschbizad* hearing this, took instantly an opportunity of making his escape; and as there were many christians in *Persia*, he quickly drew together a considerable force, and continued to increase his army, even after he was informed, that his father was alive and well. The news of this revolt greatly afflicted *Nouschirvan*, who did not however immediately send an army against his son, but suffered things to remain as they were, that the young prince might have time to consider the condition he was in, and to return to his duty. But when he saw this delay produced nothing, but that on the contrary, many of the grandes, who were discontented at the severity of the king's justice, took this opportunity of fortifying themselves against his resentment *Nouschirvan*, resolved to wait no longer; and therefore instantly dispatched a body of forces under the command of *Ram Berzin*, one of his principal generals, to reduce the rebels. However, when that officer took his leave of him, he gave him these instructions: "I understand that my son hath not
c " only taken arms, but hath also possessed himself of my treasures, opened the prisons, augmented his army with those he found in them, and by the help of my money, and his own promises, hath drawn abundance of my officers to his party. My commands therefore are, that you advance with all possible diligence towards him, yet without attacking him, or those of my subjects, who are about him, till
" you have advised him of your arrival, and exhorted him to return to that obedience he owes me; which if he inclines to do, I expect that he should send back to
" their prisons those whom he has released; that he should put to the sword the officers who have deserted to him; and disband his army. If he refuses to execute
d " these things, do your utmost to reduce him by force, even though it should be at the expence of his life. But if the young man falls alive into your hands, do not offer him the least indignity, nor so much as reproach him with his want of duty; his consciousness thereof will be a sufficient punishment". *Ram Berzin* followed his instructions exactly, but the prince proving obstinate, a general engagement ensued, in which *Nouschbizad* was defeated, and received a mortal wound, which when he perceived, he said to those who were about him, *Tell the queen, my mother, that it is my last request, that my body may be buried amongst the christians*. *Nouschirvan* succeeded no less happily in his *Indian* war, than he had done in this domestic one; he compelled all the princes on his frontiers to do him homage, and to pay him tribute. After
e this he marched with a great army into *Arabia*, where he was fortunate in the highest degree, and used his fortune to the best purpose imaginable. He found the country distressed by tyrants, whom he dispossessed of their power, restored the lawful sovereigns, whom they had driven from their dominions, and did so many kindnesses to the people in general, that *Mohammed* himself was wont to boast, that he was born under the reign of this monarch, surnamed by the *Arabians* *Al-malek*, i. e. *The Just* b.

After this he returned to *Madain*, his capital, and began to adorn it with a multitude of new and sumptuous buildings; amongst the rest with a palace, which was accounted one of the wonders of the east. It was called *Tbak Kbojrou*, i. e. *The dome of Chosroes*. It had a beautiful cupola, and underneath strong and large vaults, in which were deposited all the mighty treasures of this powerful monarch. In order
f to have a just idea of this wonderful building, the reader must be informed, that the caliph *Almanzor* ordered this palace to be pulled down, in order to employ its materials in adorning the citadel of *Bagdat*; but after working some time thereon, he found the expence so great, that he was forced to abandon the enterprize, and leave the greatest part of the palace of *Chosroes* undemolished, on which a *Persian* poet wrote the following distich, alluding to the founder of this glorious edifice:

After all his victories *Nouschirvan* adorns his capital.

Thy works, like thee, eternity enjoy;
Nor rage, nor time, can thy designs destroy.

b MIRABOND. ubi supra. LEBTARIKH. KHONDEMIR. MECJDI in vit. *Nouschirvan*.

If we were to mention a twentieth part of the acts recorded of this prince, which ^a have come even to our hands, it would take up much more room than we have allowed to this period; we shall content ourselves therefore with giving the reader an account of his last expedition and death, and a short view of his character, according to the *Oriental* writers, in a note, that we may not be condemned of negligence, amidst such immense materials. The last war, which *Nouschirvan* made against the *Constantinopolitan* emperor, was occasioned by his supporting the petty princes of *Armenia* against the *Persian* prince, who was their sovereign. At first *Nouschirvan* had the same good fortune in this as in his other wars; but trusting it too far, he was defeated, and constrained to pass the river *Euphrates* on the back of his elephant, and not without great danger of being drowned. On his return to his capital *Madain*, which is either ^b the same with *Ctesiphon*, or a city built upon its ruins, he began to find himself extremely weak, and not a little indisposed. He therefore judged it time to think of making peace, and then of settling the succession; for being now eighty years old, and having reigned forty-eight, he had not either cause to hope for much longer life, or to repine at his approaching decease, after having so long and fully enjoyed the good things of this world. When therefore he heard, that the *Greek* emperor was willing to conclude a treaty on reasonable terms, and saw that the nobility were well inclined towards his son *Hormouz*, he disposed himself chearfully to submit to fate, having first delivered in writing the following instructions, or political testament, to his son ^c:

“ I *Nouschirvan*, the possessor of the kingdoms of *Persia* and *India*, address these
 “ my last words to *Hormouz* my son, that they may serve him as a lantern in the
 “ days of darkness, as a path when he shall enter the deserts, and as a pole-star
 “ when he navigates through the seas of this tempestuous world. When my eyes are
 “ closed, which are already unable to bear the light of the sun, let him be seated on
 “ my throne, and let his lustre be equal to that glorious planet; but let him remem-
 “ ber, in the midst of his greatness, that kings rule not for themselves, but for their
 “ people, and that they are, with respect to them, what the heavens are to the earth.
 “ Can the earth be fruitful, if it be not watered, if it be not cherished by the heavens?
 “ My son, let all your people be sensible of your benefactions; those who are nearest ^d
 “ you first; by degrees those who are at the greatest distance. If I durst, I would
 “ propose to you my own example; but I will rather put you in mind of that which
 “ hath been example unto me. Behold the sun, it visits all parts of the world; and
 “ if it is sometimes visible, and at others removed from our sight, it is because the
 “ universe partakes of its splendor, and is cherished by its beams. Enter not any
 “ province but with a prospect of doing good to its inhabitants; neither quit it with
 “ any other view, than to do good elsewhere. Ill men must be punished; to them
 “ the sun of majesty is eclipsed: the good deserve the utmost encouragement, and
 “ ought to experience the morning beams. As that glorious luminary answers all
 “ the purposes for which it was created at all times, be thou careful to act always ^e
 “ like a king, since you will desire at all times to be revered as a king. My son,
 “ present thyself often before heaven, to implore its aid; but be sure that thou
 “ approach it not with an impure mind. Do thy dogs enter the temple? If thou
 “ shalt observe exactly this rule, thy prayers shall be heard, thy enemies shall be
 “ struck with terror, thy friends shall be ever faithful; thou shalt be the delight of
 “ thy subjects, and thou shalt have reason to delight in them. Do justice, abase the
 “ insolent, comfort the unhappy, love your children, protect learning, follow
 “ the advice given you by ancient counsellors, suffer not the young to meddle in
 “ affairs of state, and let the good of your people be the sole and supreme end of
 “ your designs. Farewel: I leave you a great kingdom, which you will keep, if ^f
 “ you will follow my counsels; and which it will be impossible for you to keep, if
 “ you follow others.” Such was the end of *Nouschirvan*, the most beloved prince
 of his age, and whose reputation survives to this day in the works of all the eastern
 historians, in the writings of their moralists, and more especially in the works of
 their poets ^g (H).

Hormouz

^d MIRKHOND. ubi supra. LEFRAYRIKH. KHONDEMIR. D'HERBELOY. B. O. art. Madain. Nouschirvan. * Histoire d'une revoluc. arrivée en Perse dans le sixieme siecle ap. hist. de l'academ. royale des inscrip. Tom. III. edit. Amsterd. p. 510. ^e KHONDEMIR. LEFRAYRIKH. MIRKHOND. ubi supra. Megjoi in vita Nouschirvan.

(H) Khondemir closes his account of the reign of *Nouschirvan* with this observation: “ Princes in suc-
 “ ceeding times ought to place him, of whom we
 “ have been speaking, as a model before their eyes,
 “ and

- a *Hormouz*, whom the Greeks call *Hormisdas*, and who was the fourth of that name *Hormouz IV.* of this dynasty, ascended the throne with the fairest prospect that ever any *Persian* prince had. He was naturally of a very indifferent disposition, addicted to his pleasures, haughty, and cruel. His father, who was too wise a prince not to perceive these defects in his son, endeavoured to correct them by education. With this view he put him under the care of the celebrated *Buzurge Mibir*, the wisest man in *Persia*, and the first minister of *Nouschirvan*. This excellent person took such pains with *Hormouz*, and knew so well to set folly and vice in their lights, that he vanquished his natural proneness to evil, and made him, in spite of himself, a great and a good man. For the first three years of his reign, while his old tutor remained about his person, he as far transcended *Nouschirvan*, as *Nouschirvan* had all his predecessors. His discourses were fraught with wisdom, his actions were all beneficent. He carried so far his respect for *Buzurge Mibir*, that he would not wear his royal ornaments in his presence; and when some of his courtiers intimated, that his reverence to him was excessive, since it was more than was due to a parent, he answered, *Tou say well, my friends; but I owe more to him than I do to my father. The life and kingdom I received from Nouschirvan will remain with me but a few years; but the reputation I shall acquire, in virtue of his instructions, will survive to latest times.* Happy had it been for this prince, had he always adhered to these notions; but when old age had rendered *Buzurge Mibir* unfit for the great employments he possessed, he requested, and
- b had leave from *Hormouz* to retire; and with him retired the happiness and fortune of his master (1). The young courtiers who were about *Hormouz*, began, from that moment,

and make his conduct the rule of theirs, since he possessed, in a sovereign degree, as well the good qualities which render amiable a private man, as the exalted virtues which add lustre to a diadem; but, above all, just as without bias, liberality without any other bounds than those assigned by reason, contributed most to his high reputation while living, and have preserved his fame fresh to posterity to this day. We have seen, in the foregoing history, many instances of the grandeur of this prince's soul, in undertaking the most stupendous works for the benefit, and for the ornament, of the several parts of his dominions. There is one however of which we have not spoken; and as it makes a great figure in all the *Oriental* histories, it is requisite to take some notice of it here: this is the wall of *Jagouge* and *Alagouge*, or a thick and high rampart commencing at *Derbent*, and running from mountain to mountain, so as to secure the frontiers of *Persia* from the northern nations. It was projected by *Alexander the Great*, and, as some say, begun by his command. However, it remained unfinished, tho' not altogether unperfected, till the reign of *Nouschirvan*, who undertook, and happily concluded it (2). The court of *Nouschirvan* was one of the most magnificent that the world ever saw. The deputies from all the provinces of *Persia* constantly attended therein, as did the ambassadors of all the great princes in the world. The expence of their entertainment was defrayed by *Nouschirvan*, who, in the midst of all this prosperity, preserved a mind so equal and undisturbed, that he was never surprized into any expression unworthy of a philosopher. A courier coming hastily into his presence, cried out, *God is just! God is just! the implacable enemy of our king is taken away by death.* *Nouschirvan* answered without the least emotion, *Far be it from me to rejoice at the death of my enemy. There can be nothing more ridiculous than for mortals to be pleased with instances of mortality* (3). When he had been hunting, and was desirous of eating some of the venison in the field, some of his attendants went to a neighbouring village, and took away a quantity of fat to season it. The king suspected it, ordered that they should immediately go and pay for it; then

turning to his minister, he said, *This is a small matter in itself, but a great one as it regards me. A king ought ever to be just, because he is an example to his subjects, and if he swerves in trifles, they will become disolute. If I cannot make all my people just in the smallest things, I can at least show them that is possible to be so* (4). The same way of thinking induced him to put the following inscription on his diadem, after he had settled the immense dominions he had acquired, and was revered at home and abroad, as the mightiest of all monarchs:

What is long life? or what a glorious reign?

Since our successors close upon us tread.

My fathers left this crown, and I again

Must leave it too, and mingle with the dead (5).

These are sufficient specimens of the solidity of his understanding, and of the strength and rectitude of his sentiments. We have therefore all the reason in the world to believe, what all the *Oriental* historians positively affirm, that he was one of the most learned men, not only in his own dominions, but in his age; that he was the most beneficent patron of the sciences, and of those who cultivate them; and that his court was the asylum of merit in distress. He held regular assemblies for the promoting real, that is, useful knowledge, at which he assisted himself, with his ministers of state, as will be seen in the next note; and he was so far from being a smatterer, that not only in the polite branches of learning, but even in the business of mechanics, he knew as much as the artists themselves. With all this, he was the most debonnaire man in his court, and tho' he never said a light or trivial thing himself, yet he would laugh at the jests of others, and never took ill any poignant expression that escaped a man in a flow of humour (6). No wonder then that the wits of his own time loved him; that the wits of succeeding ages have done their utmost to embalm his character. The facts related of him must strike all generous minds; and therefore we make no excuse for so long a note.

(1) The character of *Buzurge Mibir* makes so great a figure in the *Oriental* histories, that it is but just we should

(20) *Hist. Persar.* (21) *D'Hierbelot B. O. art. Jagouge.* (22) *Saadi in Gulistan. c. 12.* (23) *Id. ibid. p. 100.* (24) *Id. ibid. p. 119.* (25) *Lebharikh. Mirkhond sect 34. Hafez, Ghami. cum multis. al. poet.*

moment, to have a visible ascendancy over him, and to influence him to do many a things alike contrary to his interest, and injurious to his reputation. Such of his old counsellors as were about his person, and had still some share in his esteem, these sycophants found means to remove, either by misinforming their king, or by treating those they disliked in so rude a way, that they made it their choice to retire from court. It had been the policy of *Nouschirvan* to provide the shortest and speediest methods of distributing justice throughout his wide empire. Every little village had its judge, and, in all courts of judicature, care was taken that decrees should not cost either more time or money than they were worth. At the time of his death he left thirty thousand persons in judicial offices in his dominions. Numbers of these were removed, when *Hormouz* fell into the hands of bad counsellors; and the mischiefs b which followed on this rash step were so great, that the inspectors of justice in the several provinces of the empire joined in a remonstrance upon that head; which *Hormouz* was so infatuated as to conceive a libel on his government, in resentment of which he persecuted this whole useful and venerable race of men with implacable hatred, and, by a new strain of tyrannical madness, would be the sole judge of his people himself. On this pretence he wore every day the *tiara* or royal diadem, which his predecessors never put on, but when they were about to administer justice to their subjects. Hence his people gave him the surname of *Tagedar*, i. e. *the crown-wearer* &c.

The khakan invades Persia.

IT is impossible for a bad prince to maintain himself in the possession of the hearts c of his people, as well as of their obedience; and it is as impossible for a nation universally disaffected to hinder their prince from perceiving the dislike they have of his measures. This quickly became the case of *Hormouz* and his subjects. His jealousies induced him to murder by thousands. His people, believing themselves in continual danger, could not avoid betraying an earnest desire of seeing themselves safe, which begat further inclinations of revenge in their prince. To complete the misfortunes of both parties, the frontier provinces towards *India* and *Arabia* threw off the *Persian* yoke, and set up princes of their own; and the khakan, who long waited for such an opportunity, entered *Persia* with an army of three hundred thousand men, tho' he was uncle by the mother's side to *Hormouz*. The *Persian* monarch, in this d

* MIRMOND, sect. 25. KHONDEMIR. LEBTARIKH.

should bestow a note upon it here. In the first place we must remark, that this is the surname only of the prime minister of *Nouschirvan*, and that it signifies, in the *Persian* tongue, *well beloved*. We have taken notice in the text of his being appointed governor to *Hormouz*; and that, with great difficulty, he triumphed over the evil disposition of that prince. It cannot be improper to give an instance of his address in this respect: he saw with regret, that his pupil slept till noon, spent the afternoon in dressing, and the night in debauches; he reproved to no purpose, he expostulated to no end; yet he continued to expostulate and reprove, hoping, that importunity might effect what was unattainable by reason. *Hormouz*, at length, quite tired out, devised a method to rid himself of these lectures: he ordered some of his favourites to disguise themselves, and to strip his preceptor quite naked, as he came in the morning from his father's court to wait upon him. This being accordingly done, when *Buzurge Mihir* related his misfortunes, *You see*, said the young prince, *what comes of all this diligence; if you had not been up so early, you had not been robbed. You mistake, Sir, said the preceptor, the thieves were more successful than I, because they rose earlier. Vigilance, Sir, is a copy of the divine activity; it is the torch by which science becomes visible, the great treasure of virtue and true pleasure, and the key of victory in all things. Rise then, my dear prince, that the sun of good fortune may display his beams on thy head, and that the fresh air in the morning may dispose thy mind to receive those graces from heaven, which may in time make thee a blessing*

to the whole earth (26). One day *Buzurge Mihir* being with his master *Nouschirvan* at one of the assemblies of the learned, the king proposed for the subject of debate this question, *What is the extreme degree of misery?* A Greek philosopher, who was esteemed one of the most learned men of his age and country, answered, *Poverty in extreme old age*. An Indian sage also, of great reputation, gave it as his opinion, *That great pain, attended with dejection of mind, was the most unsupportable of evils. And what say you?* said *Nouschirvan*, turning to his minister. *My judgment is*, replied he, *that he is the most miserable of men, who begins to repent, when he finds his life is at an end* (27). He had no sooner said this, than the other two sages came immediately over to his opinion. It would take up a great deal of room to insert a tenth part of the examples we have met with of this man's wisdom: One instance however of his ministerial virtues may not be amiss. One day at council, after a great deal had been spoken by others, it was observed, that he remained silent. Upon which *Nouschirvan* asked him, *Why he did not speak his sentiments, as well as the rest?* *Because*, answered he, *a statesman ought to give his advice, as a physician does medicines, that is, when there is occasion* (28). At this the king smiled, and the rest of the counsellors testified their satisfaction at so well turned a compliment. This great man was privately a christian, which chiefly induced him to retire from court, and for which the cruel *Khosrou Parviz* caused him to be put to death, when he had arrived at an extreme old age (29).

(16) D'Herbelot. B O. artic. *Buzurge Mihir*.
(19) *Khondemir*.

(17) *Saadi in Gulistan*.

(18) *Idem ibid.*

distress,

- a distress, called a general council of the nobility about him; and after hearing, without following, the advice of most of the great lords present, he suffered himself to be guided on this important occasion by the council of an old man, who had been ambassador for *Nouschirvan* in the country of the khakan, at the time that prince demanded the mother of *Hormouz* in marriage. This old nobleman assured him, that, on this occasion, an astrologer predicted, that, under the reign of a *Persian* king to be born of a princess then chosen for *Nouschirvan*'s queen, a certain khakan should invade, and almost conquer his dominions; but would be at length vanquished himself by a *Persian* general, whose face should resemble that of a wild cat; that the astrologer being further intreated to endeavour, by his art, to discover the name of
- b this general, he, by degrees, placed several letters on a tablet, which, taken together, composed these words, *Babaram Tchoubin*. One cannot conceive any thing more visibly absurd than this story, which was certainly invented to amuse *Hormouz*, who was excessively addicted to the occult sciences, and thereby to engage him to place this officer at the head of his armies, of whom otherwise he would probably not have thought, tho' he was the most capable of that command of any man in his dominions. He was at this time governor of *Media*, from whence the king sent for him, and offered him the supreme command of all the troops in *Persia*; which *Babaram* declined, and, to the amazement of his master, chose only twelve thousand men, at the head of whom he marched instantly against the khakanⁱ.
- c He moved with such diligence and secrecy, that he attacked the enemy upon their march, with such a fortunate vivacity, that the khakan was constrained to advance against him in person at the head of his guards. This poised the scales for some time; but at length the khakan being killed, and his son taken prisoner, their army fled in such confusion, that they left their baggage behind them; so that the *Persian* collected two hundred and fifty camels load of treasure. The most precious of the spoils, together with the captive prince, *Babaram* sent to the king his master, with a very dutiful letter, and an exact account of the advantages he had gained. At first *Hormouz* was extremely well satisfied with his general's good fortune, gave the highest
- d commendations to his valour, and proposed to bestow on him mighty rewards. His favourites however suspecting, that *Babaram* might not have any great complaisance for them, in case he arrived at the chief employments in the state, resolved to secure themselves at his expence. With this view they insinuated to the king, that, under pretence of sending the richest of the spoils, *Babaram* had only given him a small share thereof, and kept the rest for himself; that it was to be feared he might make an ill use of this, and that it was a dangerous thing to trust so ambitious a man at the head of the army. The suspicious temper of *Hormouz* rendered any proof in support of these conjectures quite unnecessary. Insinuations were with him always sufficient evidence; and therefore, on no better grounds than these, he not only distrusted his
- e general, but most imprudently and shamefully disgraced him, by sending him, instead of a habit of honour, the usual present of *Persian* kings, all the necessary apparel of a woman. This so far provoked *Babaram*, that, in his own mind, he resolved to dethrone his master; and therefore having arrayed himself in the woman's habit the king had sent him, he came out and shewed himself to his soldiers; and having asked them, whether they thought he deserved such treatment? he, by a premeditated harangue, drew them to concur with him in his resentments, and to assist him in his project of depriving the son of *Nouschirvan* of the regal dignity^k.
- f THE *Persians* however retained such a respect for the royal family, that *Babaram* saw there was a necessity of making choice of some other prince of the same line. Accordingly he proclaimed *Khosrou Parviz*, the eldest son of *Hormouz*, king. That young prince, being persuaded by his uncles, retired from court, and countenanced the rebellion, causing money to be coined in his own name, and practising in other respects as if his father had been dead. *Hormouz* having intelligence of these proceedings, seized *Hindouiab* and *Bolbam* his wife's brothers, whom he knew to have encouraged his son to desert him. Their confinement however did not last long; for the whole mass of the people, having contracted an irreconcilable aversion to their king, broke open their prison, released these lords, and assisted them in seizing *Hormouz*; and notwithstanding the excellent speech made by that prince, at the motion of *Hin-*

The khakan intirely defeated by Babaram, who is himself disgraced.

The army supports Babaram against his master.

ⁱ KHONDEMIR. LESTARIKH. MIRKHOND. ubi supra. Relation d'une revolution. &c. p. 512. D'HERBELLOT. B. O. artic. Hormouz. ^k MIRKHOND. ubi supra. Histoire d'une revolution, &c. p. 514. D'HERBELLOT. B. O. artic. Hormouz ben Nouschirvan.

doniab, put out his eyes. *Kbofrou*, who was at this time in *Media*, returned with all a imaginable speed to his capital, where, as the *Eastern* writers unanimously agree, he went and comforted his father, assured him, that his uncles had acted intirely without his permission or consent, and besought his forgiveness in the most humble terms. The old blind king, sufficiently humbled by his misfortunes, and having no hopes but in his son, promised to forgive him, provided he punished those who deposed him, and put out his eyes; which *Kbofrou* promised to comply with, as soon as he should be thoroughly settled on the throne. In the mean time *Babaram* having insinuated to the principal officers of his army, that *Kbofrou*, notwithstanding he owed his crown to them, had yet a stronger affection to his family than to his people, whereby they had no hopes left, in case he should have it in his power to punish them for the revolt, b they determined, for their own sakes, to support their general, and to hazard all things rather than his and their safety under a settled government. With this view they suffered him to lead them to *Madain*; before which city when they arrived, *Kbofrou* drew out his forces in a plain called *Niberjan*, and offered them battle. The engagement was long and bloody; but *Kbofrou* was at length beaten, and forced to retire into the city, where going to visit his father, the poor old man advised him not to suffer himself to be shut up in the place, but to retire into the territories of the *Greek* emperor, till his affairs should take a happier turn. *Kbofrou*, having indeed no other measure to take, followed his father's advice, and disposed all things for his retreat. When he was about to withdraw, or, as some writers say, when he was actually out of the city, his uncles came to him, and represented the danger of leaving his father alive, even tho' he was blind, on a supposition that *Babaram* might re-instate him, and govern under his name; wherefore they very humanely proposed to go back, and put him to death. *Kbofrou* opposed all he could this detestable project; but his uncles however turned back, and, to secure themselves, strangled the old unhappy prince with a bow-string, when he had reigned fourteen years. This is a very different account from that given by the *Greek* historians, and yet all the *Oriental* writers concur therein; and their authority seems at least to be of as much weight as that of strangers, in a point regarding their own history¹.

Babaram
Tchoubin.

Babaram Tchoubin, on the flight of *Kbofrou*, assumed the regal authority, tho' without the title. He was descended of the ancient princes of *Rei*, and was the tallest d man in the *Persian* dominions. He had served, when a youth, as a volunteer in the armies of *Nouschirvan*, and had risen gradually, and purely through merit, to the government of *Media*. As he was an excellent officer, and mightily beloved by the soldiers, so he was naturally loyal to his prince, and, in all probability, had maintained him on his throne, notwithstanding his ill conduct, if *Yezdan Baksebe*, who was his first minister, had not instigated *Hormouz* to treat him as he did. When he had once taken the resolution of rebelling against the king, he resolved also to dethrone him, and to transfer the empire to his own family; but not daring to declare this, he made use of the name of *Kbofrou*, till his scheme was ripe for execution. When he was informed of the flight of that prince, he sent a great detachment of horse e in pursuit of him, under the command of *Siaonschan* the captain of his guards, with orders to re-take him, if it was possible, and to bring him prisoner to his camp. This officer executed his orders so punctually, that he came up with *Kbofrou* and his uncles at a certain hermitage; whereupon *Hindouiab*, to preserve his nephew, put on the royal robes, and looking out of a window, which was very high, told the soldiers, who had already invested the place, that as soon as their commanding officer came up, he would surrender. On the arrival of the captain of the guards, *Hindouiab* resumed his own cloaths, appeared at a window, and, in the name of the king, besought that officer to grant him some respite for his repose; which was accordingly allowed, a strong guard being posted round the place. At evening *Hindouiab* came again to the window, told the captain of the guards, that the king was very sensible f of the civility shewn him, and besought him to lie there that night, that he might recover his spirits a little, and be the more able to bear the fatigue of travelling next day, where-ever they should think proper to carry him. This likewise was allowed; but the next morning *Hindouiab* acknowledged the fraud, and confessed that he did it to save his nephew, whom he personated when the place was first invested, that they might not pursue him any farther. Upon this he was made prisoner, and conducted

¹ KHONDEMER. MIRKROND. ubi supra. Histoire d'une revolution, &c. p. 514.

- a to *Babaram*, who ordered him to remain in confinement; but did not put him to death, because he affected to govern with greater lenity than his predecessor. He also gave out, that he would follow the example of *Nouschirvan*, and restore the lustre of the *Persian* diadem to its ancient splendor. A while the nobility remained faithful, and the people loved him; but, by degrees, they became dissatisfied with his conduct; and hearing that *Khosrou* was powerfully supported by the *Greek* emperor, they began to shew less inclination to his service. *Babaram* however set a great army on foot, and for a time maintained himself in possession. At last, after having been defeated in a general engagement, and finding himself quite borne down by numbers, he determined to retire to the khakan, by whom he was at first well received, and to whom he rendered great services by his military skill; but, after having been put off for many years with fair promises, he was at length poisoned, at the solicitation of *Khosrou*, who could never be easy so long as he lived ^m.

- Khosrou*, the son of *Hormouz*, was surnamed *Perviz* or *Aperviz*; concerning which *Khosrou* II. appellation the *Oriental*s are by no means agreed. Some say, that, in the ancient *Persian* tongue, it signifies *victorious*; others, *the most glorious king*. A great critic in that language affirms, that it signifies *fish*; and that *Khosrou* had this surname given him, because he was a great lover of fish. If we durst offer our own judgment amongst so many great opinions, we should say, that, as *Aperviz* in the ancient *Persian* tongue signifies a *violent mover forwards*, whence it is understood to signify *fish*, we should apprehend it ought here to be taken allegorically; and that, as a surname, it implies *Khosrou the impetuous*, which, we think, was well justified by the whole current of his conduct. We have seen, in the foregoing period, how he was set upon his throne by the assistance of the *Greek* emperor, whose forces, in conjunction with those of *Khosrou*, defeated *Babaram Tchoubin* in a pitched battle. *Mirkbond* relates this matter differently; he says, that when the two armies were drawn into order of battle, it was proposed by three general officers belonging to *Babaram*, that three others should be chosen by *Khosrou*, and that, to spare the effusion of blood, the issue of the business should be decided by these six champions; which being accepted, *Khosrou* put himself at the head of his troops, and, notwithstanding all that his uncles could do, fought *Babaram's* three generals one after another, and slew them all on the spot; whereupon the army of *Babaram* saluted him king, and *Babaram* himself, with a few of his friends, were forced to place their safety in flight. The eastern writers agree with the *Greek* historians in this, that *Khosrou* married a christian, and made her queen; but then they differ exceedingly as to the quality of this lady, most of the oriental writers affirming, that she was the daughter of the emperor *Maurice*; whereas the *Greek* authors alledge, that she was a woman of ordinary birth, with whom *Khosrou* fell in love for her beauty. This woman, whatever her quality was, by the *Greek* writers is called *Mary*, or *Irene*, and by the oriental historians *Schirin*, a name which signifies *soft* or *agreeable*. They report, that *Khosrou* loved her to distraction; and that, on the other hand, she despised him, and was in love with one *Ferbad*, a person of no great quality. They celebrate exceedingly the sweetness of her voice, and her skill in music; which, together with her amour, renders it improbable that she was the daughter of a *Greek* emperor, but that she was rather a dancer or music-girl. For her sake *Khosrou* was for a long time very kind to the christians; but in process of time, either from his jealousy of her, or from some other cause, he conceived a most implacable hatred against them; and finding a fair opportunity on the accession of *Phocas* to the *Greek* empire, he began to enter its provinces, to besiege its fortified cities, and to plunder all its subjects, without mercy, as hath been largely shewn in the former period. In the invasion of *Judæa*, and the sacking of the city of *Jerusalem*, he was assisted by the *Jews*, who made high professions of loyalty to this prince, that, under his protection, they might exhaust the christians by usury, and when they were totally despoiled of property, enslave their persons. *Arabia*, *Egypt*, and the islands in the *Mediterranean*, fell under the power of this victorious prince, who, as we before noted, might well deserve the surname of *Impetuous*, from the rapidity of his conquests ⁿ.

On his return to *Madain*, he wonderfully embellished the palace of his grandfather, disposing the upper part thereof in the form of a throne, which was supported by

Becomes a tyrant, and is deposed.

^m KHONDENIR. LEBTARIKH. MIRKHOND ubi supra. Histoire d'une revolution. p. 520. D'HERBELOT. B. O. art. Babaram Tchoubin. ⁿ KHONDENIR. MIRKHOND. scit. 36. D'HERBELOT. B. O. art. Khosrou Perviz, Schirin, &c.

forty thousand silver columns, and the concave over them was adorned by a thousand globes of gold, wherein all the planets and great constellations were seen to perform their natural revolutions, all the walls of this sumptuous place being covered with tapestry, wrought with gold flowers, and enriched with pearls and other precious stones. Underneath he had a hundred vaults filled with treasure. In the apartment of his women he had three thousand ladies, who were free, and twelve thousand slaves, the most beautiful that could be found throughout his dominions. His household troops were composed of six thousand men. In his stables he had six thousand horses and mules for his own riding; twelve thousand large mules, and eight thousand of the ordinary kind, served to carry his baggage. He had also nine hundred and sixty elephants, which he made use of in his armies. In the midst of all these fine things, the mind of *Khosrou* was very little at ease; for, not to enter into his family concerns, and the uneasinesses he had on account of his mistress *Schirin*, it is sufficient for us to know, that, as he grew in years, he grew excessively covetous, lost all manner of tenderness and compassion, and plundered his subjects in such a manner, that he alone was rich in all his vast dominions. He grew also excessively suspicious, and so jealous of the wealth he had amassed, that he made himself a slave in guarding it. His avarice likewise made him excessively cruel, insomuch that he put numbers of persons to death, without any visible cause. This was the rock on which his father split, and which proved no less fatal to him. His nobility, finding themselves absolutely unsafe while he remained upon the throne, determined to secure themselves at all events; and therefore addressing themselves to an officer of his, who was then at the head of the army, they prevailed upon him to seize the person of *Khosrou*, whom they instantly deposed, and elevated to the throne his eldest son (K).

Schirouieh.

Khobad Schirouieh, whom the Greeks call *Siroes*, was no sooner possessed of the diadem by the choice of the nobility, than he resolved to secure it, by depriving his father of life. To this purpose he sent for *Mibir Hormouz*, a nobleman, whose father *Khosrou* had caused to be put to death, and dispatched him instantly to the prison where *Khosrou* lay in chains. As soon as the king saw him, he rose up, and looking

• Mirkhond, ubi supra. Khondemir. D'Herbelot, ubi supra.

(K) The character of *Khosrou*, both in this and in the former period, hath been so fully treated, that it might seem unnecessary to add any thing more concerning him; but if it be considered, that this prince was more terrible to his neighbours than any of his predecessors, his grandfather *Nouschirvan* not excepted, and that he really possessed greater dominions than any monarch of this dynasty, it will not seem strange, that we have so much to say about him. He promised, as we have seen in the text, to do justice on his father's enemies, of whom the principal were his own uncles; and in this he kept his word, for when they had established him upon the throne, he caused them to be put to death; and, by his example, his son first directed him to be murdered, then buried him splendidly, and lastly slew the person who executed his own commands. He was so excessively covetous, that, in his wars, he acted more like a partizan than a great prince; for, throughout all *Syria* and *Mesopotamia*, he first plundered the churches of all that was valuable in them, and then he ordered them to be demolished, that he might carry away the best of the materials employed in building them. He was likewise an outrageous persecutor, not certainly from any religious principle, but that he might maintain himself in the good opinion of the magi. It was impossible he should keep his conquests, because he stripped the people of all things that they possessed, and thereby drove them, if they escaped slavery, into other territories; whence if ever they returned, it was in quality of soldiers, to revenge themselves of so barbarous an enemy; whereas *Nouschirvan* treated all his new subjects in the frontier provinces with such extraordinary lenity, that there was nothing

they feared so much as changing their master. All these devastations and plunderings were merely to fill those vaults, which, with so much care, he had built under his palace, and wherein he greedily desired to lay up the treasures of the whole earth. Indeed, if what the Persian historians say be true, he did amass more riches than any of his predecessors had ever seen. They tell us likewise, that when his protector, the emperor *Maurice*, and his family, were in distress, and had put all their jewels and riches on board two or three vessels, these ships coming on the coasts of *Persia*, he caused them to be seized, and confiscated all the treasure on board them, which he ordered to be brought and placed in one of the vaults under his palace, of which he had an hundred; and having sealed the door, placed over the head of it an inscription, signifying, that these treasures were brought him by the winds. When his subjects had deposed him, they could not find any prison so safe, or so proper, as one of those vaults, where, it is said, he was loaded with chains of gold, and had several days leisure to consider to how little purpose he had oppressed so great a part of the world; since neither power nor wealth could hinder his feeling as excessive a load of misery, as he had ever inflicted on the meanest of his subjects (30). Besides the account of his death given in the text, we have in another historian that which follows: *Siroes* his son sent for him into his presence, and having entered into a long detail of his cruelties and maladministration, he concluded thus: You cannot think it unjust or unnatural in me to order you to be put to death, since, for less than this, you pronounced the same judgment on your own father (31).

(30) Mirkhond. sect. 37. Khondemir. Lebtarikh. D'Herbelot. B. O. artic. *Khosrou Ben Hormouz*.
cui titul. *Raoudhas almenadir*, per Ben. Schunah.

(31) Lib.

upon

- a upon him with an air of wildness and fury, *Man*, said he, *I caused your father to be put to death, and I bold him to be a bastard, who takes not the life of his father's murderer, when he has it in his power.* Hormouz upon this drew his scymiter, and plunging it into the bowels of *Kbojiou*, left him wallowing in his blood. Returning to *Kbobad*, he gave him an exact account of what he had done, repeating also the strange salutation he had from *Kbojiou*, to which the king at that time made no answer; but having caused his father to be sumptuously interred, he sent for *Mibir Hormouz*, and having repeated to him the words of his father, said, *You see how justly you are put to death*, and ordered him to be slain in his presence. After this, *Kbobad* ordered all his brethren to be seized and put to death. He had eighteen in all, and two sisters.
- b Of these seventeen were murdered, and the eighteenth, whose name was *Scheberiar*, was concealed in the ancient city of *Persepolis*, and so escaped. As for his sisters, *Kbobad* spared them on account of their sex, and treated them with all imaginable kindness; but these ladies, when they saw their country invaded by pestilence and famine at once, and observed the general disaffection of the people, could not help reproaching their brother with his cruelty, charging on him the miseries of his people, and exhorting him, if it was possible, to repent. These discourses made such an impression on his mind, that he began to grow extremely melancholy, and at last the disposition of his mind inducing a fever, the plague seized him, and he died after a reign of six or eight months. He was succeeded by his son ^P (L)
- c *Ardshir II.* a youth of seven years old. His sisters and the nobility promised themselves great blessings under his reign, hoping they might have time to settle the affairs of the kingdom, and to ease the people of the excessive taxes with which they were burdened; but in this they were mistaken, for *Scheberiar*, the general of the army, who had seized and deposed his father, taking umbrage at the setting up of the son of his master without his participation, or rather making use of this and other frivolous pretences to colour the detestable scheme he had formed of seizing the crown, and extirpating the royal family, he marched with his forces to the capital city; and having easily vanquished those who remained faithful to their infant monarch, he put the child to death, with all the nobility who were strictly attached to him, and filled the palace with blood; after which, in pursuance of his project, he seized the sovereign authority, which he had so dearly bought. Authors do not agree as to the time *Ardshir* reigned; most of them allow him a year and a half; but *Mirkbond* is positive, that he reigned no more than fifty days ^q.
- d *Scheberiar*, as he attained the sovereign authority by treachery and cruelty, so *Scheberiar*. he governed by all the arts of a tyrant, and made the people know the difference

^P LEBTARIKH. KHONDEMIR. MIRKHOND. scēt. 37. D'HERBELOT. B. O. art. Schirouieh. ^q KHONDEMIR. MIRKHOND. scēt. 38. LEBTARIKH. D'HERBELOT. B. O. art. Ardshir Ben Schirouieh.

(L) The name of this prince is so differently written, that many mistakes and great confusion have arisen therefrom, not only among the *Greek* writers, but also among some of the moderns. *Khondemir*, *Mirkbond*, and the rest of the *Persian* historians agree in calling this prince *Kbobad*; but then they distinguish him by the surname of *Schirouieh*; whence the *Greeks* form their *Siroes*, tho' if they had followed their usual custom, they should rather have called him *Carades*. He was certainly well inclined to the christian religion; and that is the reason we have such different accounts of him. The *Greek* writers, and indeed the christian authors, in all languages, speak of him very tenderly, and either drop the story of his father's murder, or endeavour, tho' that be a hard thing, to palliate it. The oriental historians again draw him in the blackest colours, and say, that he broke his heart on account of the reproaches of his sisters, and of the terrible judgments from God, which fell upon his realm and people (32). There is however a circumstance relating to this prince, which, tho' it happened long after his death, deserves to be taken notice of, since it is one of the most curious passages in the eastern history, and is perfectly well attested. The caliph

Montaser having caused his father to be put to death, some small time after looking over the rich furniture in the palace, and causing several rich pieces of tapestry to be opened before him, that he might examine them the more exactly, amongst the rest he met with one, which had in it the figure of a very beautiful young man, mounted on a *Persian* horse, with a diadem on his head, and a circle of *Persian* characters round himself and his horse. The caliph, charmed with the beauty of the tapestry, sent for a person who understood the ancient *Persic*, and desired him to explain to him that inscription. The man read it, changed colour, and, after some hesitation, told the caliph, it was a *Persian* song, that had nothing in it worth hearing. That prince however would not be so put off, he readily perceived, that there was something in it extraordinary; and therefore he commanded the interpreter to give him the true sense thereof immediately, as he valued his own safety. The man then told him, that the inscription ran thus: *I am Siroes, the son of Chosroes, who slew my father to gain his crown, which I kept but six months.* This affected the caliph so much, that he died in two or three days, when he had reigned about the same space of time (33).

(32) See the life of *Siroes* in the former period.

(33) *Abul-Far.* histor. dynast. dyn. ix. p. 297.

between a natural prince, and one raised to empire by his sword. The army, as it ^a assisted him in his enterprize against the young *Ardjibir*, so they expected, on his succeeding him, that he should pay the wages of their infidelity. This he was desirous enough to do; but as they not only demanded money, but insisted likewise on setting a price on their labour, he found it not very easy to content them; and this drove him upon extortion and oppression, the exercise of which did not hinder them from being guilty of the most notorious rapine. The eldest princess of *Persia* perceiving, that the nobility were generally dissatisfied, secretly influenced their minds, and intigated them to set their country free, by putting to death this usurper. Her arts had their effect, the people began universally to detest a monarch, whose conduct was as offensive, as the method by which he gained his crown was unjustifiable; ^b yet still there was nothing done; the cruelty of *Scheberiar*, and the madness of the army, restrained all things but complaints. Every one readily confessed they should be glad to be delivered from the miseries they were under; but nobody durst undertake this deliverance, lest so great a work should miscarry in their hands. At length *Touran Docht* fixed upon three brothers, all young men of great quality, and distinguished courage. She explained to them the present situation of affairs, the miserable condition of their country, and the impossibility there was of removing these grievances any other way than by the death of *Scheberiar*. She likewise observed, that however dangerous this might appear, it was as easily accomplished as projected; and that as he was not of the royal family, but an upstart, and generally hated, his death ^c would be agreeable to the people, and the man regarded as a hero, from whose hand he should receive it. These lessons had their effects; the brothers fixed themselves one day at the palace gate, and as *Scheberiar* came out, and was about to mount on horseback, they fell upon him, and killed him before he could receive any assistance from his adherents, when he had been called a king little more than two years. He was no sooner dead, than all the inhabitants of the city of *Madain* assembled to protect those who had killed him. In this assembly it was resolved to restore the crown to the royal family, and since there was not an heir male, to elevate the eldest of the princesses to the throne.

Touran Docht. *Touran Docht*, as soon as she received the crown, made choice of the eldest of the ^d three brothers, whose name was *Ferokbzad*, to be her prime minister, and general of her armies. This nobleman discharged his trust perfectly well; for he not only reduced the army to the obedience of his mistress, and engaged them to live peaceably among their fellow-subjects, but he also disappointed the *Arabs*, who, in the reign of this princess, made a vigorous effort to conquer *Persia*. *Ferokbzad*, with a considerable body of horse, was quartered in *Chaldea*, when he received advice, that *Abou-Obeidab*, general of the forces of caliph *Omar*, had thrown a bridge over the *Euphrates*, in order to come and attack the *Persian* army quartered in the vicinity of *Babylon*. *Ferokbzad* sent orders to the *Persians* to act on the defensive, while he, with the horse under his command, marched directly to the bridge, forced the *Arab* ^e guard, and having filled the vessels of which it was composed with combustible matter, set them on fire; then following the enemy's camp, he cut off their provisions, till a fair occasion offered of fighting, and then, having given a signal to his *Persians* to charge the *Arabs* in front, he, while the battle was hot and doubtful, fell upon them in flank and rear, so that they were totally defeated; and this vigilant general pursued the remains, that not so much as their leader escaped to carry the news of their defeat. In the mean time the queen acted in civil affairs with a firmness not to be expected from a woman; for having in vain endeavoured, by fair means, to engage some of the nobility to forbear plundering the people, she had recourse at length to harsher methods, causing them to be suddenly seized, and as ^f suddenly put to death. This endeared her to the commonalty, and so humbled the nobility, that they durst neither oppress their vassals as they were wont, nor undertake any thing against their sovereign, as they designed. But this peaceable situation of things lasted but a very short time; *Ferokbzad* being marched into the frontier provinces, in order to oppose the attempts of the *Greek* emperor, his mistress was seized with a violent distemper, which, in a little time, hurried her out of the world, not without strong suspicions, that she died a martyr to that love which she had shewn for the people. On her decease the public affairs fell into the greatest confusion: the

² KHONDAMIR. I. ESTARIKH. MIRKHOND. sect. 38. D'HIERBELOT. B. O. Schcheriar. SCHIKARD. Tarich. p. 165.

a nobility began to see, that there was no trusting to the weakness of a woman; and therefore they fixed upon *Giban Schedab*, a prince of the royal blood, but a man of very mean parts, and declared him king, that they might govern as they pleased themselves. But when he came to be inaugurated, he said, That the imperial diadem was very heavy, and that it did not fit him. This the nobility would needs understand metaphorically, and as the effects of his modesty; but the people either saw, or fancied they saw, such evident simplicity in his looks, that, after a few days, they deposed him, and seated the youngest daughter of *Khosrou Perwez* on the throne (M).

Azurmi Dokht had as much sense as her sister, and is said to have surpassed her very much in beauty. On her first accession to the throne, she gave the people the strongest hopes of a mild and happy reign; but when the news of her becoming queen reached the province of *Khorassan*, *Feroz Hormouz*, who had been long governor thereof, conceived a violent desire of marrying her; and therefore, intrusting the province with his son of the same name, he set out for *Madain*, in order to carry his scheme into execution. The queen, knowing the restless disposition of the people, and the great power of this nobleman in his province, received him with great civility, and did him all the honours in her power; but all this had no effect; his passion or his ambition was so very strong, that nothing could possibly satisfy him less than being made the partner of her bed and throne; a thing she could not grant. Upon her refusal, her lover had the insolence to threaten her, and even to have recourse to force; upon which, in her own defence, she was constrained to seize him, and put him to death. His son, when informed of his father's catastrophe, forgetting the duty he owed his sovereign, and that his father had drawn this evil upon himself, marched immediately with an army to revenge what he held a disgrace; and having forced the city of *Madain*, stormed the palace, made the queen prisoner, and afterwards, notwithstanding all the tears and intreaties of her subjects, caused her in cool blood to be put to death. This enormous crime rendered him so obnoxious to all who had any sense of humanity, that, distrusting the army he had brought with him, he immediately retired back into *Khorassan*. After his departure, it was discovered, that when the children of *Khosrou Perwez* were put to death, a boy, his grandson, had been preserved by his aunts. This young man therefore the nobility brought from the place where he was hid, and resolved to bestow upon him the crown, the rather perhaps, because, excepting his birth, he had nothing that could recommend him. The name of this young prince was *Ferozkhad*. He was esteemed a good-natured, inoffensive lad, and, in quiet times, might very probably have made a very gracious prince. As it was, he had not time to give any signs either of ability, or of want of it; for before he had reigned a month, he was, on what account we know not, poisoned by one of his slaves, and the kingdom thereby thrown once more into confusion.

We are now arrived at the last of the *Persian* kings, whose name was *Jezdegerd III*. Ben Scheberiar, of whose pedigree it is necessary that we should give a clear account.

* MIRKHOND. scđ. 40. KHONDEMIR. D'HERBELOT. B. O. artic. Touran Doct. * MIRKHOND. scđ. 43. KHONDEMIR. LEBTARICH. SCHIKARD. Tarich, p. 169. * MIRKHOND. scđ. 45. SCHIKARD. Tarich. p. 171.

(M) The confusion of this country could not be greater than that of all its historians, in respect to its princes, or those who were called its princes, at this time. We have followed the catalogue of *Khondemir*, because he was an author of great judgment, and did not adhere implicitly to those from whom he wrote. The Spanish copy of *Mirkhond* hath a prince called *Foonfchir*, who is called the twenty-second monarch of this dynasty; and it is said, that he was nephew to *Baharam Tchoubin*; and this surname is said to signify a young lion, or a beautiful lion; but we acknowledge, that we are able to give no account of this matter, or to divine who this man should be. It is true, some christian writers mention one *Khosrou* or *Chosroes*, the grandson of the last *Chosroes*; but this is unintelligible, unless we suppose, that they meant *Ardashir*, who might be called *Chosroes*, because all the *Persian* kings were so called; which however is improbable. Perhaps after all, this *Foon-*

fchir might be the same with *Giban Schedab*, of whom we have spoken in the text; and whose reign of a few days *Khondemir* hath omitted in his list. We must acknowledge, that there is little affinity between the names; but all the names in *Teixera's* version are so strangely written, that at least half the German critic's observation on the *Persian* kings are spent in reconciling them to the *Arabic*. There is, we know, a strong objection to this account of the matter; and that is, that *Teixera* also mentions this monarch, and likewise a son of his, whom he calls *Kesere*, by which doubtless he meant *Khosrou*. But to all this it may be answered, that, as we find these kings no-where else, we may safely suppose them to be but one and the same person; and that, instead of *Foonfchir*, *Fasancedab* and *Kesere*, we ought to read, *Khosrou Giban Schedab*. but all this is left to the decision of the reader (34).

(34) *Teixera*, c. 41. *Schikard Tarich*. *Khondemir*. *Eben Batrich*. *Lebtarich* &c.

Some of the *Greek* writers call him the son of *Siroes*; which is absolutely impossible ^a he should have been. Others, acknowledging this, say, he was the descendant of that prince in a remote degree. This however only carries the mistake a little further out of sight; for it is just as impossible that he should be his descendant, as that he should be his son. *Mirkbond* gives us the following account, which, tho' it hath something in it of the marvellous, yet, as it hath manifestly a mixture of truth, the reader must take it, till our acquaintance with the oriental histories procures him a better: *Khosrou Perviz*, towards the latter end of his reign, had a very odd dream. He fancied he saw the city, in which he then was, surrounded with a strong wall, adorned with eleven fine towers, and that these, while he was looking upon them, fell, one after another, to the ground; so that the city was left quite open and ^b defenceless. In the morning the king sent for some of the magi, told them his dream, and besought them to explain it; which they did to this purpose: That, by the fortified city, was represented the kingdom of *Persia*; by the towers, the princes who should succeed him; and by the open and defenceless condition in which it was at last left, the final subversion of the monarchy. The king, strangely alarmed by his dream, and quite distracted with its interpretation, began to cast about in his mind how to prevent its taking effect. Amongst other notions that came into his head, one was, that the number of his sons might cause great disturbance; for he had no less at that time than eighteen. He therefore ordered, that they should be all committed to custody, and so strictly kept, as not to have the permission of seeing their wives or ^c children. One of them, *Scheberiar*, having lately married a lady, whose name was *Schirin*, and being passionately fond of her, he first contrived a means of writing to her, and then of seeing her. The stratagem he made use of was this: he pretended to be seized with a fever, and desired that he might be let blood. *Schirin*, upon this occasion, personated a surgeon; and from this interview she became with child. When it was known, the historian tells us, that *Khosrou* ordered the child to be made away with, as soon as it should be born; but being at last mollified by the tears and passionate intreaties of the mother, he directed, that it should be exposed in the woods; which was accordingly done: but, by the care of its parents, it was soon taken from thence, and privately educated. If this be true, then the reason why ^d *Siroes* put his brethren to death will no longer remain a secret, but serve as a sufficient warrant to distrust all interpretations of dreams, which, we see, are often fatal, and almost always delusive. However, we think, that the dream of *Khosrou* might have been better interpreted; and, if it had, none of these bad consequences would have followed. It appears, by the age at which *Jezdegerd* mounted the throne, *viz.* sixteen, that this dream happened to *Khosrou* in the twenty-seventh year of his reign. The eleven towers therefore might have been understood to be the years he was still to sit upon the throne; and the desolate condition in which he saw the city, after they were fallen down, expressed perfectly well his own miserable circumstances at the end of that period. But to proceed: ^e

Jezdegerd defeated.

Jezdegerd the third, who appears to have been the grandson of *Khosrou Perviz*, ascended the *Persian* throne, and made choice of *Ferokhzad*, who had been his aunt's general, for his prime minister, and commander in chief. He was scarce arrived at man's estate, before he found the crown totter on his head, being attacked on all sides of his dominions by powerful enemies. Authors are extremely divided as to the beginning of his wars; for some alledge, that the *Turks*, that is, the inhabitants of *Turquestan*, the inveterate enemies of the *Persians*, invaded the frontiers of his dominion next them, and that, while he marched to make head against them, the *Arabs* invaded *Chaldea*; whereupon he was forced to return to oppose these. Others affirm, that the *Turks* did not invade his dominions; but that he sent for them to his assistance, but was so unfortunate as to be obliged to fight before they could come up. In this confusion, all that we can do is to report facts, as clearly, and as methodically as we can. It seems then, that the caliph *Omar*, being extremely desirous of reducing *Persia* under his dominion, sent a part of his army, under the command of *Sâd*, to penetrate into that country through *Chaldea*. *Ferokhzad*, who was upon the spot, took all imaginable pains to harass the *Arabs* in their march; and having an army superior to them in numbers, employed them continually in skirmishes, which were sometimes favourable to him, and sometimes otherwise. But *Sâd* perceiving ^f

* MIRAKHOND. sect. 46. SCHIKARD Tarikh. p. 170, & seq.

clearly,

- a clearly, that this lingering war would destroy his army, and that to very little purpose, determined to push forward, and force the enemy to a general engagement. The *Persians* declined this as long as they could; but at length finding a convenient plain, where all their forces might act, near the city of *Cadesia*, *Ferokhzad* drew up there in order of battle, and resolved to wait for the *Arabs*. It was not long before *Sâd* and his forces appeared, who seeing how advantageously the *Persian* army was posted, rejoiced thereat, as hoping that he should now be able to fight, which was all he sought; since a long war, at so great a distance from his own country, would have destroyed him, even if he had been successful in slight engagements. He therefore disposed his troops in the best order he could, and attacked the *Persians* with
- b great fury. There never was a battle more famous in history than this, not one that deserved it better, either on account of the resolution with which it was fought, or of the consequences that followed thereupon. It lasted three days and nights, the *Persians* retiring continually from one post to another, till at length they were intirely defeated; and, by this defeat, the capital city, and the greatest part of the dominions of *Persia*, fell into the hands of the *Arabs*. Most of the oriental writers call the *Persian* general *Rostam*; but we believe that was rather a title of honour, or a common name for all the champions of their country. The first thing they did was to seize on the treasures of *Kbofrou*, which were so immense, that some *Mohammedan* writers tell us, their prophet, to encourage his disciples, carried them to a rock,
- c which, at his command, opened, and gave them a prospect through it of the treasures in the vaults of *Kbofrou*!

On the loss of this battle, *Jezdegerd* retired into *Chorassan*; and, tho' he had not reigned above three years, lost, from that time forwards, all the rest of his domi-

He retires into Chorassan.

- nions, except the two dependent provinces of *Kerman* and *Sigestan*, which he held as long as he lived, partly by force, keeping up a considerable army about his person, and partly because the *Arabs* were not at leisure to carry on a war at such a distance. But tho' the king retired so early, some of the governors of his provinces maintained themselves longer, hoping to turn them into little kingdoms for their own benefit:
- d Among these *Hormozan* possessed himself of *Khoubistan*, and held it for some time; but being at length reduced to great extremities, he surrendered it up, and went in person to pay his duty to the caliph *Omar*, who received him kindly, and at whose request he embraced the *Mohammedan* religion¹.

- WHEN *Jezdegerd* had possessed the royal title about nineteen years, a new misfortune fell upon him; for one of the governors of the few towns he had left, betrayed it, and called in the *Turks*. This place was called *Merou*, seated on the river *Gibon* or *Oxus*, and therefore called *Merou al Roud*, or *Merou of the river*, to distinguish it from another *Merou*, lying, as well as this, in the province of *Chorassan*. *Jezdegerd* immediately marched with his army to give battle to the rebels, and their allies the
- e *Turks*. In this engagement he was defeated, and having, with much difficulty, reached the river, he found there a little boat, and a fisherman to whom it belonged. To him the king offered a bracelet of precious stones; but the fellow being equally brutal and stupid, said his fare was five farthings, and he would not take either more or less. While the king and he disputed, a party of the rebel horse came up, and knowing *Jezdegerd*, killed him. This happened in the year after Christ 652² (N).

Is killed in a battle.

¹ KHONDEMIR. LEBTARIKH. ABUL-PHAR. hist. dynast. dyn. ix. HIND, vol. supra.

² KHONDEMIR. LEBTARIKH.

² LEBTARIKH. KHONDEMIR. MIR-

(N) There hath been a great deal of dispute as to the settling the commencement of the æra *Jezdegerica*, so called from this last king of the *Persians*. It would be needless to cite what several chronographers have advanced upon this head, many of them, tho' great men in other respects, having shewn little skill on this subject, and at the same time not a little arrogance, in expecting that their decisions should be implicitly yielded to, even by those who were better informed; and therefore Dr. Hyde (41) had great reason to testify his amazement, that *Peravius* should assign three years for the reign of *Jezdegerd*; whereas there is no fact more cer-

tainly established, that that he died about the close of his twentieth year. The true state of this question is not, as most writers put it, whether the commencement of this æra ought to be fixed to the accession, or to the death of *Jezdegerd*? but where it is really fixed by the best *Oriental* authors? since our conjectures can have no effect upon their computations, and the utmost we can expect from them is to know how to regulate our own. The best of the *Oriental* writers fix the commencement of this æra very precisely at the 16th of June, in the eleventh year of the *Hegira*, and in the year of Christ 632 (42). Now, it is certain, that this date coincides

(41) Relig. vet. Persar. p. 201.

(42) Ough Beigh, Alpherhanus, &c.

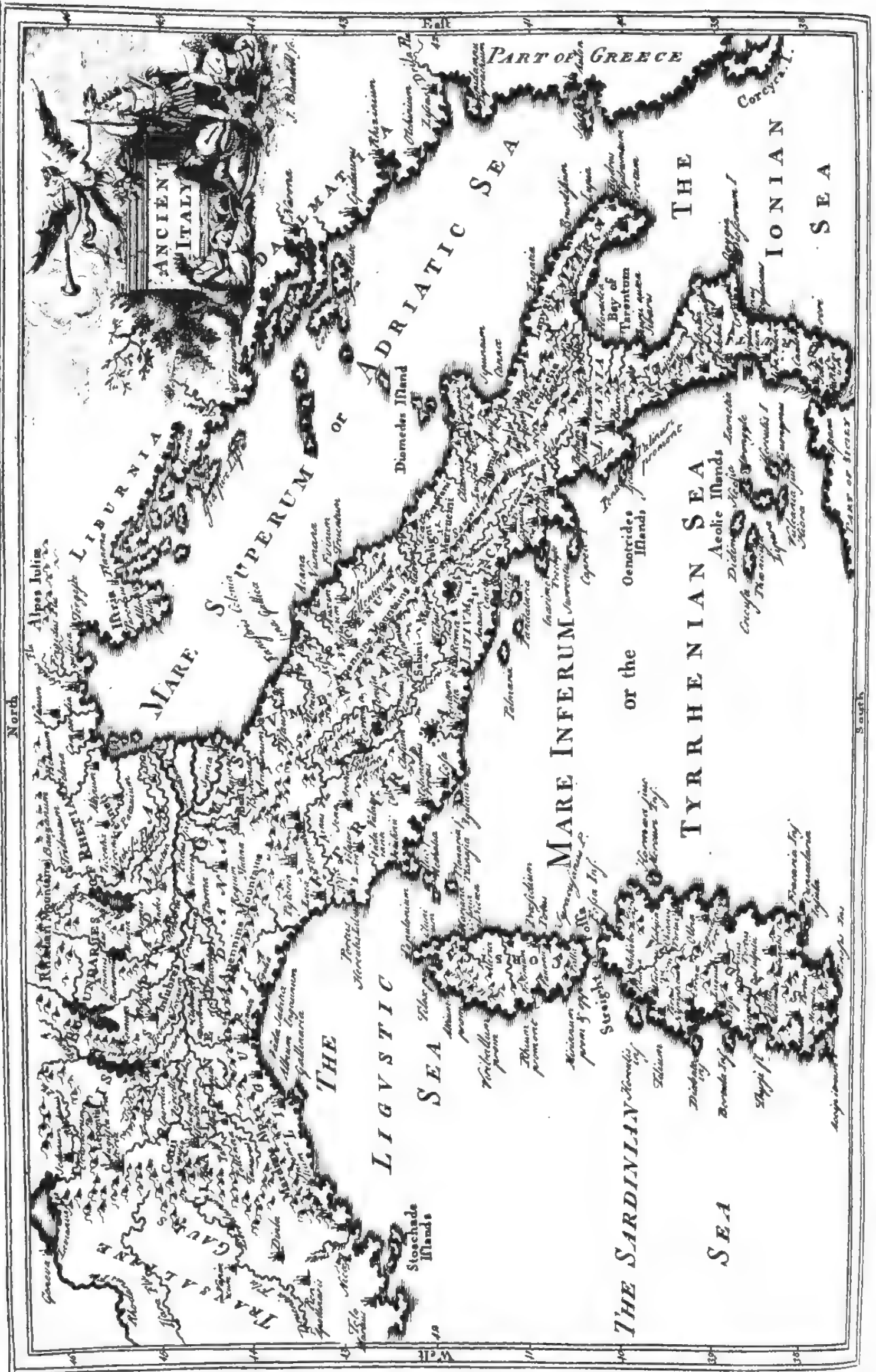
Account of his
family.

THE common opinion is, that, with this unfortunate prince, the majesty of the *Sassanian* line sunk irretrievably. But this, like many other common opinions, is far from being strictly true. *Jezdegerd* left behind him a son and a daughter. The name of the son was *Firouz*; and of the daughter *Dara*. The latter espoused *Boshtenay*, whom the rabbinical writers qualified with the title of *head of the captivity*. In fact he was the chief or prince of the *Jews* settled in *Chaldea*. As for *Firouz*, he still preserved a little principality, and dying, left an only daughter, whose name was *Mab Afrid*, who married *Valid* the son of the caliph *Abdalmulek*, by whom he had a son named *Jezid*, who became caliph, and consequently sovereign of *Persia*; who was so far from thinking himself above claiming the title derived to him by his mother, that he constantly styled himself the son of *Khosrou* king of *Persia*, the descendant of the caliph *Maroan*, and among whose ancestors, of the side of the mother, were the *Roman* emperor and the khakan. This end had the dynasty of the *Sassanians*, according to the *Oriental* historians; and consequently here ends this section ^b.

^b ABUL-PHAR. ubi supra. KHONDAMIR. D'HERBELOT. B. O. art. Jezid ben Valid.

cides not with the death, but the accession of *Jezdegerd*; and if any are of opinion, that this æra ought to begin at his death, then it must begin in the thirty-first year of the *Hegira*, and in the year of Christ 652. Why the *Eastern* authors made choice of the accession, rather than the death of *Jezdegerd*, is a question that we can easily resolve. It is before shewn, that *Jezdegerd* had lived as a private man, as his father always did, till the *Persians*, understanding how just a title he had thereto, set him up

on the throne. Now, the *Arabs* say, this was done with the consent of their khalif, who therefore looking upon him as his tributary, reckoned the kingdom of *Persia* among the rest of his dominions thenceforward, regarding the subsequent reduction of that country not as a conquest, but as the re-uniting a part of his empire torn away by a rebel. This is plainly the cause why the commencement of this æra is and ought to be fixed at the accession of *Jezdegerd*; which was what we undertook to prove.



B O O K III.

The R O M A N History.

C H A P. I.

The ancient state of Italy, to the building of Rome.

S E C T. I.

Description of Italy.

A^a S the several petty states and kingdoms, which we are to write of in this place, were anciently comprehended under the common name of *Italy*; for the better understanding of the present history, we shall premise a general description of that country, following therein the best guides of antiquity, and considering this beautiful region in its most flourishing condition, that is, in the times of the *Roman* republic, and in the reign of *Augustus*, that prince having introduced a new partition of the *Italian* provinces, which continued, without any considerable alteration, to the division of the empire.

Italy, a country once revered, and still admired, by all nations, was, in more ancient times, known by the names of *Saturnia*, *Oenotria*, *Hesperia*, and *Aufonia*. It^b was called *Saturnia* from *Saturn*, who, being driven out of *Crete* by his son *Jupiter*, is supposed to have taken refuge here. The names of *Oenotria* and *Aufonia* it borrowed from its ancient inhabitants the *Oenotrians* and *Aufones*; and that of *Hesperia*, or *Western*, given it by the *Greeks*, from its situation with respect to *Greece*. The name of *Italia*, or *Italy*, which in process of time prevailed over all the rest, some derive from *Italus* king of the *Siculi*; others from the *Greek* word *Italos*, signifying an ox, this country abounding, by reason of its rich pastures, with oxen of an extraordinary size and beauty^c. All these names were originally peculiar to particular provinces of *Italy*; but afterwards applied to the whole country.

THE limits of *Italy* have been fixed by nature itself, which seems not only to have^d taken more than ordinary care in supplying this happy region with every thing necessary both for the support and pleasures of life, but in parting it from all other countries, and defending, by strong barriers, its native riches from foreign invaders. Thus it is divided from *Africa*, *Greece*, the ancient *Dalmatia*, and *Liburnia*, by the *Tyrrhenian*, *Ionian* and *Adriatic* seas; and from *Transalpine Gaul*, and *Rætia*, now part of *Germany*, by a long ridge of steep mountains, called the *Alps*. The country comprised within these boundaries, is, according to *Cluverius*, about nine hundred miles in length; for such is the distance between *Augusta Prætoria*, now *Aosta*, at the foot of the *Alps*, and cape *Leucopetra*, now *Capo del Armi*, in the country of the *Bruttii*, or the *Farther Calabria*, as it is called by the present inhabitants. In shape it resembles a man's leg, rather than the leaf of an oak, to which the ancients compared it, and is consequently very unequal in breadth, being, at the foot of the *Alps*, according to the above-mentioned writer, five hundred and sixty miles broad; in the middle parts, that is, between *Ancona* and the mouth of the *Tiber*, an hundred and thirty-six; and in some places scarce twenty-five.

Italy, taking that word in its most extensive signification, was, in ancient times, like most other countries, parcelled out into endless petty states and kingdoms, which

^a Vide DION. HALICAR. l. i. p. 28. AUL. GELL. l. xi. c. 1. & SERVIUM in l. i. ÆN. ver. 533.

we shall have frequent occasion to mention in the sequel of this history. In after-ages, ^a when the *Gauls* settled in the western; and many *Greek* colonies in the eastern provinces of this country, it was divided, with respect to its inhabitants, into three great parts; viz. *Gallia Cisalpina*, *Italy* properly so called, and *Magna Græcia*. This division, as it has been generally adopted by the ancient geographers and historians, we shall follow in our present survey of *Italy*, after having acquainted our readers, that we do not design to describe in this place the many towns and cities of note, which ancient *Italy* contained, being well apprised, that such an undertaking would prove tedious to them, and at the same time oblige us to exceed the limits we prescribe to ourselves. On these two considerations, we shall at present take only a cursory view of them, such as may give our readers a clear idea of their situation with respect to each other, and reserve a more distinct account of them for the particular countries to which they belonged.

Cisalpine Gaul.

To begin with the first member of the above-mentioned division: The most western and northern provinces of *Italy* were in great part possessed by the *Gauls*, and thence called *Gallia*, or *Gaul*, with the epithets of *Cisalpina* and *Citerior*, because they lay on the side of the *Alps* next to *Rome*, and *Togata*, with relation to the *Roman* gown or dress, which the inhabitants used; but this last epithet is of a much later date than the former ^b. *Plutarch* ^c and *Pliny* ^d call the country we are speaking of *Italia Subalpina*, or *Italy* at the foot of the *Alps*; and *Polybius* simply *Italy* ^e. In like manner *Brutus*, in one of his epistles to *Cicero*, and *Cicero* in his answer to him ^f, give the name of *Italy*, without any epithet, to that tract at the foot of the *Alps*, where the ancient city of *Epoedia*, now *Ivria*, stood. Whence it is plain, that the large and fruitful provinces formerly possessed by the *Gauls*, were, strictly speaking, part of *Italy*, and called *Gaul*, only because inhabited by the *Gauls*, who first settled there in the reign of *Tarquinius Priscus*. This appellation was antiquated in the reign of *Augustus*, when the division of *Italy* into eleven regions, introduced by that prince, took place. And hence it is, that the name of *Cisalpine Gaul* frequently occurs in the authors who flourished before, and scarce ever in those who wrote after the reign of

Its boundaries.

Augustus. As to the boundaries of this country, it extended from the *Alps* and the river *Varus*, parting it from *Transalpine Gaul*, to the river *Aesis*, according to *Livy* ^g, or, as *Pliny* will have it ^h, to the city of *Ancona* in the ancient *Picenum*. *Cicero* ⁱ, *Suetonius* ^k, and *Plutarch* ^l, make the river *Rubice*, between *Ravenna* and *Ariminum*, the eastern boundary of *Cisalpine Gaul*. But these writers are to be understood as speaking of *Gaul*, after the *Romans*, under the conduct of *M. Lepidus*, had made themselves masters of *Picenum* and *Umbria*, and reduced them to the form of a *Roman* province, there being nothing more certain, than that these countries were anciently possessed, in great part, by the *Senones* ^m, and consequently comprised within the limits of *Cisalpine Gaul*; nay, they retained the name of *Ager Gallicus*, or *Gallicanus*, even after they were become a *Roman* province ⁿ. On the north, *Cisalpine Gaul* was divided from *Rætia* by the *Alps*, called *Alpes Ræticae*, and from *Illyricum* by the river *Formio*; but on this side the borders of *Italy* were, in *Pliny's* time, extended to the river *Arfia* in *Istria* ^o. On the south it reached to the *Ligurian* sea, and the *Apennines* parting it from *Etruria*; so that, under the common name of *Cisalpine Gaul*, were comprehended the countries lying at the foot of the *Alps*, called by *Pliny* and *Strabo* the *Subalpine* countries, *Liguria*, *Gallia Cispadana*, and *Gallia Transpadana*.

The Subalpine nations.

The countries bordering on the *Alps* were inhabited by the *Vediantii*, or *Vestiantii*, as *Ptolemy* calls them, the *Vagienni*, the *Taurini*, the *Segusiani*, the *Salassi*, the *Leontii*, the *Libicii*, and the *Canini*. The *Vediantii* inhabited the small tract lying on the east bank of the *Varus*, and extending from the *Alpes Maritimæ*, to the territory of *Nicæa*. Next to them, on the north side of the *Alpes Maritimæ*, and near the source of the *Padus* or *Po*, were the *Vagianni*. *Cemelum*, or *Cemenelum*, was the metropolis of the *Vediantii*; and *Augusta Vagiennorum*, now *Saluzzo*, of the *Vagienni*. The *Taurini* were parted from the *Vagienni* by the *Po*, on which river stood their metropolis, called first *Taurasia* ^p, and afterwards, from a colony sent thither by *Augustus*, *Augusta Taurinorum* ^q. *Forum Vibii*, another city of the *Taurini*, is placed by *Pliny* ^r at

^b Vide Dio. Cass. l. xlviii. p. 364.

^c POLYB. l. xi. c. 13.

^d Cic. Phil. vi. c. 3.

^e Cic. in Catilin. orat. 2. c. 3. & 13.

^f Hannibal.

^g PLIN. ibid. c. 17. TACIT. hist. l. xi. c. 66.

^h PLUT. in Marcel. sub init. & in Cæsar.

ⁱ Cic. l. xi. epist. 23. & 24.

^j Sueton. in Cæsar. c. 31.

^k PLUT. in Cæsar.

^l PLIN. ibid. c. 18 & 19.

^m PLIN. l. xvi. c. 11.

ⁿ PLIN. l. iii. c. 14.

^o PLIN. l. v. c. 35.

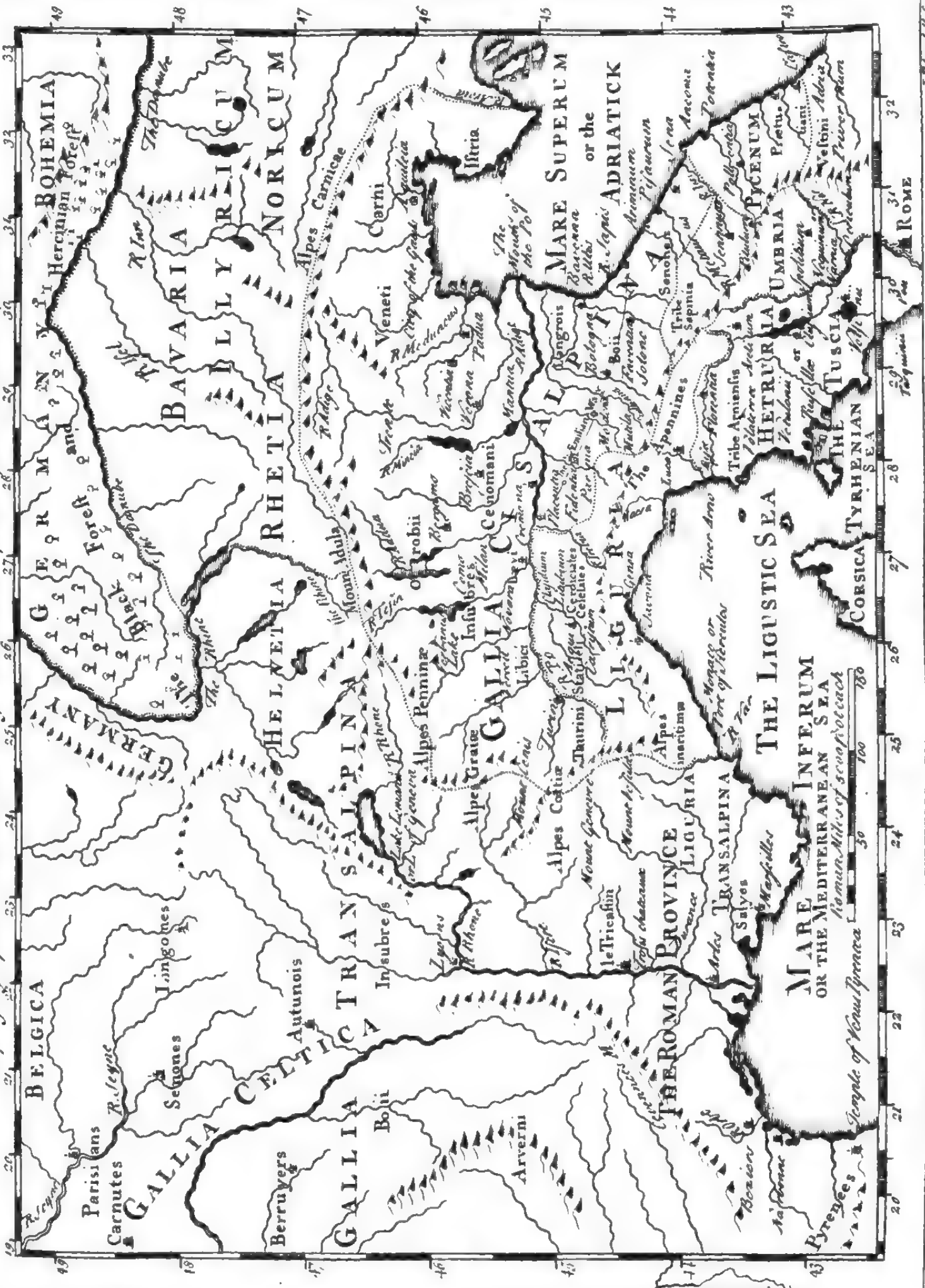
^p PLUT. in Cæsar.

^q PLIN. ibid. c. 18 & 19.

^r APPIAN. in



A MAP OF GALLIA CISALPINA LIGURIA AND THE NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES By G. Delisle
Chief Geographer to the French King and Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences.



J. Blanchard Sculp.

- a a small distance from the head of the *Po*. North of the *Taurini*, and among the *Alps*, lay the kingdom of *Cottius*, from whom the neighbouring mountains were called *Alpes Cottiae*. The *Segusiani* were subject to him; and *Segusio*, *Secusia*, or *Segusium*, now *Susa*, on the *Druria*, was the metropolis of this small kingdom. The *Salassi* possessed the country lying between the *Alpes Graia* on the north, and the country of the *Libicii* on the south. Their chief cities were, *Augusta Prætoria*, and *Eporedia*, now *Aosta* and *Ivrea*, both on the *Great Druria*. For in this country there were two rivers, as *Pliny* observes^t, bearing the same name; the one, called the *Great Druria*, springing from the *Alpes Graia*, the other, which he styles the *Little Druria*, rising on the *Alpes Cottiae*. *Augusta Prætoria* was so called from a colony of three thousand *Prætorian* soldiers sent thither by *Augustus*. *Eporedia*, built about an hundred years before the christian æra, was first a *Roman* colony, and afterwards a municipium^a. The territory of the *Lepontii* lay between the *Salassi*, and the *Lacus Verbanus*, now *Lago Maggiore*. Their metropolis was *Osceia*, called by the modern inhabitants *Domo d'Oscia*. Next to them were the *Libicii*, or *Libui*, who possessed that tract, which was watered by the *Sessites*, now the *Sessia*. Their chief cities were *Vercellæ* and *Laumellum*, which still retain their ancient names. The country of the *Canini* lay between the lakes *Verbanus* and *Larius*. The *Alpes Maritimæ*, or maritime *Alps*, which we have mentioned above, extended from the mouth of the *Varus* to mount *Vesulus*, now *Vesò* in *Piedmont*, and were so called from their situation. The *Alpes Graia*, or *Greek Alps*, reach from mount *Cenis* to the ancient *Mons Jovis*, at present known by the name of *The Great St. Bernard*. Some ancient writers suppose, that *Hercules* passed these mountains at the head of an army of *Greeks* on his return from *Spain*, after he had subdued *Geryon*, and derive from thence the appellation of *Alpes Graia*. But *Livy*^w looks upon this expedition of *Hercules* as altogether fabulous.
- b
- c

THE countries, which we have hitherto described, are by *Strabo* and *Livy* placed within the confines of the ancient *Liguria*, and the inhabitants counted among the *Ligurian* nations, with the epithets of *Montani* and *Comati*, to distinguish them from those who inhabited *Liguria*, properly so called. Some ancient writers, quoted by *Pliny*^x, derive the *Lepontii* from the *Greeks*, whom they suppose *Hercules* to have left in these countries after he had passed the *Alps*, by reason of their being disabled by the hardships they had suffered on that occasion from pursuing their march with the rest of the army. But this opinion has no other foundation than the similitude between the name of that people, and the *Greek* verb *leipo* to leave.

- Liguria*, properly so called, was bounded on the east by the river *Macra*; on the west by the *Varus*; on the south by the *Liguric* sea; and on the north by the *Po*. Cities of note in this country were, on the coast, *Nicæa*, now *Nizza*, built by the *Maffilienses* as a barrier against the *Ligures Montani*^y; *Portus Herculis Monæci*, now *Monaco*. *Portus Herculis*, and *Portus Monæci* were, according to *Ptolemy*, two distinct cities; for that writer speaks of a place, which he calls *Tropæa Augusti*, lying between them. But herein he was certainly mistaken, since all the ancient geographers and historians call the same place sometimes *Portus Herculis*, and sometimes *Portus Herculis Monæci*. This city is spoke of by *Virgil*^z, and described by *Lucan*^a. *Albintemalium* or *Albium Intemelium*, *Albium Ingaunum*, or *Albingaunum*, *Vada Sabata*, *Genua*, *Portus Delphini*, and *Portus Lunæ*; now *Vintimiglia*, *Albenga*, *Vado*, *Savona*, *Genoa*, *Porto Fino*, and *Golfo delle Spezie*, were all on the coast now called *La riviera di Genoa*. *Cluverius* supposes *Vada*, and *Sabatia* or *Sabata*, to be one and the same city, which he calls *Vada Sabatia*, but is therein contradicted by the learned *Lucas Holstenius*. *Genua* was in ancient times, as it is at present, the chief city of *Liguria*, and an emporium, as *Strabo* styles it^b, to which merchants resorted from all parts. The modern writers call it *Janua*, and pretend that it was built by *Janus*; but the ancients constantly write it *Genua*. It was destroyed by *Mago the Carthaginian*, and rebuilt by the *Romans*. *Portus Lunæ* is placed by all the ancients in *Liguria*, but the city of *Luna*, which stood on the east bank of the *Macra*, in *Etruria*^c. The inland cities of *Liguria* were *Pollentia*, *Alba Pompeia*, *Asta*, *Aquæ Statiellæ*, *Forum Fulvii*, or *Valentium*, *Industria*, *Dertona*, and *Iria*, now *Pollenza*, *Alba*, *Asti*, *Acqui*, *Valenza*, *Tortona*, *Voghera*. *Industria* was called by the ancient *Ligurians* *Bodincomagum*, be-
- d
- e
- f

Liguria.

^a Idem. l. iii. c. 20. Vide Jac. Spou. misc. Ex. antiq. p. 198. ^b PLIN. l. iii. c. 5. ^c Idem ibid. c. 17. VELL. PATERCUL. l. i. c. 15. TACIT. hist. l. i. c. 70. ^d LIV. l. v. c. 33. ^e PLIN. l. iii. c. 20. ^f STRAB. l. iv. p. 140. ^g VIRGIL. l. vi. ÆNEID. ver. 830. ^h LUCAN. l. i. Pharsal. ver. 405. ⁱ STRAB. l. iv. p. 139. ^j STRAB. ibid. TACIT. hist. l. ii. c. 15. MELA, l. ii. c. 1. PLIN. l. ii. c. 5.

cause it stood on the *Po*, which was known to them by the name of *Bodincus*, that is, ^a the bottomless ^d. Some writers make the river *Iria* the eastern boundary of *Liguria*; but as *Livy* ^e places the cities of *Calistidium* and *Litubium* in that country, *Cluverius* extends its confines on this side to the river *Trebia*.

Gallia Cispa-
dana.

NEXT to *Liguria* lay *Gallia Cispadana*, extending from the *Trebia* to the city of *Ancona*, and bounded on the north by the *Po*, and part of the *Adriatic*, and on the south by the *Apennines*, parting it from *Etruria*. It was called *Gallia* from its inhabitants, and *Cispadana*, because it lay on the side of the *Po* next to *Rome*. This country was possessed by the *Boii*, the *Lingones*, and the *Senones*. The chief cities of the *Boii*, were *Placentia*, *Parma*, *Mutina*, and *Bononia*; of the *Lingones*, *Ravenna*, *Forum Corneli*, *Faventia*, *Solona*, *Forum Livii*, *Forum Popilii*, and *Cæsena*; now *Ravenna*, ^b *Imola*, *Faenza*, *Citta di sole*, *Forlì*, *Forlino*, *Popoli*, *Cæsena*; of the *Senones*, *Ariminum*, *Pisaurum*, *Fanum Fortunæ*, *Sena Gallica*, and *Ancona*; now *Rimini*, *Pesaro*, *Fano*, *Sinigaglia*, *Ancona*.

Gallia Trans-
padana.

Gallia Transpadana extended from the countries of the *Lepontii*, *Libicii*, and *Canini*, mentioned above, and counted by *Strabo* and *Pliny* among the *Subalpine* nations, to the *Adriatic* sea, and the river *Formio*, now *Il Risano*, parting it from *Istria*, being bounded on the south by the *Po*, and on the north by the *Alpes Rætica*, and *Carnica*; the former separating it from *Rætia*, now the *Trentin*, and the latter from the country of the *Carni*, now *Carniola*. This part of *Cisalpine Gaul* was inhabited by the following nations, the *Orobii*, the *Insubres*, the *Lævi*, the *Cenomani*, the *Euganei*, ^c and the *Veneti*, and contained many cities of great note. Of these, *Comum*, *Bergomum*, and *Forum Licinii*, now *Como*, *Bergamo*, and *Pieve d'Incino*, or, as others will have it, *Berlasina*, belonged to the *Orobii*; *Mediolanum*, *Laus Pompeia*, and *Forum Inturnorum*, now *Milan*, *Lodi*, *Crema*, to the *Insubres*; *Novaria* and *Ticinum*, now *Novara* and *Pavia*, to the *Lævi*; *Brivis*, *Cremona*, *Mantua* and *Verona* to the *Cenomani*; *Sabium*, *Voberna*, *Edrum*, and *Vannia*, cities long since demolished, to the *Euganei*; *Patavium*, *Vicetia*, or *Vicentia*, *Ateste*, *Forum Allieni*, *Tarvisum*, *Ceneta*, *Aquileia*, *Forum Julii*, and *Tergeste*, near the *Formio*, now *Padua*, *Vicenza*, *Este*, *Ferrara*, *Treviso*, *Ceneda*, *Aquileia*, *Civitas di Friuli*, *Trieste*, to the *Veneti*, by whom all that tract, which extends from the territories of the *Euganei* to the *Formio*, was anciently ^d possessed; but in after-ages the *Carni* made themselves masters of the country lying between that river and the *Tilaventum*, now the *Piave*.

Italy properly
so called.

Italy, properly so called, extended on the coast of the *Adriatic* from the city of *Ancona* to the river *Frento*, now the *Fortore*, and on the *Mediterranean* from the *Macra* to the *Silarus*, now the *Sele*, and comprehended *Etruria*, *Umbria*, *Sabinum*, *Latium*, *Picenum*, the countries of the *Vestini*, *Marruccini*, *Peligni*, *Marssi*, *Frentani*, *Samnites*, *Hirpini*, *Campani*, and *Picentini*.

Etruria.

Etruria, inhabited by the *Etrurians*, *Tuscan*, or, as the *Greeks* style them, *Tyrrhenians*, was bounded on the east by the *Tiber*, on the west by the *Macra*, on the south by the *Tyrrhenian* sea, and on the north by the *Apennines*. The inhabitants are divided ^e by *Livy* ^f and *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* ^g into twelve different nations, or rather tribes, each of which had their peculiar city, whence they borrowed their names. The cities were, *Volturni*, *Clusium*, *Perusia*, *Cortona*, *Aretium*, *Falerii*, *Volaterra*, *Vetulonium*, *Rossellæ*, *Veii*, *Tarquini*, and *Cære*, now *Bolsena*, *Cbiusi*, *Perugia*, *Cortona*, *Arezzo*, *Civitas Castellana*, *Volterra*, *Grosseto*, *Cerveteri*. The cities of *Veii*, *Tarquini*, and *Cære*, lie at present in ruins. Besides these, the following cities were in ancient times of great note in *Etruria*; on the coast, or at a small distance from it, *Luna*, *Pisæ*, *Portus Herculis*, *Labronis*, or *Liburni*, *Populonia*, *Telamon*, *Cosa*, *Cosa*, or *Cossa*, *Centumcellæ*, and *Alsi*, now *Perice*, *Pisa*, *Livorno*, *Telamone*, *Ansidonia*, *Civitas Vecchia*, *Palo*. The ruins of *Populonia* are to be seen near *Piombino*. In the inland ^f country stood *Nepete*, *Sutrium*, *Falerii Faliscorum*, *Fanum Voltumne*, *Hortanum*, *Herbanum*, *Suana*, *Saturnia*, *Sene Julia*, *Florentia*, *Asulæ*, *Pistoria*, *Luca*, called by the modern inhabitants, *Nepe*, *Sutri*, *Civitas Castellana*, *Viterbo*, *Orti*, *Orvieto*, *Saturna*, *Saona*, *Fiorenza*, *Fiesoli*, *Pistoia*, *Lucca*.

Umbria.

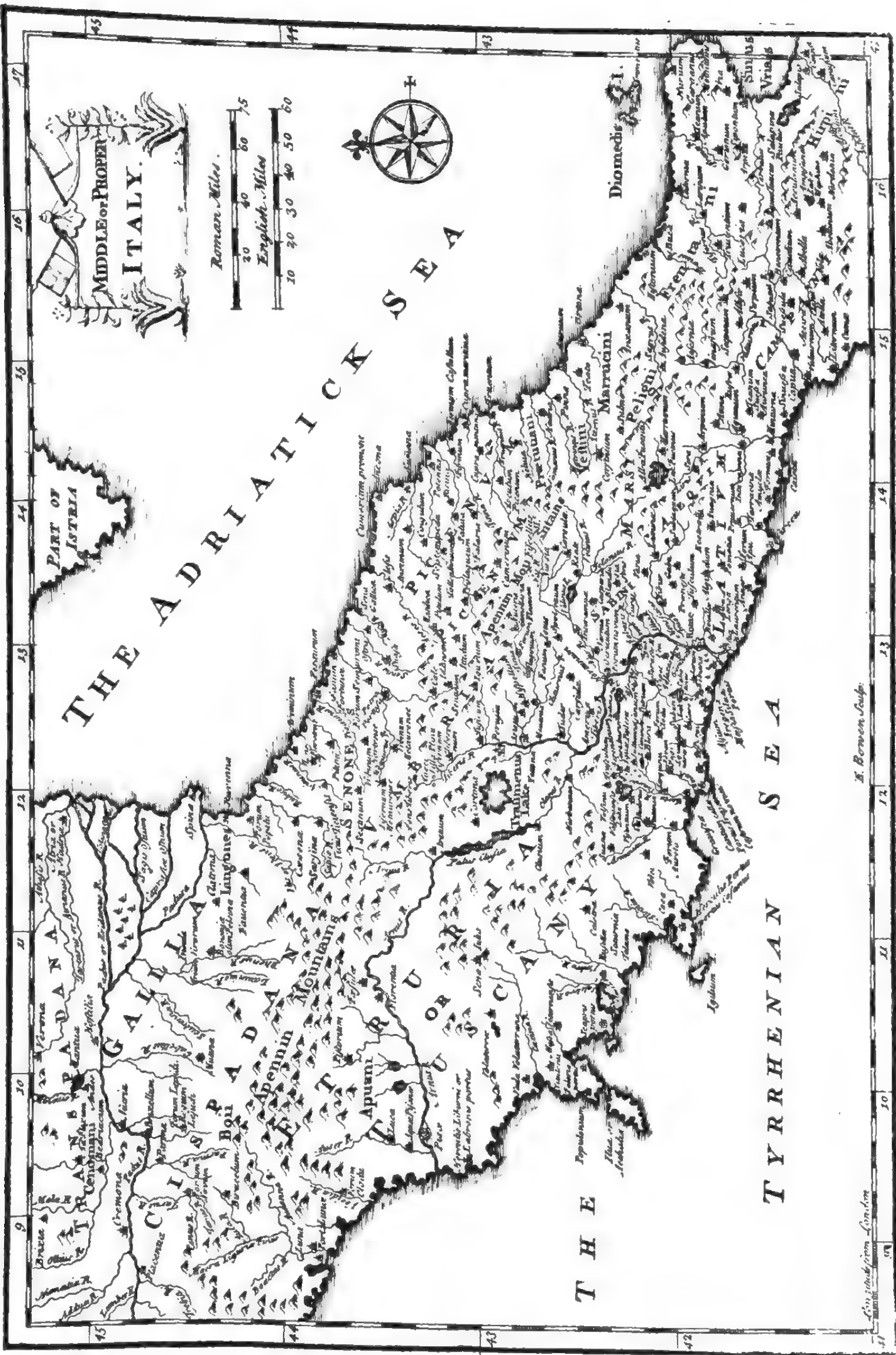
Umbria was bounded on the south by the *Nar*, now the *Nera*; on the north by the *Adriatic* sea; on the east by the *Æsis*, now *Fiumicino*; and on the west by the *Tiber* on the side of the *Apennines* next to *Rome*, and on the other side by the *Bedefis*, now *il Ronco*, which falls into the *Adriatic* at *Ravenna*. So that this city, *Ariminum*,

^d Idem ibid. & c. 16.
HALICAR. l. vi. p. 399.

^e Liv. l. xxxii. c. 29.

^f Liv. l. iv. c. 23. & l. v. sub init.

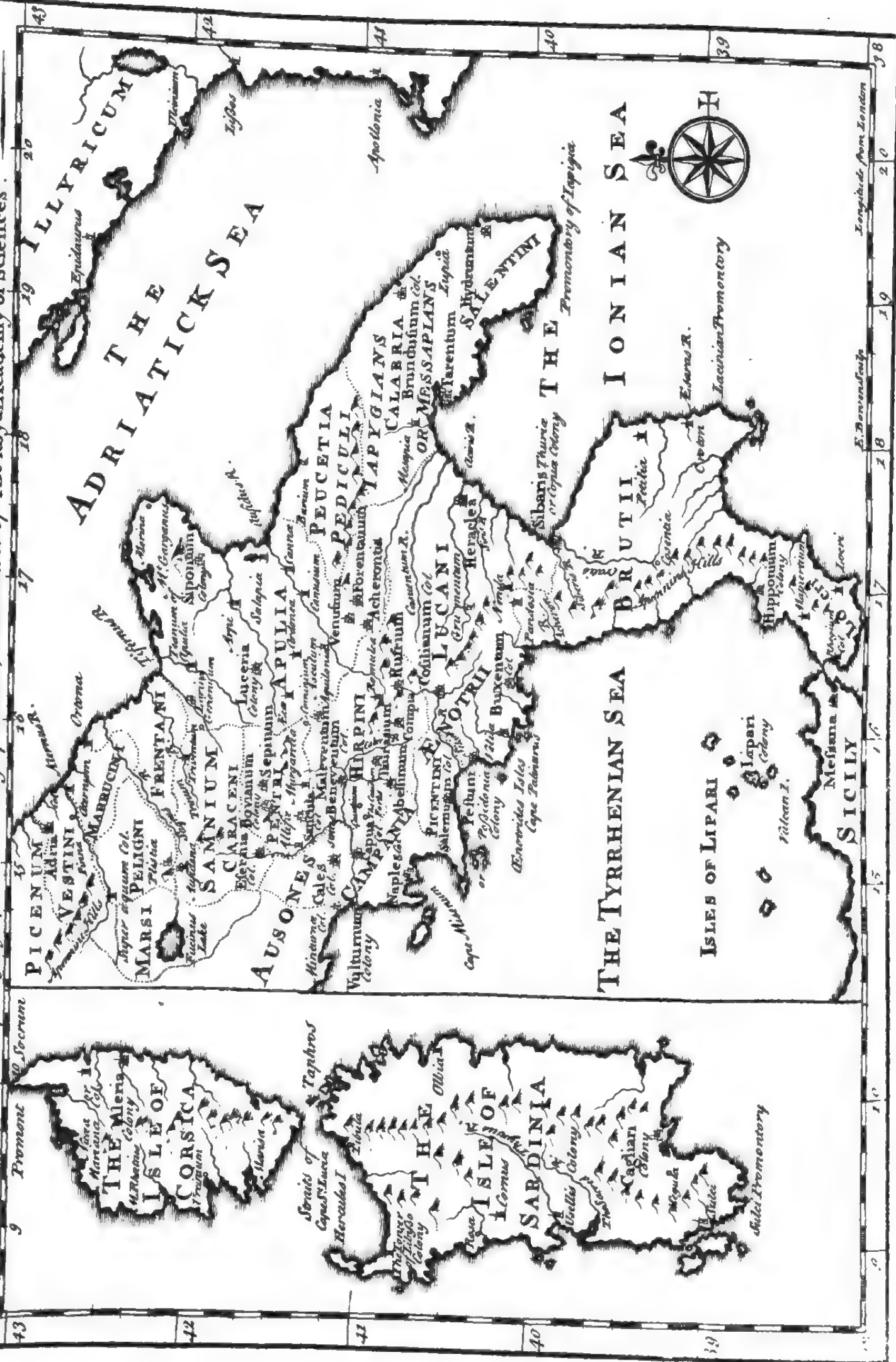
^g DIONYS.



J. Bowen Sculp.

Printed from London

A Map of GREAT GREECE, and of the Islands of SARDINIA and CORSICA. By Mons^r Delisle first Geographer to the King of France, and Member of The Royal Academy of Sciences.



a *Pisaurum*, *Fanum Fortunæ*, *Sena Gallica*, and *Casena*, though possessed by the *Lingones* and *Senones*, were, strictly speaking, in *Umbria*. The other places of note in this country were, *Sarsina*, *Urbium*, *Metaurense*, and *Hortense*, *Sentinum*, *Æfis*, and *Camerinum*, or *Camers*, now *Sarsina*, *Castel Durante*, *Urbino*, *Sentino*, *Jesi*, *Camerino*. These cities stood between the *Adriatic* sea, and the *Apennines*. On the other side of these mountains were, *Iguvium*, *Mevania*, *Spoletium*, *Tifernum*, *Nuceria*, *Camellaria*, *Afissium*, *Hippellum*, *Fulginium*, *Tuder*, *Interamnium*, or *Interamna*, *Narnia*, *Ameria*, and *Otriculi*, or *Oriculum*, known at present by the names of *Ugubio*, *Bavagna*, *Spoleti*, *Citta di Castello*, *Nocera*, *Affisi*, *Ispello*, *Feligno*, *Todi*, *Terni*, *Narni*, *Amelia*, *Otricoli*.

b THE country of the *Sabini* lay between the *Nar* and the *Anio*, now the *Teverone*, the former separating it from *Umbria*, and the latter from *Latium*. *Cures*, whence the *Romans* were called *Quirites*, was at first the metropolis of the *Sabini*, and in after-ages *Rcate*, now *Riete*. The ruins of *Cures* are still to be seen at a place called *Vecorio di Sabina*. The other cities in this country worth notice, were *Nursia*, *Eretum*, *Nomentum*, *Cutilia*, and *Amiternum*, now known by the names of *Norcia*, *Monte Rotondo*, *Lamentario*. The cities of *Cutilia* and *Amiternum* have been long since destroyed; but there are still remaining some ruins of the former at *Civita Ducale*, and of the latter near the city of *Aquila*.

NEXT to the country of the *Sabini* was *Latium*, comprised at first within very narrow limits, viz. the *Tiber*, the *Anio*, and the *Circæan* promontory, now *Monte Circilli*; but after the reduction of the *Æqui*, *Hernici*, *Volsci*, and *Aufones*, reaching to the river *Liris*, called by the present inhabitants *il Garigliano*. And hence the distinction that frequently occurs in the ancients between *Old* and *New Latium*. In *Old Latium* stood the following cities; *Rome*, once the most powerful, and still the most stately and beautiful city of the world, *Tibur*, *Prænestæ*, *Gabii*, *Tusculum*, *Aricia*, *Lanuvium*, *Alba Longa*, so called from its length, and to distinguish it from another city of the same name in the country of the *Marsti*, *Lavinium*, *Laurentum*, *Ostia*, *Antemna*, *Collatia*, and *Ardea*, the metropolis of the *Rutuli*, a *Latin* nation. Of *Gabii* and the four last-mentioned cities there are now scarce any footsteps remaining; but the others are still known by the names of *Tivoli*, *Palestrina*, *Frascati*, *l'Aricia*, *Citta Lavina*, *Albano*, *Patricia*, *Paterno*, *Ostia*. *Carseoli*, or *Carfula*, *Valeria*, *Sublaqueum*, *Algidum*; now *Arfuli*, *Vico Varo*, *Subiaco*, belonged to the *Æqui*. Of *Algidum* some ruins are to be seen near an inn, which the *Italians* call *l'Osteria dell' Aglio*. *Anagnia*, *Alatrium*, *Verule*, *Ferentinum*, now *Anagni*, *Alatri*, *Veroli*, *Ferentino* were the chief cities of the *Hernici*. In the country of the *Volsci* stood *Antium*, *Circæi*, or *Circæum*, *Tarracina*, called also *Anxur*, *Suessæ Pomelia*, whence the neighbouring marsh was named, *Palus Pomelina*, or *Pomptina*, *Velitræ*, *Cora*, *Norba*, *Privernum*, *Satia*, *Signia*, *Sulmo*, *Frusino*, *Fabrateria*, *Aquinum*, *Casinum*, *Atina*, *Arpinum*, *Arz*, *Sora*, *Fregellæ*, and *Interamna*. The ruins of *Antium*, *Circæi*, and *Suessæ Pomelia*, are still to be seen at *Capo d'Anzo*, *Citta Vecchia*, and in the neighbourhood of *Veletri*. The other cities bear at present the names of *Terracina*, *Veletri*, *Cora*, *Norma*, *Piperno*, *Sezza*, *Segni*, *Sermoneta*, *Frusinone*, *Falvaterra*, *Aquino*, *Monte Casino*, *Atina*, *Arpino*, *Arce*, *Sora*, *Ponte Corvo*, *l'Isola*. In the country of the *Aufones* were *Cajeta*, *Fundi*, and *Formiæ*, at present *Gaeta*, *Fondi*, and *Mola*.

Picenum, the country of the *Picentes*, lay between the *Æfis* and the *Alernus*, now *Pescara*, extending from the *Adriatic* to the *Apennines*, where it joined *Umbria*, and beyond them reaching to the country of the *Sabini*. Their chief cities were, *Ancona*, once possessed by the *Gauls*, *Castrum Novum*, *Castellum Truentinum*, so called from the river *Truentum*, now the *Tronto*, *Auximum*, *Septempeda*, *Tollentinum*, *Firmum*. *Picenum*, *Aſculum Picenum*, *Interamnium*, and *Atria*, at present *Ancona*, *Flaviano*, *Torre Segura*, or, as others will have it, *Porto d'Ascoli*, *Osimo*, *S. Severino*, *Tolentino*, *Fermo*, *Ascoli*, *Teramo*, *Atri*. East of the country lay the country of the *Vestini*, which contained the following cities; *Angulus*, *Pinna*, and *Avia*, or *Avella*, now called *Civita di S. Angelo*, *Civita di Penna*, *Aquila*. Next to the *Vestini* were the *Marrucini*, whose small territory had but one city, viz. *Teate*, now *Cbiati*. The *Peligni* inhabited a small tract lying between the countries of the *Vestini* and *Marrucini* to the north, and the *Apennines* to the south. Their chief cities were, *Corfinium* and *Sulmo*; the ruins of the former are still remaining about eight miles from *Sulmo*, now known by the name of *Sulmona*. The *Marsti* were seated in an inland country, having the *Peligni* and *Vestini* between them and the *Adriatic* sea; on the other side the *Apennines* they

Samnites.
Frentani.
Hirpini.

they bordered on the countries of the *Sabini* and *Æqui*. They had only two cities, ^a viz. *Alba Fucens*, so called from the lake *Fucinus*, now *Lago di Celano*, near which it stood, and *Marrubium*. The former still retains the ancient name of *Alba*; but the latter is now called *Morrea*. Next to the *Marrucini* on the coast were the *Frentani*; in the inland country the *Samnites* between the *Frentani* and the *Campani*; and the *Hirpini* seated between *Samnium*, and the river *Silarus*, having *Apulia Daunia* on the north-east, and *Campania* on the south-west. The cities of *Ortona*, *Anxanum*, and *Istionium*, now *Ortona*, *Lanzano*, *Guasto d'Amone*, belonged to the *Frentani*; *Bovianum*, *Æfèrnia*, *Sepinum*, *Allifæ*, and *Telesia*, now *Boiano*, *Isernia*, *Sepino*, *Alifi. Teleso*, to the *Samnites*. *Beneventum*, *Equus*, *Tuticus*, *Abellinum*, and *Compsa*, now *Benevento*, *Ariano*, *Avellino*, *Conza*, to the *Hirpini*. b

Campani.

Campania extended from the *Liris* to the promontory of *Minerva*, called still *il capo di Minerva*, being bounded on the north-east by *Samnium*, and on the south-west by the country of the *Hirpini*. In this tract, which was the most pleasant and fruitful of all *Italy*, stood the following cities; on the coast *Liternum*, *Baja*, *Misenum*, *Puteoli*, *Neapolis*, or *Parthenope*, *Herculaneum*, *Pompeii*, and *Surrentum*, now *Torre di Patria*, *Baie*, *Monte Miseno*, *Puzzuolo*, *Napoli*, *Torre di Greco*, *Scafati*, *Sorrento*; in the inland country, *Capua*, the ruins of which are still to be seen about two miles from the present city of the same name, *Suessa Aurunca*, *Venafrum*, *Casilinum*, *Teanum Sidicinum*, *Calatia*, *Cales*, *Atella*, *Acerra*, *Nola* and *Nuceria*, known at present by the names of *Sessa*, *Venafrò*, *Nova Capua*, *Tiano*, *Cajazzo*, *Calvi*, *Aversa*, *Acerra*, ^c *Nola*, *Nocera*. The small tract, lying between the promontory of *Minerva*, and the river *Silarus*, was inhabited by a colony of *Picentes* planted here by the *Romans*; *Pliny* ^b and *Ptolemy* call them *Picentini* to distinguish them from the *Picentes*, who inhabited *Picenum* on the *Adriatic* sea. The *Picentini* had but two cities, viz. *Picentia*, called by *Strabo* ^d the metropolis of the *Picentini*, but at present demolished, and *Salernum*, now *Salerno*.

Picentini.

Magna Græcia.

Magna Græcia comprised *Apulia*, *Lucania*, and the country of the *Brutii*. This country was called *Greece*, because most of the cities on the coast were *Greek* colonies, and spoke the *Greek* tongue. The inhabitants gave it the epithet of *Great*, not because it was larger, or near so large as *Greece*, properly so called; but merely out of ostentation, as *Pliny* informs us ^e. *Apulia* extended from the river *Frento* quite to the straits, parting *Italy* from *Greece*; but was divided into three parts, viz. *Daunia* lying between the *Frento* and the *Aufidus*, now *l'Ofanto*, *Peucetia*, extending from the *Aufidus* to the isthmus between *Brundisium* and *Tarentum*, and *Messapia*, called also *Calabria* and *Iapygia*, comprehending the peninsula. In *Apulia*, by which name the ancient geographers understand both *Daunia* and *Pucetia*, were the following cities; *Teanum Apulum*, *Geryon*, *Sipuntum*, *Luceria*, *Æquulanum*, *Arpi*, the ruins of which are to be seen near the present city of *Foggia*, *Asculum Apulum*, *Venusia*, *Acherontia*, *Canusium*, *Cannæ*, *Salapia*, *Rubi*, *Butuntii*, *Barium*, and *Egnatia*, now *Civitate Tragonara*, *Siponto*, *Lucera*, *Troia*, *Ascoli*, *Venosa*, *Acirenza*, *Canosa*, *Canna*, *Salpe*, ^e *Ruvo*, *Bitonio*, *Bari*, *Terra d'Anazzo*. In *Calabria*, *Brundisium*, *Hydruntum*, *Castrum Minervæ*, *Callipolis*, *Tarentum*, *Neritum*, and *Aletium*, now *Brindisi*, *Otranto*, *Castro*, *Gallipoli*, *Taranto*, *Nardo*, *Lezze*. Near *Aletium* stood in ancient times the city of *Rudiae*, the birth-place of *Ennius*.

Apulia.
Daunia.
Pucetia.

Lucania.

Lucania lay between the *Silarus* and the *Laus*, now the *Laino*, the former parting it from the country of the *Picentini*, and the latter from that of the *Brutii*. It was divided from *Pucetia* by the river *Bradanus*, now the *Brandano*, and from *Calabria* by the upper part of the *Sinus Tarentinus*, or gulf of *Taranto*. On the *Mediterranean* or *Tyrrhenian* sea stood the cities of *Pastum*, called by the *Greeks* *Pesidonia*, *Velia*, *Buxentum*; on the gulf of *Tarentum*, *Metapontum*, *Heraclea*, anciently called *Siris* and *Sybaris*, afterwards known by the names of *Thurii* and *Copiae*; in the inland country were situated *Potentia* and *Grumentum*. These cities are called by the present inhabitants, *Pesto*, *Pisciotta*, *Policastro*, *Terre di Mare*, *Policore*, *Potenza*, *Clarimonte*. The city of *Thurii* or *Thurium* was destroyed soon after the second *Carthaginian* war. f

Brutii.

THE *Brutii* possessed that peninsula which extends from *Lucania* to the straits, separating *Sicily* from *Italy*. In this corner of *Italy*, as we may call it, stood the following cities; on the western coast, *Cerilli*, *Clampetia*, *Temsæ*, *Terina*, *Lametia*, *Scyllæum*, and *Rhegium*, now *Cirella*, *Amantea*, *Torre Loppa*, *Nocera*, *Sant' Eufemia*, *Sciglio*,

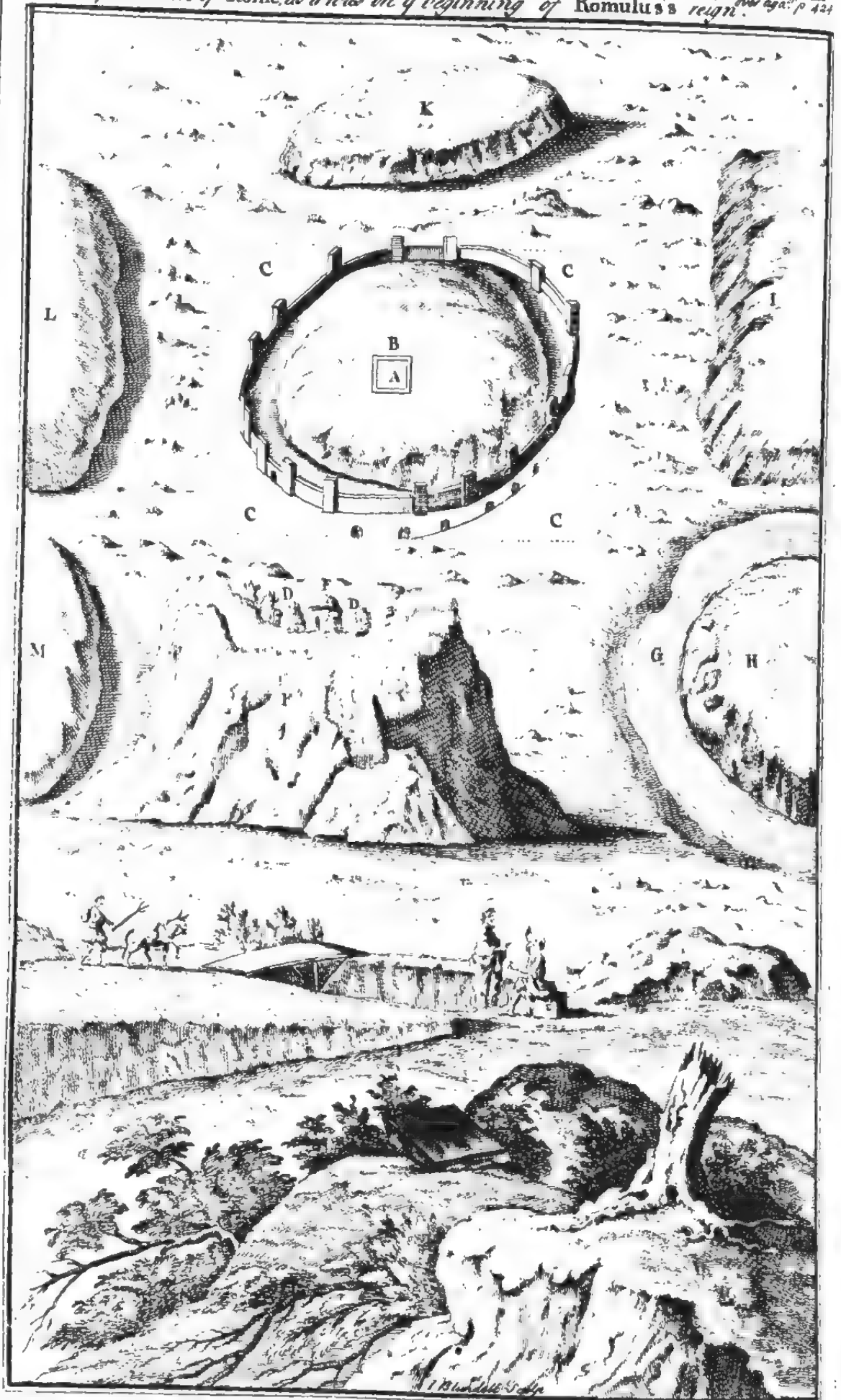
^a PLIN. l. iii. c. 5, & 12.

^b STRABO, l. v. sub finem.

^c PLIN. l. iii. c. 5.

Reggio;

The first Plan of Rome, as it was in the beginning of Romulus's reign over against p. 424



A Rome Quadrata, or Rome as built in a Square form. B. The Hill Palatinus. C. The first Enclosure of Rome according to some. D. The Atrium. E. The Temple of African God. F. The Hill Capitolinus. G. The Tyber. H. The Hill Janiculus. I. The Hill Aventinus. K. The Hill Caelius. L. The Hill Esquilinus. M. The Hill Quirinalis.

- a Reggio; on the eastern coast, *Lorri* called *Epizephyrii* from the promontory *Zephyrium*, *Caulonia*, *Scylacium*, *Croto*, *Petilia*, and *Ruscianum*, now *Jeraces*, *Castel Veteri*, *Squillaci*, *Crotone*, *Belcastro*, *Rossano*; in the inland country, *Coufentia*, now *Cosenza*, formerly the metropolis of the *Brutii*; *Pandosia*, and *Hiponium*, called by the Romans *Vibo Valentia*, and by the modern inhabitants *Monte Leone*. These are the chief cities of *Italy*, which we shall describe, as we shall have occasion to speak of them in the sequel of the history.

- THE rivers, which it may be proper to take notice of in this place, are the *Po*, ^{Rivers.} called by the *Latins* *Padus* and *Eridanus*, which springs from mount *Vesulus*, now *Vevo*, one of the highest among the *Alps*, and discharges itself into the *Adriatic* sea by seven different streams, after having received into its channel above thirty rivers. On the *Alps* likewise rise the *Druria*, the *Sessites*, the *Ticinum*, the *Addua*, the *Ollius*, the *Mincius*, the *Tanarus*, the *Trebia*, and the *Rhenus Bononiensis*, now the *Dora*, *Sessia*, *Tesino*, *Adda*, *Oglio*, *Mincio*, *Tanaro*, *Trebia*, and *Reno di Bologna*. The *Atbesis*, now the *Adige*, has its source, like the others we have mentioned, in the *Alps*, waters the cities of *Trent* and *Verona*, and is the only great river in *Lombardy* that does not fall into the *Po*; which it must have done, had it run but a little further before its entering the *Adriatic*. The *Arnus*, and the *Tiber*, which receives the *Clanis*, the *Nar*, and the *Anio*, now *la Cbiana*, *la Nera*, *il Teverone*, spring from the *Apennines*, and fall into the *Mediterranean*. The *Liris*, which separates *Latium* from *Campania*; the *Volturnus* in *Campania*; the *Silarus* parting the *Picentini* and *Lucani*; the *Sybaris* and *Crathis* in *Lucania*; the *Aufidus* in *Apulia*; the *Aternus* and *Metaurus* in *Picenum*, now the *Garigliano*, *Volturno*, *Silaro*, *Cochile*, *Crati*, *l'Osanto*, *Pescara*, *Metauro*, were all rivers of great note, and are much spoke of by the ancients.

- THE chief mountains of *Italy* are the *Alps* and the *Apennines*, the former parting ^{Mountains.} it from *Gaul*, *Vindelicia*, *Noricum*, and *Pannonia*, taking *Italy* in its greatest extent, and the latter dividing it into two, almost equal, parts. *Festus* is of opinion, that the *Alps* borrowed their name from the *Latin* word *Albus*, which the *Sabines* pronounced *Alfus*, signifying *white*, because they were almost always covered with snow. But *Isidorus* ^a and *Servius* ^b, tell us, that in the language of the *Celts* all high mountains were called *Alps*: others derive the name of the *Alps* from one *Albion*, the son of *Neptune*, who, they say, was killed by *Hercules* in disputing his passage over these mountains. But not to lose time in such trifling etymologies, the *Alps* are a long chain of mountains, which begins at the mouth of the *Varus*, and after a great many irregular turnings of about eight hundred miles, ends at the river *Arfia* in *Istria*. The maritime *Alps* reach from *Vada* or *Vado* to the source of the *Varus*, the *Cottia* from the source of the *Varus* to the city of *Susa*, from thence the *Graia* to *Little St. Bernard*, and the *Pennina* from that mountain to *Monte St. Gottard*, or *St. Gotthard*; to the *Pennina* are joined the *Alpes Rhæticae*, which extend to the spring of the river *Piave*: those, which reach from thence to *Istria*, and the head of the *Savus*, are called *Norica* and *Carnica*. The *Apennines* extend from the maritime *Alps*, where they take their rise, quite to the straits, which separate *Italy* from *Sicily*. The mountains *Maficus* near *Suessu*, *Gaurus* between *Puteoli* and *Baia*, *Fifata* at a small distance from *Capua*, *Vesuvius* in the neighbourhood of *Nola*, and *Garganus* in *Apulia*, are much spoke of both by the ancient and modern writers ^c.

- Italy* lies between the thirty-eighth and forty-sixth degrees of north latitude, in the ^{Sail.} sixth and seventh north climate. We need not here enlarge on the fruitfulness and various productions of this happy region, it being well known, that whatever desirable things nature has dropt frugally here and there in other countries, are found in *Italy*, as in their original seminary; whence some call it the parent of plenty, others, the fountain of earthly bliss, the incomparable region of this globe, the garden of *Europe*, the epitome of the world, or rather a little world itself. The inhabitants of this country were once the triumphant lords and conquerors of the world; but at present the softer arts prevail; and in these they are generally thought to be as much superior to the modern, as their ancestors were to the ancient nations, in war and military exploits. But the ancient inhabitants of *Italy* shall be the subject of the following section.

^a FEST. l. iii. ^b ISIDOR. orig. l. iii. ^c SERVIVS in l. iii. *Æneid.* ^d VIJ. CLOVER. antiq. Ital. l. iii. PLIN. l. xxxi. c. 2. LUV. l. xxii. VIRGIL. l. ii. *georg.* v. 143. & l. iii. v. 516. KIRCH. round. subter. tom. i.

S E C T. II.

Of the ancient state and first inhabitants of ITALY.

The inhabi-
tants of Old
and New La-
tium.

Aborigines.

Pelasgi.

Arcades.

THERE is such a disagreement among the ancients in what they have wrote concerning the first inhabitants of *Italy*, that we cannot pretend to give any satisfactory account of the primitive state of that country. We shall therefore only relate in this place what has been transmitted to us on so perplex and intricate a subject by the most creditable writers of antiquity, without taking upon us to prefer the authority of one to that of another, since they may be all, for ought we know, and as the most judicious among them seem to insinuate, equally mistaken. We shall begin with *Latium*, which rose by degrees to be the seat of a mighty republic, and of an empire, which had no other bounds than those of our hemisphere. *Old Latium*, which from the banks of the *Tiber* extended no farther southward than to the *Circæan* promontory, being bounded on the north by the *Anio*, and to the east by mount *Algidus*, only eighteen miles distant from *Rome*, was at different times inhabited by the following nations; viz. the *Aborigines*, *Pelasgi*, *Arcades*, *Siculi*, *Aurunci*, and *Rutuli*: *New Latium*, which reached to the *Liris*, by the *Volsci*, *Osce*, *Aufones*, *Coriolani*, *Fidenates*, and *Sicani*. Some historians are of opinion, that the *Aborigines* had that name given them, because they had been in *Italy* from the beginning, and did not derive their origin from any other: others changing the name of *Aborigines* into *Aber-rigines*, hold, that they were a wandering people, such being the import of that word, who coming from different countries, met accidentally in *Italy*, and there lived by rapine. *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, who was persuaded that they came from *Arcadia*, proposes two other opinions; viz. that they were styled *Aborigines*, because they lived on mountains, in which the *Arcadians* took great pleasure (A); or because they gave origin to the *Latins* (B)^r, who being descended from them, called them *Aborigines*, that is, the people from whom they derived their origin. The appellation of *Aborigines* in the first acceptation is derived from the *Greek* words *Oreos Genos*, that is, natives of the mountains, in the second from the *Latin* word *Origo*, which imports origin. The above-mentioned writer takes them to be one and the same people with the *Oenotrii*, who leaving *Arcadia*, their native country, crossed the sea, and settled in *Latium* above four hundred years before the *Trojan* war. The *Pelasgi* were originally *Peloponnesians*, who, being driven out of their country by the *Curetes* and *Leleges*, settled first in *Theffaly*, and removed from thence into that part of *Italy*, which is watered by the *Po*, and built there the city of *Spina*. Some of them crossed the *Apennines*, joined the *Aborigines*, and having made themselves masters of great part of *Umbria* and *Hebruria*, drove the *Siculi* out of those countries, and obliged them to fly for refuge into *Sicily*. They likewise took several cities of *Campania* from the *Aurunci*: but at length being afflicted with many calamities, they abandoned their conquests, and returned to *Greece*. From them the *Aborigines* borrowed many customs of *Greece*. About sixty years before the *Trojan* war another colony arrived from *Peloponnesus* in a part of *Latium* under the conduct of *Evander* the *Arcadian*, who being kindly received by *Faunus*, at that time king of the country, and suffered to settle on a small uncultivated hill near the *Tiber*, introduced the worship of the gods of his own

^r PLIN. l. iii. c. 9.
• DION. HAL. ibid.

^r Vid. VICTOR. de origin. Roman.

^r DION. HAL. l. i. antiq. Rom. c. 10.

(A) *Virgil* speaks of the *Aborigines* as living dispersed on the mountains before the arrival of *Saturn*:

*Is genus indocile, & dispersum montibus altis,
Composuit, legesque dedit* (1).

(B) This was, according to *Servius*, *Virgil's* opinion, which he takes to be plainly expressed in the following verses:

(1) *Virgil. Æneid.* 8. v. 321. Vid. *Suid.* in *Aborigines*.
l. iv. sub finem.

*Quin etiam vesterum effigies ex ordine arum
Antiqua ex cedro, Italusque, paterque Sabinus,
Saturnusque senex, Janique bifrons imago,
Vestibulo astabane, aliisque ab origine reges* (2).

By the last words *Virgil* meant, says *Servius*, the kings of the *Aborigines*, that is, the kings of the nation, from which the *Romans* derived their origin. In like manner *Pliny* calls the *Tyrians*, *Aborigines Gaditani*, because that city was founded by them (3).

(2) *Virgil. Æneid.* l. vii. v. 177. (3) *Plin.*

- a country, and taught the inhabitants the use of the *Greek* letters (C), and of stringed instruments of music. By this means he reformed the customs, and softened the manners of the *Aborigines*, who at the time of his arrival, still lived after a savage manner, and without any regulation of laws¹. Not long after another colony of *Arcadians* and *Eleans* arriving in *Latium* with *Hercules*, are said to have settled there, and made one people, with those whom *Evander* had brought with him.

THE *Siculi* were, according to *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, the first inhabitants of *Siculi. Latium*, but being driven from thence by the *Aborigines* and *Pelasgi*, and by other nations from all the countries of *Italy*, they took refuge in *Sicily*. As to the origin of the *Siculi*, *Pliny*² takes them to be one and the same people with the *Sicani*. If this opinion be true, they came originally from *Spain*, according to *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, *Thucydides*, and *Philistus*, an ancient *Sicilian* writer; but, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, from *Sicily*, that author being of opinion, that the *Sicani* inhabited *Sicily* from the first ages of the world. *Sophocles* says, they were called *Siculi* from one *Siculus* their king. The *Aurunci* or *Arunci* were originally *Aufones*³, of whom here-
after. *Virgil* speaks of them as a *Trojan* colony⁴. The *Rutuli* were descended from
the *Aborigines*. These were the various nations, which at different times had been masters of all, or great part of *Latium* before the arrival of *Aeneas*. *Rutuli.*

- IN *New Latium* the *Volsci* were a very warlike people; but ancient authors give *Volsci.* no account of their origin. They only tell us, that they had a language peculiar to themselves. Their territory comprehended one of the most considerable portions of *Old Latium*. The *Osce*, *Opici*, or *Obsci*, were descended from the *Aufones*. From *Osce.* their name the etymologists derive the *Latin* word *Obscænus*, *obscene*; for they had the character of being licentious in their discourse, and leud in their manners, above the rest of the inhabitants of *Italy*. Their language was different from that of the *Romans*; for *Ennius* used to boast, as *Gellius* informs us, that he could speak *Oscean*, *Greek* and *Latin*. The *Fidenates* were a colony of the *Albani*, and the *Coriolani* of the *Volsci*.
Of the *Sicani* we have spoke above. As to the *Aufones*, they came originally from *Greece*, and were one of the most ancient colonies that settled in *Italy*. They first
planted themselves in *New Latium*, but being driven from thence by new adventurers, they retired to that part of *Campania*, which lies between *Teanum* and *Capua*⁵.
They were called *Aufones*, according to *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, from *Aufon* the son of *Ulysses* by *Calypso*, whom he supposes to have reigned over them while they were in *Latium*. But that writer is herein certainly mistaken, since they had the name of *Aufones*, long before the arrival of *Aeneas*, and consequently before the supposed king *Aufon* could be born. From them first the countries, where they settled, and afterwards all *Italy*, took the name of *Aufonia*. *Fidenates.* *Coriolani.*

- NEXT to *Old Latium* lay *Heturia*, which was inhabited by the *Tyrrhenians*, *Hetrusci.* called also *Hetrusci*, *Etrusci*, *Tusci*, and sometimes *Thusci*. The name of *Tyrrhenians* they borrowed from their leader *Tyrrhenus*, that of *Hetrusci* from one of their kings, and the last from the *Greek* word *Thuo*, to sacrifice, the *Hetruscans* having been skilled above all other nations in the ceremonies that were used in the performing of sacrifices⁶. They came originally, according to the common opinion both of the *Greek* and *Latin* writers, from *Lydia*, under the conduct of *Tyrrhenus*, as we have related in the history of *Lydia*⁷, and arriving in *Italy*, settled first in that tract, which lies between the *Adriatic* sea and the *Apennines*, after having driven out the *Umbri*, and taken from them, as *Pliny* informs us⁸, three hundred cities. Being animated by the success that attended them on their first arrival, they extended their conquests beyond the *Apennines*, and made themselves masters of the territories of *Nola* and *Capua*, and almost of the whole coast of that sea, which from them took the name of *Tyrrhenian*. These countries they held till the invasion of the *Gauls*, when they were driven from the coast

¹ DION. HAL. *ibid.* p. 25.

² PLIN. l. iii. c. 5.

³ ARISTOT. *Polit.* l. vii. c. 10. SERVIVS in

l. vii. *Æneid.* ISAAC. TZETZES, p. 211.

⁴ VIRGIL. *georg.* l. ii. v. 385.

⁵ AUL. GELL. l. xvii.

⁶ DIO. HAL. l. vi. c. 5.

⁷ Vide SERVIVM in l. i. *Æneid.* ISIDOR. *de origin. & BRIET.* in *historic. descript.*

Tuscor.

⁸ Vol. II. p. 331.

⁹ PLIN. l. ii. c. 4.

(C) The *Greek* characters were the first which the *Latins* made use of. Of this there was still remaining a plain proof in the time of *Augustus*, viz. the treaty between *Tarquinius the Proud*, and the *Gabii*,

which was written in *Latin* words, but *Greek* letters, on a wooden shield covered with the skin of the ox that had been sacrificed on that occasion (4).

(4) *Dio Hal.* l. iv. p. 246.

of the *Adriatic* sea by that warlike nation, and from *Campania* by the *Latins*; so that ^a they were obliged to take refuge in that country, which lies between the *Macra* and *Tiber*, and is called by all the ancients *Hebruria*.

Ligures.

THERE is a great disagreement among authors about the origin of the *Ligures*. *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* owns, that he cannot determine whether they were descended from the *Gauls*, or from some of the ancient nations inhabiting *Italy*. *Strabo* speaking of the various tribes living among or near the *Alps*, says, that they were all originally *Gauls*, except the *Ligures* ^d; and elsewhere seems inclined to believe, that *Liguria* was first peopled by *Greek* colonies. Some carry up their origin to the fabulous heroes of antiquity, and others, led by the ^e similitude of names, to the *Ligyes* mentioned by *Herodotus* ^f, as attending *Xerxes* in his expedition into *Greece*. The *Ligyes* are ^b placed by some ancient geographers in *Colchis*, by others in *Albania*. *Sextus Pompeius* will have the *Ligures* to be descended from the *Siculi* ^g. But the most common opinion is, that they came originally from *Celtic Gaul*. Of this origin *Cluverius* ^h discovers some traces in the word *Bodencus*, which was, according to *Polybius* and *Pliny*, the name the *Ligures* gave to the *Po* to express the depth of that river. The word *Boden* as the same writer observes, is still used by the *Germans*, and signifies bottom; whence he concludes, that the *Ligures* had the same origin with the inhabitants of *Germany*, who were, without all doubt, so many branches of the ancient *Celtae*. But when or on what occasion these *Gauls* removed from their native country, we find no-where recorded. However, it is past doubt, that they were some of the most ancient inhabitants of *Italy*, and consequently that they crossed the *Alps* many ages before those *Gauls*, from whom *Cisalpine Gaul* took its name. ^c

Umbri.

THE *Umbri* are counted by the *Roman* writers among those nations, of whose origin we have no records, and therefore styled the *Aborigine* of *Italy*. The name of *Umbri* or *Ombri* *Pliny* ⁱ derives from the *Greek* word *Ombros*, signifying a *show*, because they had escaped a deluge occasioned by violent showers, which had laid their lands under water. Before the arrival of the *Tyrrhenians*, they possessed great part of that country, which was afterwards known by the name of *Cisalpine Gaul*; but were driven from thence by the *Tyrrhenians*, as the *Tyrrhenians* were in their turn by the *Gauls*. ^d

Sabini, Picentes, Frentani, &c.

THE *Sabini* were, according to some ancient writers, a colony of *Lacedaemonians*, according to others, the offspring of the *Aufones*. The name of *Sabini* they took, if *Portius Cato* is to be credited, from *Sabinus*, the son of *Sancus* or *Sabus*, whom they worshipped under the name of *Dius Fidius*. From the *Sabini* were descended the *Picentes*, *Frentani*, *Marrucini*, *Peligni*, *Vestini*, *Marfi*, *Æqui*, *Hernici*, and the *Samnites*; from the *Samnites*, the *Ilirpini*, *Lucani*, *Bruttii*, and *Campani*.

OEnotrii.

THE *OEnotrii* were, according to most of the ancient writers, originally *Arcadians*. *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* says, that they were the first *Greeks* who passed the *Ionian* sea, and settled in *Italy* under the conduct of *OEnotrus* and *Peucetius*, two sons of *Lycæon* king of *Arcadia*. *Peucetius* landed at the *Iapygian* promontory, made himself ^e master of *Apulia* and *Calabria*, and from his own name called the inhabitants *Peucetii*; and hence that tract was named *Apulia Peucetia*. *OEnotrus* landed on the opposite coast, and possessed himself of *Lucania* and *Brutium*. From him this tract was called *OEnotria*, and not from the *Greek* word *Oinos*, as *Servius* ^h pretends, because this country produced great plenty of excellent wines. The *OEnotrians* spread themselves afterwards into *Umbria*, and, according to some writers, as far as *Latium*, and the country of the *Sabini*. A modern writer is of opinion, that the *OEnotrus* of the ancients was *Noah*, who, to avoid the insults and evil designs of *Ham*, came with *Japheth* and *Gomer* into *Italy*, and reigned in *Latium* under the name of *Janus*, which he derives from the *Hebrew* *Jain*, and the *Chaldee* *Jaino*, signifying wine, because he first planted ^f vines, and discovered the secret of pressing grapes, and making their juice potable ^l. For this reason the *Greeks* called him *OEnotrus*, which in *Greek* answers the surname of *Janus*. But after all, these are only conjectures, which every one may adopt or reject as he pleases. Some are of opinion, that the *OEnotrii* were the first inhabitants of *Italy*; but most of the ancients tell us, that the country, where they settled on their arrival, was first possessed by the *Aufones*, whom they drove out.

^a STRAB. l. ii. antiqu. l. ii. & nov.

^e Idem. l. iv. ⁱ PLIN. l. iii. c. 4.

^f HERODOT. l. vii. ^h SERV. JUD. l. i. Æneid.

^g SEXT. POMP. l. xvii.

^h CLUVER. Ital. ^l Vide KIRCHER. in Latio antiq.

a THE *Crotoniates*, *Locrenses*, *Tarentini*, *Messapii*, *Apuli*, *Salentini*, *Calabri*, and *Iapyges*, were, without all doubt, of Greek extraction, and settled in that part of Italy, which from them was called *Great Greece*, many ages after the *Umbri*, *Siculi*, and *Aufones*, which three nations are reckoned by most of the ancients among the *Aborigines*, or natives of Italy, as if they had been there from the beginning, and did not derive their origin from any other nation. Of the *Gauls*, and their different transmigrations into Italy, we shall have occasion to speak in a more proper place.

Thus far we have related what we find in profane historians concerning the first inhabitants of Italy. But *Eusebius* and *Cedrenus* ^m, looking upon their accounts as fabulous, tell us, that Italy was first peopled by the descendants of *Kittim*, the fourth son of *Javan*, who, being planted in that part of Greece, which has been since called *Macedon*, spread themselves, as their numbers increased, as far as *Ætolia*, and from thence advanced in quest of a more fertile soil to the coasts of the *Adriatic* sea, which they crossed, and settled at last in that fruitful and pleasant country, which was afterwards known by the name of Italy. The opinion of these writers is in some degree confirmed by what we read in *Suidas*, who tells us in express terms, that the *Latins* were anciently called *Ketii*. Besides, *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* mentions a city in *Latium* called *Ketea*, and *Aristotle* speaks of a lake near *Cumæ*, named *Ketus* ⁿ. *Reineccius*, falling in with *Eusebius* and *Cedrenus*, is of opinion, that Italy did not take that name from *Italus* king of the *Ænotrians*, but from *Ætolus*, and a colony of *Ætolians*, that is, of the descendants of *Kittim*, who under him settled in that country. He observes, that by only throwing out the first letter of *Ætolia*, and changing the *o* into *a*, which change is found in the name of *Æthalia*, an island near Italy, peopled by the *Ætolians*, it becomes *Italia*. So that Italy, according to these writers, was first peopled by the descendants of *Kittim*, who had settled in *Ætolia*, or, as the Greeks write it, *Aitolia*. The way into so pleasant a country being once shewn, it was not long before the *Pelaëgi*, the *Arcadians*, and other Greek nations followed their countrymen, and settled in the eastern and southern parts of Italy, while the *Tyrrhenians* from *Lydia*, and the *Celtae*, afterwards called *Ligurians*, from beyond the *Alps*, planted themselves in the western and northern provinces. Thus was Italy, before the arrival of *Aeneas*, possessed by *Greeks*, *Lydians*, and *Celtae*.

SECTION III.

Of the ancient kings of *Hetruria*, *Latium*, and *Alba*.

e T HE *Hetrurians* and *Latins* are the only two nations in Italy, of which we find any thing recorded worth mentioning before the foundation of *Rome*. We are told indeed, that the *Umbrians* and *Ligurians* made once a great figure; that the former were masters of the best part of Italy, and that the latter were governed by their own kings, princes of great power, many ages before the arrival of *Aeneas* in *Latium*; but this is all we know of them, till their wars with the *Romans* rendered them more famous. We shall therefore confine ourselves to the *Hetrurians* and *Latins*, though we can give even of them but a very indifferent account, what authors tell us of those distant ages being so blended with fables, as to leave us no way of coming at the truth. However, it seems past all doubt, that the *Hetrurians* or *Etrurians* were for many ages the most powerful people of Italy: for *Livy* ^o tells us in express terms, that they not only possessed a great share of the inland countries, but were masters of all the coast of the *Tyrrhenian* sea from the *Alps* quite to the straits of *Sicily*. The cities of *Capua*, *Nola*, *Mantua*, *Bononia*, first called *Felsina*, *Adria*, and *Ravenna*, are said to have been built by them. *Virgil* ^p calls them a nation renowned in war, and most of the ancients speak of their kings as mighty princes, and lords of extensive dominions. As to their form of government, it was at first monarchical, the whole nation being subject to one prince. But in process of time this great state was divided into twelve cantons, called *leucumonies*, which were governed by twelve chiefs styled *leucumomes*. Over the *leucumonies* was placed one, vested with a kind of sovereign authority, and chosen by the people, who gave him the name of *lars*, a title borrowed,

^m EUSEB. in chron. § 3. CEDREN. l. i. annal. ⁿ ARISTOT. de mirabil. ^o LIV. l. i. ^p VIRGIL. l. viii. v. 480.

Their gods, language, &c.

it seems, from the *Egyptian* tongue; for *Manetho* gives that title to some of the ancient kings of *Egypt*. Sometimes we find one *leucumony* carrying on a war by itself, and at other times all the *leucumonies* joined in one national body in defence of their common liberties; which plainly shews, that their government under the *lartes* was not monarchical, but rather aristocratical. When the war was undertaken by the unanimous consent of all the *leucumonies*, the general, or commander in chief, was attended by twelve lictors carrying the fasces before him, it being customary for each *leucumony* to send one; so that it was easy to judge from the number of the lictors, how many *leucumonies* were engaged in the war. We have enumerated above the capital cities of the twelve *leucumonies*, and shall only add here, that each of them was empowered to chuse a king peculiar to themselves, as we shall see in the sequel of this history. As to the religion of the *Ettrurians*, it is well known, that most of the *Roman* ceremonies were borrowed from them, especially the use of sacrifices, divinations, and auguries, and that *Ettruria* was looked upon by the *Romans* as the mother of all politeness and learning, before they subdued *Greece*. For thither they sent their children to improve their knowledge, and cultivate their minds. The gods worshipped by the ancient *Ettrurians* were, *Janus*, *Jupiter*, *Vertumnus*, *Volumnus*, *Volumna*, *Voltumna*, *Viridianus*, *Curis*, *Nurtia*, *Fortuna*, *Pallas*, &c. Their language was different both from the *Greek* and *Latin*, as is manifest both from *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*^a, and from some ancient monuments, which are still to be seen in the cities of *Florence* and *Arezzo*. The accounts of their kings transmitted to us by the ancients, are so interwoven with fables, that in our opinion they deserve little or no credit. We find a great many of those princes occasionally mentioned by the writers of the *Roman* history; but as to the time, in which they reigned, and the order of their succession, we are quite in the dark. *Janus* is said to have been the first who reigned in *Ettruria*^b; but who this *Janus* was, we find no-where recorded. Some take him to be *Tyrrhenus*, the *Lydian*; others will have him to have reigned many ages before the arrival of the *Lydian* colony. The kings sprung from him are styled by the ancient writers *Janigenæ*; and among them are counted the following princes; *Tiberinus*, *Vertumnus*, *Aunus*, *Anus*, *Debeberis*, and *Tiber*. *Tiberinus* is said to have killed his father *Janus*^c. *Aunus* is mentioned by *Silius Italicus*^d. *Anus* is said by *Strabo*^e to have been drowned in the river *Parentius*, which was thenceforth from him called *Anio*. *Debeberis* and *Tiber* were both drowned in the river *Albula*, which from them borrowed the names of *Debeberis* and *Tiber*, as *Sextus Pompeius* informs us^f. Besides these, we find mention made of *Coritus*, *Aeolus*, *Etruscus*, *Tuscius*, *Rasena*, *Tarcon*, *Ocnus*, *Mezentius*, *Astlas*, *Abas*, *Massicus*, *Osinus*, *Morrius*, *Clusius*, *Vicinus*, *Olenius*, *Porfenna*, or *Porfenna*, *Tolumnius*. *Cotirus* had *Jasius* and *Dardanus* by *Electra* the daughter of *Atlas* king of *Mauritania*. Upon his death, the two brothers falling out about the succession, *Dardanus* killed *Jasius*, and being on that account obliged to abandon his native country, he took refuge first in *Samobrace*, and afterwards in *Pbrygia*, where he married the daughter of *Teucer*, and became the parent, as *Virgil* styles him, of the *Trojan* nation^g; for he succeeded *Teucer*, and built *Dardania*, afterwards called *Troy*. From him the *Trojans* were named *Dardanidæ*. *Aeolus* is mentioned by *Plutarch*^h as reigning over *Ettruria*, and the islands of the *Tyrrhenian* sea. *Etruscus* and *Tuscius*, from whom the *Ettrurians* took the name of *Etrusci* and *Tusci*, are spoke of by *Servius*ⁱ and *Sextus Pompeius*^j, as are *Rasena* and *Tarcon* by *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*^k, and *Virgil*. *Tarcon* was contemporary with *Aeneas*, and is said to have built the twelve cities, which afterwards became the capitals of the twelve *leucumonies*. *Ocnus*, *Mezentius*, *Astlas*, and *Abas*, are well known from *Virgil's* *Æneid*. Of the other kings, we shall have occasion to speak in the history of *Latium*. The emperor *Claudius* is said by *Suidas* and *Suetonius* to have wrote the history of *Ettruria* in twenty books; but as neither that performance, nor the works of *Sostratus*, often quoted by *Strabo*, when he speaks of the *Etruscan* affairs, have reached our times, we know but very little of the ancient state, government, and laws, of that once powerful nation.

The kings of Latium.

THE kings we find mentioned as reigning in *Latium* before the arrival of *Aeneas*, are *Picus*, *Faunus*, and *Latinus*. *Picus* is supposed by *Virgil*^c and others to have been

^a DIO. HAL. l. i. p. 23. & l. v. p. 298. ^b ARNOB. contra gent. l. iii. ^c Idem ibid. ^d SIL. ITAL. l. v. Punic. ^e STRAB. l. v. p. 62. ^f SEXTUS POMP. l. xviii. Vide SERV. in l. viii. Æneid. v. 490. & 506. ^g VIRG. Æneid. l. iii. v. 168. ^h PLUT. parall. p. 312. ⁱ SERV. in l. i. Æneid. v. 71. & 164. ^j SEXTUS POMP. l. xviii. ^k DIO. HAL. l. i. p. 24. ^l VIRG. l. vii. Æneid. v. 45. & seq.

- a the son of *Saturn*; but *Vossius* is of opinion, that there never reigned any king of that name in *Latium*, and looks upon all that is said of *Picus* as quite fabulous^d. The next king is *Faunus*, supposed to have been the son of *Picus*. In his time *Evander* landed with a colony of *Arcadians* in a port of *Latium*, and being allowed by him to settle with his followers on a small uncultivated hill near the *Tiber*, built there a city, which he called *Pallantium*, that being the name of the capital of his dominions in *Arcadia*, which he had been constrained to leave for having accidentally killed his father *Echemus*. *Faunus* was succeeded by *Latinus* his son, according to *Virgil*^e, by a nymph, named *Marica*; according to others, by one of the mistresses of *Hercules*; for that hero is said to have arrived in *Latium* during *Faunus*'s reign. *Faunus* had married
- b to his first wife his own sister *Fauna*, a famous prophetess; but as she brought him no children, and a son was born to him after his marriage with *Hercules*'s mistress, it was thought that the child was rather *Hercules*'s son than his. But however that be, the name of *Latinus* is very famous in history, not on account of any military exploits performed by him, but for the arrival of *Aeneas* in *Latium*, which happened in his reign. *Aeneas* arrives in *Latium*, near after the flood 1822. Before Christ 1177.
- c This prince was engaged in a war with the *Rutuli*, in which he was attended but with very indifferent success, when news was brought him that a foreign army had made a descent on his coasts, pillaged the maritime parts of his dominions, and were fortifying themselves in a camp at a small distance from the sea. Hereupon he marched against them with all his forces, hoping to oblige them to reimbarque and abandon his dominions, without meeting with any great resistance from a band of vagabonds, as he supposed, or pirates, come only to seek for plunder. But finding them, as he drew near, well armed, and regularly drawn up in battalia, he thought it adviseable to forbear engaging troops that appeared so well disciplined, and instead of venturing a battle, to desire a parley. In this conference, *Latinus* understanding who they were, and being at the same time struck with terror, and touched with compassion, for those brave, but unfortunate men, entered into a treaty with them, and assigned them a tract of land for a settlement, on condition that they should employ their arms, and exert their valour in defence of his dominions, and look upon the *Rutuli* as a common enemy. This condition *Aeneas* readily accepted, and complied with his engagement so faithfully, that
- d *Latinus* came at length to repose an intire confidence in the *Trojan*, and in proof of it gave him *Lavinia*, his daughter, and only child, in marriage, securing to him by that means the succession to the throne of *Latium*^f. *Aeneas*, to testify his gratitude to *Lavinia*, and affection for *Lavinia*, gave her name to the camp he had pitched, and instead of *Troy* called it *Lavinium*. The *Trojans* followed the example of their leader, and by marriages making alliances with *Latin* families, became in a short time one and the same people with the *Latins*. Marries Lavinia.

- In the mean time *Turnus*, the queen's nephew, who had been brought up in the palace under the eye of *Latinus*, and entertained hopes of marrying *Lavinia*, and succeeding to the throne, seeing the princess bestowed on a stranger, and all his views defeated, went over to the *Rutuli*; and by stirring them up, brought on a battle between them and the *Latins*, in which both he and *Latinus* were killed. Thus *Aeneas*, by the death of his father-in-law, and by that of a troublesome rival, came into the quiet possession of the kingdom of *Latium*, which he governed with great wisdom, and transmitted to his posterity^g (D). Succeeds to the kingdom of Latinus.

Aeneas

^d Voss. de orig. idol. l. 1. ^e Idem ibid. ^f Liv. l. 1. c. 1. Dio Hal. l. 1. p. 46. ^g Idem ibid. p. 51.

(D) The genealogy of the kings of *Latium* we have here mentioned, is given by *Virgil* in the following verses:

Rex arva *Latinus* & urbes
Jam senior longa placidas in pace regebat.
Hunc Faunus & nymphæ genitum Laurente *Marica*
Accipimus. Fauno *Picus* pater; isque parentum
Te, *Saturnus*, refert; is, sanguinis, ultimus auctor (5).

But other writers, disagreeing with *Virgil*, speak of a long series of kings reigning in *Latium* before *Picus*, the grandfather of *Latinus*. Among these they mention two *Saturns*, and two *Faunus*'s, and suppose the elder *Faunus* to have lived two hundred

years before him, who was the father of *Latinus*. He is said to have been the first who civilized the inhabitants of *Italy*, and introduced a kind of religion among them, and was on that account honoured as a god. *Vossius*, as we have hinted above, believes that there never was in *Latium* a king bearing the name of *Picus*, and ascribes this common notion to a fabulous tradition reported by *Dionysius Halicarnassus*, viz. that in a certain province of *Latium* the god *Mars* had delivered his oracles by a mysterious bird, called in the language of the country, *Picus*, that is, woodpecker. Other writers count *Faunus*, *OEnotrus*, and four kings bearing the name of *Latinus*, among the ancient princes of *Latium*. *Virgil*

(5) *Virgil. Æneid. l. vii. v. 45, & seq.*

Aeneas is said to have reigned three years, during which time he established the worship of the gods of his own country, and to the religion of the *Latins* added that of *Troy*. The two palladiums (E), which had been the protectors of that city, became the tutelary deities of *Lavinium*, and in after-ages of the whole *Roman* empire. The worship of *Vesta* was likewise introduced by *Aeneas*, and virgins, from her called *Vestals*, appointed to keep a fire continually burning in honour of that goddess. *Jupiter*, *Venus*, and many other deities, who had been revered in *Troy*, became, in all likelihood, known to the *Latins* by means of *Aeneas*; which gave occasion to the poets of representing him under the character of a pious hero.

Death of
Aeneas.

WHILE *Aeneas* was thus employed, the *Rutuli*, ancient enemies of the *Latin* name, entering into an alliance with *Mezentius*, king of the *Tyrrhenians*, took the field with a design to drive out those new-comers, of whose power they began to conceive no small jealousy. *Aeneas* marched out against them at the head of his *Trojans* and *Latins*. Hereupon a battle ensued, which lasted till night, when *Aeneas*, being pushed to the banks of the *Numicus*, which ran close by *Lavinium*, and forced into that river, was there drowned. The *Trojans* concealed his body, and pretending that he had vanished away on a sudden, made him pass for a deity among his credulous subjects, who, accordingly, erected a temple to him under the title of *Jupiter Indiges* (F)¹. Such was the end of *Aeneas*, the *Trojan* prince so much celebrated by the *Greek* and *Latin* poets. Of his progenitors, birth, and behaviour, during the siege of *Troy*, and adventures after the fall of that city, till his settling in *Latium*, we have spoke at length elsewhere², and therefore shall not break off the thread of our history to give in this place any farther account of that hero.

Ascanius.

UPON the death of *Aeneas*, his son *Euryleon*, called also *Ascanius* and *Iulus*, ascended the throne (G). But as the young prince did not think it advisable to venture a battle in the very beginning of his reign with a formidable enemy, who promised himself great success from the death of *Aeneas*, he had the prudence to confine himself within the walls of *Lavinium*, and to try whether he could by an honourable treaty put an end to so dangerous a war. But the haughty *Mezentius* demanding of the *Latins*, as one of the conditions of a peace, that they should pay him yearly, by way of tribute, all the wine produced in the territory of *Latium*, *Ascanius* rejected the proposal with the utmost indignation, and having caused all the vines throughout his dominions to be consecrated to *Jupiter*, and by that means put it out of his power to comply with the enemy's request, he resolved to make a vigorous sally, and try whether he could, by force of arms, bring the insulting *Tyrrhenian* to more reasonable terms. The main body of the enemy's army was incamped at some distance from *Lavinium*; but *Lausus* the son of *Mezentius*, with the flower of their youth under his command, lay intrenched at the very gates of the city. The *Trojans*, who had been long accustomed to make vigorous sallies, marching out in the night, attacked the post where *Lausus* commanded, forced his intrenchments, and obliged the troops he had with him to save

¹ DIO HAL. p. 51.

² Vide Vol. II. p. 321, 322.

Virgil himself owns, that the inhabitants of *Latium* were called *Latins* long before the reign of king *Latinus*, who received *Aeneas*; for he introduces *Juno* addressing *Jupiter* in favour of the *Latins*, and intreating him not to suffer the ancient name of *Latins* to be changed into that of *Trojans*. His words are;

*Pro Latio obtestor, pro majestate tuorum, &c.
Ne vetus indigenas nomen mutare Latinos,
Nem Troas fieri jubeas, Teucrosque vocari* (6).

(E) These were two statues, whereof one was the original, and the other the copy; so that, properly speaking, there was but one true *Palladium*, of which we have spoke at length in the history of *Troy*, to which we refer our readers (7).

(F) The inscription, according to *Aurelius Victor*, was conceived in these words, *Patri Deo indigenti*. The word *Indiges* in the *Latin* tongue signified one of those gods who had been of the race of men,

and at length were deified. The temple or tomb of *Aeneas*, in the time of *Dionysius Halicarnassus*, was nothing but a rising spot of ground set round with trees. Perhaps, says that writer, it was the tomb of *Anchises*, who died but a year before his son (8). *Livy* likewise tells us, that *Aeneas* had divine honours paid him under the name of *Jupiter Indiges* (9).

(G) *Euryleon* was, according to some, the son of *Aeneas*, by *Crensa*, according to others, by *Lavinia*. He was called *Ascanius* from a river in *Phrygia* bearing that name, and *Iulus*, which name was afterwards changed into *Iulus*, from *Ilium* or *Troy*. *Cato*, as quoted by *Servius* (10), derives *Iulus* from the *Greek* word *ιουλος*, signifying the soft and tender hair which first appears on the face, and pretends that this name was given to *Ascanius*, because he killed *Mezentius* in a single combat, when he was very young. But herein he contradicts all the ancient historians, who speak either of *Iulus* or *Mezentius*.

(6) *Idem* l. x. v. 820. & seq. (7) *Vide* Vol. II. p. 310.

(8) *Dio Hal.* l. i. p. 51.

(9) *Liv.* l. i.

(10) *Servius* in l. i. *Æneid.* v. 171.

themselves

a themselves by flight to the main body of the army incamped on the plain. But the unexpected arrival and overthrow of their advance-guard struck them with such terror, that instead of stopping the flight of their companions, they fled with them in great disorder to the neighbouring mountains. The *Latins* pursued them, and in the pursuit *Lausus* was killed, whose death so discouraged *Mezentius*, that he immediately sued for peace, which was granted him upon condition, that for the future the *Tiber* should be the boundary between the *Latin* and *Hebrurian* territories^k.

In the mean time *Lavinia*, who had been left with child by *Aeneas*, entertaining a strong jealousy of the ambition of her son-in-law, retired to the woods, and was there peaceably delivered of a son, who from his father was named *Aeneas*, and from the place of his birth had the surname of *Sylvius*. But as the queen's flight, who had disappeared on a sudden, raised suspicions at *Lavinium* prejudicial to the reputation of *Ascanius*, he used all possible means to remove them, caused diligent search to be made after *Lavinia*, calmed her fears, and prevailed upon her to return to the town with her son, whom he ever after treated as a brother. *Lavinium* grew every day more populous; but as it was in reality the patrimony of *Lavinia*, and the inheritance of her son *Sylvius*, *Ascanius* resolved to resign it to them, and build elsewhere another city for himself. This he made the place of his residence, and the capital of his new kingdom, calling it *Alba Longa*; *Alba*, from a white sow, which we are told *Aeneas* had found in the place where it was built, and *Longa*, to distinguish it from another

*Ascanius
founds Alba
Longa.*

c town of the same name in the country of the *Marsi*, or rather, because it extended, without having much breadth, the whole length of a lake near which it was built^l (G). It was thirty years after the building of *Lavinium*, that *Ascanius* fixed his abode at *Alba*, and there he died after a reign of about thirty-eight years, twelve of which he had resided at his new settlement. He left a son, called *Iulus*; so that between him and *Sylvius* lay the right of succession to the *Latin* throne; the latter being the son, and the former the grandson, of *Aeneas*. The *Latins* not thinking it for their interest to continue divided, as it were, into two states, resolved to unite *Alba* and *Lavinium* into one sovereignty; and as *Sylvius* was born of *Lavinia*, the daughter

*Upon the death
of Ascanius the
Latins unite
Lavinium to
Alba.*

d whereas the other, after all, was but the son of a stranger, the *Latins* bestowed the crown on *Sylvius*, and, to make *Iulus* some amends, decreed to him the sovereign power in affairs of religion, a power which thenceforth continued in his family. *Sylvius* was succeeded by thirteen kings of the same race, who for near four hundred years reigned at *Alba*. But we scarce know any thing of them besides their names, and the years of their respective reigns. *Aeneas Sylvius* died after a reign of twenty-nine years. His son, called also *Aeneas Sylvius*, governed *Latium* thirty-one years. *Latinus Sylvius*, who succeeded him, swayed the sceptre for the space of fifty-one years. *Alba* reigned thirty-nine; *Capetus*, called by *Livy* *Atys*, twenty-six; *Capis* twenty-eight; and *Capetus* thirteen. *Tiberinus*, who succeeded him, engaged in a war, which proved

Kings of Alba.

e fatal to him; for in a battle, which was fought on the banks of the *Albula*, he was forced into that river, and drowned. From him the river took the name of *Tiber*, which it has bore ever since. *Agrippa* succeeded *Tiberinus* after a reign of eight years, and left the throne, which he had held forty-one years, to *Alladius*, who reigned nineteen, and was succeeded by *Aventinus*, who left his name to the hill *Aventinus*, where he was interred. *Procas*, who succeeded him, and reigned twenty-three years, was the father of *Numitor* and *Amulius*, and at his death bequeathed the throne to his elder son *Numitor*. But *Amulius*, who surpassed his brother in courage and understanding, drove him from the throne, and to secure it for himself, murdered *Agestus*, *Numitor's* only son, and consecrated his daughter *Rhea Sylvia* to the worship of *Vesta*,
f by which she was obliged to perpetual virginity. But this precaution proved ineffectual; for as the *Vestal* was going to a neighbouring spring to fetch water for the perfor-

^k DIO HAL. *ibid.* LIV. l. i. c. 3.

^l DIO HAL. p. 52, 53. LIV. l. i. c. 3. AUR. VICTOR. *orig. Rom.*

(G) The place which *Ascanius* chose for his new capital was pleasant, fruitful, and easy to be fortified, being covered on one side by a mountain, and on the other by a deep lake, which rendered it inaccessible. It was built at an equal distance from the lake and the mountain, probably between the present

city of *Albano*, and the lake of *Castel Gandolfo*, and peopled by a mixed colony of *Latins* and *Trojans*. The inhabitants of this city were called *Albani*, to distinguish them from those of the other *Alba*, who were called *Albanenses* (11).

Birth and edu-
cation of Ro-
mulus and
Remus.

mance of a sacrifice to *Mars*, she was met and forced by a man disguised in a military habit, like that in which the god *Mars* was represented. Some authors think that this counterfeit *Mars* was a lover come thither by her appointment; others charge *Amulius* with using this violence to his niece himself, not so much to gratify his lust, as to have a pretence to destroy her. For ever after he caused her to be carefully watched, till she was delivered of two sons; and then exaggerating her crime in an assembly of the people, he prevailed upon them to sentence her to death, and to condemn the fruit of her criminal amour to be thrown into the *Tiber*. The sentence against *Rhea* was, according to some authors, changed by *Amulius*, at the request of his daughter *Antia*, into perpetual confinement, but executed against the twins, who being laid in a wooden trough, and carried to the foot of mount *Palatine*, were turned there adrift on the *Tiber*, which at that time overflowed its banks. But the wind and stream proved both so favourable, that at the fall of the water the two infants were left safe on the strand, and there happily found by *Faustulus*, the chief of the king's shepherds, and suckled by his wife *Acca Laurentia*, who for her disorderly life was called *Lupa*. And this probably gave rise to the fabulous miracle of their being nursed by a wolf ^m.

As *Faustulus* was probably well acquainted with the birth of the twins, he took more than ordinary care of their education, and sent them to *Gabii* to be instructed there in Greek literature ⁿ. As they grew up, they appeared to have something great in their mein and air, which commanded respect; and the ascendant, which they assumed over the other shepherds, made them dreaded in the forests, where they exercised a sort of empire. A quarrel happening between the herdsmen of *Amulius* and those of *Numitor*, the two brothers took the part of the former against the latter; and some blood being shed in the fray, the adverse party, to be revenged on *Romulus* and *Remus*, for so the twins were called, on the festival of the *Lupercalia* (H), surprised *Remus*, and carried him before *Numitor* to be punished by him, according to his deserts. But *Numitor*, either by instinct or compassion, feeling himself touched in the prisoner's favour, asked him where he was born, and who were his parents. His answer immediately struck *Numitor* with a lively remembrance of his two grandsons. Their age, which was about eighteen years, agreed with the time when the two infants were exposed upon the *Tiber*; and there needed no more to change his anger into tenderness ^o.

In the meantime *Romulus*, eager to rescue his brother, and pursue those who had carried him off, was preparing to be revenged on them; but *Faustulus* dissuaded him from it, and on that occasion disclosing to him his birth, awakened in his breast sentiments worthy of his extraction. He resolved at all adventures to attempt the delivering of his mother and grandfather from oppression. With this view he assembled the country-people, over whom he had assumed a kind of sovereignty, and engaged them to come to the city on an appointed day, and enter it by different gates, provided with arms,

^m Liv. *ibid.* Dio Hal. p. 60—63. Fab. Pictor. Fortius Cato, & Calpurnius Piso, apud eund.
ⁿ Plut. in Romulo. ^o Dio Hal. p. 64. Aelius Tuberus, apud eund. p. 65.

(H) *Valerius Maximus* pretends, that the festival of the *Lupercalia* was not older than the foundation of *Rome*. But he is therein contradicted by *Livy* (12), *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* (13), and *Plutarch* (13), who tell us in express terms, that this festival was brought by *Evander* out of *Greece*. The ceremonies observed in it were these: In the first place, two goats and a dog were killed; then the foreheads of two young men of distinction were touched with the bloody knife, and they were to laugh when they were thus touched. This being done, the skins of the victims were cut into thongs, and whips made of them for the young men, who scoured the streets and the fields all naked but their middle, and struck those they met. The young women offered themselves to their strokes, fancying they contributed to fruitfulness (15). They ran naked, because *Pan*, the god of the shepherds, was commonly represented so. They sacrificed a goat, because that divinity was

supposed to have goats feet. A dog was added as a necessary companion of a shepherd. Some have thought with *Plutarch*, that these *Lupercalia* were instituted in honour of the wolf that suckled *Romulus* and *Remus*. But most other writers tell us, that they were appointed in honour of *Pan*, from whom they borrowed their name, *Pan* being called in *Greek* *Λύκος*, perhaps from *λύω*, which answers the *Latin* word *Lupus*, a wolf, because the chief employment of *Pan* was to drive away the wolves from the sheep he protected. This festival was celebrated the fifteenth of *February*. The priests, who presided at these sacrifices, were called *Luperci*; and were divided into two companies or colleges, viz. the *Fabiani* and *Quinctiliani*, one for *Romulus*, the other for *Remus*. They took their names from *Fabius* and *Quintilius*, their chief priests (16). *Dion Cassius* tells us, that afterwards a third college was added by the senate in honour of *Julius Caesar* (17).

(12) Liv. l. i. c. 5. (13) Dio Hal. l. i. p. 25. & 63. (14) Plut. in Romulo. (15) Plut. *ibid.*
Sens. Pomp. l. xviii. (16) *Sens. Pomp. ibid.* (17) Dio Cass. l. xlv.

which

- a which they were to conceal. While *Romulus* was thus disposing every thing for the execution of his design, *Numitor* made the same discovery to *Remus*, concerning his parents, and the oppression they groaned under, which so fired him, that he was ready to imbarque in any enterprize. But *Numitor* took care to moderate the transports of his grandson, and only desired him to acquaint his brother with what he had heard from him, and to send him to his house. *Romulus* soon came, and was followed by *Faustulus*, who took with him the trough or skill, in which the twins had been exposed, to shew it to *Numitor*. But as the shepherd betrayed an air of concern and earnestness in his looks, he was stopped at the gate of the city, led before *Amulius*, and examined concerning his burden. It was easily known by its make and inscription,
- b which was still legible; and therefore *Faustulus* owned what it was, and confessed that the twins were living; but in order to gain time, pretended that they were feeding flocks in a remote desert. In the mean time the usurper's death being resolved on, *Remus* undertook to raise the city, and *Romulus* to invest the king's palace. The country-people came at the time appointed, and formed themselves into companies, each consisting of an hundred men. They had no other ensigns but bundles of hay hanging upon long poles, which the *Latins* at that time called *Manipuli*; and hence came the name of *Manipulares*, originally given to troops raised in the country (1). With this tumultuous army *Romulus* beset the avenues of the palace, forced the guard, and having killed the tyrant, after he had reigned forty-two years, restored his grandfather *Numitor* to the throne? They destroy Amulius, and restore Numitor.
- c AFFAIRS being thus settled at *Alba*, the two brothers, by the advice of *Numitor*, undertook the founding of a new colony. The king bestowed on them those lands near the *Tiber*, where they had been brought up, supplied them with all manner of instruments for breaking up ground, with slaves, and beasts of burden, and granted full liberty to his subjects to join them. Hereupon most of the *Trojans*, of whom there still remained fifty families in *Augustus's* time, chose to follow the fortune of *Romulus* and *Remus*; as did also the inhabitants of *Pallantium* and *Saturnia*, two small towns. For the more speedy carrying on of the work, it was thought proper to divide those who were to be employed in the building of the city into two
- d companies, one under the command of *Romulus*, the other of *Remus*. But this division, which was designed purely with a view to the public welfare, and that the two parties might work by way of emulation, gave birth to two factions, and produced a jealousy between the two brothers, which broke out when they came to chuse a place for the building of their new city. For *Remus* was for the *Aventine*, and *Romulus* for the *Palatine* mount. Upon which the matter being referred to their grandfather, he advised the contending parties to have recourse to the gods, and to put an end to the dispute by augury, to which he was himself greatly addicted. The day appointed for the ceremony being come, the brothers posted themselves each upon his hill; and it was agreed, that whoever should see the first sight, or the greatest number of vulturs,
- e should gain his cause. After the two rivals had waited some time for the appearance of a favourable augury, *Romulus*, before any had appeared, sent to acquaint his brother that he had seen some vulturs. But *Remus*, having actually seen six, while his brother's messengers were yet on their way, hastened on their arrival to mount *Palatine*, to examine the truth of what they had told him. He had no sooner got thither, than by an unexpected good fortune, twelve vulturs appeared to *Romulus*. These he immediately shewed to his brother, and, transported with joy, desired him to be judge himself of the truth of what his messengers had told him. However, *Remus* discovered the deceit, and being told that *Romulus* had not seen the twelve vulturs till after he had seen six, he insisted on the time of his seeing them, and the other on the

¹ PLUT. in Romulo.

² PLUT. & LIV. *ibid.*

(1) The Romans at first had no other ensigns.

*Non illi cælo lætensia signa tenebant;
Sed sua, quæ magnum perdere crimen erat:
Illa quidem fano, sed erat reverentia fano,
Quantum nunc aquilas cernis habere tuas:
Pervicæ suspensas portabas longa maniplos,
Unde manipularis nomina miles habet* (18).

(18) Ovid. *Festor*, III. v. 117.

The *manipulus* in *Romulus's* time consisted of an hundred men, called *Manipulares*; but was afterwards increased to two hundred. In the decline of the empire the *manipulus* consisted of less than an hundred men, as is plain from a passage in *Ammianus Marcellinus* (19).

(19) *Ammian. Marcellin.* l. xvii.

number

Remus is
killed.

The foundation
of Rome.
Year of the
flood 2251.
Before Christ
748.

number of the birds he had seen. This widened the breach between the two brothers; and their parties being divided, while each man espoused the cause of his leader, the dispute grew so warm, that from words they came at length to blows. The shepherd *Faustulus*, who was equally dear to both the brothers, endeavouring to part the combatants, was by an unknown hand laid dead on the spot. Some writers tell us, that *Remus* likewise lost his life in the fray; but the greater number place his death later, and say, that he was killed by one *Fabius*, for having, in derision, leaped over the wall of the new city; but *Livy* says, the more common report was, that *Remus* fell by the hand of his brother * (K).

Romulus being now head of the colony, by having got the better of his brother's party in the late engagement, applied his thoughts wholly to the building of the city, which he proposed to call after his own name. He chose mount *Palatine* for its situation, and performed all those ceremonies, which the superstition of the *Hebrurians* had introduced. He first offered sacrifices to the gods, and ordered all the people to do the same; and from that time decreed, that eagles should be the auspices of his new colony. After this great fires were kindled before their tents, and all the people leaped through the flames to purify themselves. When this ceremony was over, they dug a trench round the spot, where the assemblies of the people were afterwards held, and threw into it the first-fruits of whatever they were allowed to make use of for food; every man of the colony was ordered to cast into the same trench a handful of earth, brought either from his own, or some neighbouring country. The trench they called *Mundus*, that is, *The World*, and made it the centre round which the city was to be built. Then *Romulus* yoking a cow and a bull to a plough, the coulter whereof was brass, marked out by a deep furrow the whole compass of the city. These two animals, the symbols of marriage by which cities are peopled, were afterwards slain upon the altars. All the peopled followed the plough, throwing inwards the clods of earth, which the plough-share sometimes turned outwards. Where-ever a gate was to be made, the plough was lifted up and carried; and hence came the Latin word *Porta*, a gate, derived from the verb *Portare*, to carry (L). As mount *Palatine*

* LIV. l. i. DIO HAL. l. i. p. 72. PLUT. in Romulo.

(K) *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, who is of opinion, that *Remus* was killed before the foundation of the new city, adds, that he was buried in a place called after his own name *Remuria*, about thirty furlongs from *Rome*; which situation seeming to him the most convenient for building a city, he went thither, according to some writers, and, according to others, to mount *Aventine*, to observe the flight of the birds. *Festus* says, that the summit of mount *Aventine* was called *Remuria* from the time *Remus* resolved to build the city there. But *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* speaks of mount *Aventine* and *Remuria* as two different places. *Stephanus* will have *Remuria* to have been a city in the neighbourhood of *Rome*.

(L) The *Hebrurians* had, as *Festus* informs us (20), a sort of ritual, wherein were contained the ceremonies that were to be observed in building cities, temples, altars, walls, and gates. *Fabius Pictor* says, that *Romulus* sent for a priest or augur out of *Hebruria*, to preside at the building of his new city, and *Plutarch* tells us, that men from *Hebruria* taught the founder every rite he was to observe. The meaning of the ceremonies we have mentioned was as follows: they leaped through the flames, being persuaded that so religious a ceremony required great purity. The bull and cow were both white.

Alba jugum nives cum bove vacca sulis (21), says *Ovid*. Their whiteneſs was a symbol of that purity of manners and innocence, which should be the character of every citizen. *Isidorus* (22) tells us, that a cow and an ox yoked together, represented the foundation of cities, and settlement of colonies. By throwing the first-fruits, and a handful of earth into the trench, they admonished the heads of the

colony, that it ought to be their chief study to procure for their fellow-citizens all the conveniences of life, to maintain peace and union amongst a people come together from different parts of the world, and by this means to form themselves into a body never to be dissolved. By the care which the people took to throw the clods of earth back towards the city, they were instructed, that plenty in cities is owing to the fruitful product of the lands about them, and that they ought to bring every thing from abroad, that could contribute to the welfare of the inhabitants.

The whole length of the ground where the plough had passed, was by the ancients looked upon as sacred and inviolable; and for this reason they thought themselves obliged to spend the last drop of their blood in the defence of their walls; and to break through them was a crime of the highest nature.

In speaking of the foundation of *Rome*, we have followed the account which *Livy*, and after him most of the Latin historians give us of that memorable event; but *Plutarch* tells us (23), that there is a great disagreement among authors both as to the founder of *Rome*, and the reason why it was so called: Some were of opinion, as that writer informs us, that the *Pelasgians*, who had over-run the greater part of the habitable world, fixed there; and from their power and strength in arms, in Greek *Ρωμα*, called the city by that name: others thought the city was built by some *Trojans*, who, escaping from *Troy*, were driven upon the coasts of *Hebruria*; among them was a woman of distinction, named *Roma*, whose name was given to the new city: others pretended that *Roma* was the daughter of *Italus*

(20) *Festus* de ling. Latin. l. ij. Romulo.

(21) *Ovid*, *Fag.* l. iv.

(22) *Isidor.* l. xxy. c. 4.

(23) *Plut.* in

- a *Palatine* stood by itself, the whole was inclosed within the line made by the plough, which formed almost the figure of a square; whence it is called by *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* *Roma Quadrata*. *Plutarch* seems to make a distinction between *Roma Quadrata*, and the city of *Rome*; for he says, that *Romulus* had built the former before he marked out the plan of the latter. But the authorities of *Fabius Pictor*, *Cato*, and *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, are of greater weight with us.

As to the exact year of the foundation of *Rome*, there is a great disagreement among historians and chronologers. *Varro*, whose opinion is, according to *Petavius*, the most agreeable to the rules of chronology, places it in the third year of the sixth olympiad; that is, according to the computation of the learned *Usher*, whom we chuse to follow, four hundred and thirty-six years after the destruction of *Troy*, and seven hundred forty-eight before the christian æra (M). The *Romans*, if we may so call them, began to build, as *Plutarch*^a and others inform us, on the twenty-first of April, which day was then consecrated to *Pales*, goddess of the shepherds; whence the festival of *Pales*, and that of the foundation of the city, were afterwards jointly celebrated at *Rome* (N).

When *Rome* had received the utmost perfection, which its poor and rude founder could give it, it consisted of about a thousand houses, or rather huts, and was, properly speaking, a beggarly village, whereof the principal inhabitants followed the plough, being obliged to cultivate, with their own hands, the ungrateful soil of a barren country, which they had shared among themselves. Even the walls of *Romulus's* palace were made of rushes, and covered with thatch (O). As every one had chosen his ground to build upon without any regard to the regularity and beauty of the whole, the streets, if we may so call them, were both crooked and narrow. In short *Rome*, till it was rebuilt, after the burning of it by the *Gauls*, was rather a disorderly heap of huts, than a city built with any regularity or order^c. From this mean and contemptible beginning, *Rome*, in process of time, became the metropolis and mistress of the whole known world, as we shall see in the sequel of this history.

^a PLUT. *ibid.*^c VAL. MAX. l. iv. DIO. HAL. & PLUT. *ibid.*

Tealus and *Lucaria*, or of *Telephus* the son of *Hercules*, and that she was married to *Æneas*. Some will have her to have been the daughter of *Ascanius*, *Æneas's* son. The same writer speaks of *Romanus*, the son of *Ulysses* by *Circe*, of *Romus* the son of *Emathion*, whom *Diomedes* sent from *Troy*, and of *Romus*, a king of the *Latins*, who drove out the *Hetrurians*; to each of these the building of *Rome* has by some authors been ascribed. *Solinus* bestows that honour on *Evander*, and adds, that *Rome* was first called *Valentia*; while others, as *St. Augustin* informs us (24), pretend that its ancient name was *Febris*, borrowed from *Februa* the mother of *Mars*.

(M) *Timæus* of *Sicily* thinks that *Rome* and *Carthage* were built much about the same time, that is, thirty-eight years before the first olympiad. *Q. Cincius* places the foundation of *Rome* in the fourth year of the twelfth olympiad; *Fabius Pictor*, in the first year of the eighth; *Polybius* and *Diodorus Siculus*, in the second year of the seventh olympiad; *Portius Cato*, and others, in the first year of the same olympiad; *Marcus Verrinus Flaccus*, the supposed author of the *Capitoline* tables, and *Livy*, in the fourth year of the sixth olympiad. But the most exact Roman writers follow *Varro's* calculation, according to which the foundations of *Rome* were laid near the end of the third year of the sixth olympiad. *Plutarch*, from the testimony of some ancient writers, tells us, that an eclipse of the sun happened the first day that *Rome* was founded, which was seen by *Antimachus* at *Teos*. *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* mentions another

eclipse (25), which happened the same day that *Romulus* died. From these astronomical observations several writers have attempted, by the help of the tables of eclipses, to fix the true æra of the foundation of *Rome*; but the fruit of their labours has been nothing but endless disputes, in which every one is at liberty to chuse what side he pleases.

(N) The *Palilia*, or feast of *Pales*, is sometimes called *Parilia*, from the Latin word *Parere*, To bring forth, because prayers were then made for the fruitfulness of the sheep. *Ovid* mentions a very tedious course of superstitious ceremonies, which the shepherds went through on that occasion. They had always a great feast at night, and when they were pretty merry, they concluded the whole with dancing over the fires they had made in the fields with heaps of straw (26). As the *Romans* celebrated at the same time the festival of the foundation of their city, no victims were slain, because they judged the shedding of blood unsuitable to so extraordinary a festival, which was designed only for public rejoicings.

(O) The hut of *Romulus* was long preserved on the *Capitol*, according to *Vitruvius*, *Macrobius*, and *Seneca*, as a venerable monument of antiquity; and it was a point of religion with the *Romans* never to make use of any other materials but rushes and straw to repair it, till it was at length destroyed by fire in the time of *Augustus*. But after all, this hut on the *capitol* could not be the house of *Romulus*, it being certain that he dwelt on mount *Palatine*.

(24) *Augustin. de civitat. Dei* l. iii. c. seq.(25) *Dio. Hal.* l. ii. p. 115.(26) *Ovid. Fast.* 4. v. 721.

C H A P. II.

The Roman history from Romulus to the Commonwealth.

Romulus chosen king.

AS Romulus had taken upon himself the chief command of the colony only for the time the city was building, as soon as the work was finished, he assembled the people, and gave them liberty to chuse what kind of government they liked best. They, without hesitation, gave the preference to monarchy, and unanimously proclaimed Romulus king of Rome. But the prince elect, before he ascended the throne, begged leave to consult the will of the gods by auguries. It is said, that after he had offered sacrifices to the gods in an open place, a flash of lightning was seen to gleam from the left, which was, according to the augurs, a lucky omen. From this time it became an established custom to have recourse to augury upon raising any one to the royal dignity, the priesthood, or any public employment. In process of time this came to be only a matter of pure ceremony, though the custom introduced by the example of the founder, subsisted above seven hundred years^a (P). Romulus being thus declared king by the election of the people, and approbation of the gods, applied all his thoughts to the establishing of good order in his new city, and a due subordination among his subjects. He himself put on a habit of distinction, and appointed twelve lictors to attend him as guards, each of them bearing an ax stuck in a bundle of rods, which was the usual symbol of sovereignty among his neighbours the *Hetrurians* (Q). He divided the three thousand three hundred men, of which his colony consisted, into three equal parts, called *Tribes* or *Thirds*, each being commanded by its præfect or tribune. The tribes were divided into ten *curiæ*, and these subdivided each into ten *decuriæ*: over the former was appointed officers, named *Curiones*, and over the latter *Decuriones*, each *curiæ* and *decuriæ* having their peculiar commander. After this Romulus divided his small territory, not above five or six miles in extent, into three parts, but not equal. One was consecrated to the expences of religious worship; another reserved for the king's revenue, and the exigencies of the state; and the third, which was the most considerable, divided into thirty portions, to answer to the thirty *curiæ*^u (R). The next thing which Romulus did was to distinguish the people, according to their birth and dignity, into *Patricians* and *Plebeians*. The former, as being of a more noble extraction, were to take care of the religious rites and ceremonies, and to bear all the civil and military dignities; the latter to till the ground, feed cattle, and follow trades, but not to have any share in the government, to avoid the inconveniencies of a popular power. But to prevent the seditions, which such a distinction might produce, and to bind them to each other by reciprocal ties and obligations, every plebeian was allowed to chuse out of the body of the patricians a protector, who was obliged to assist him with his interest and substance, and to defend him from the oppressions of the great. These protectors were styled

Tribes, Curia, Decuria.

Patricians and Plebeians.

Patrons and clients.

^a DIO. HAL. p. 78. CIC. l. iij. de legib. & l. iij. de nat. deor. ^u DIO. HAL. l. ii. p. 76. FLUT. in Romulo. STRAB. l. v. p. 531.

(P) This practice continued from the time of Romulus to the end of the republic, and was sometimes used even under the emperors. Those who stood for employments, went out early on the day which was appointed for their election, made a public prayer, and consulted the augurs. When their answers proved favourable, as they generally did, the augurs being commonly well paid for their pains, the candidates gave out that the gods were not against their having the office, which they solicited. Upon this they were said to obtain and bear it *auspicato*.

(Q) Some think that he chose twelve lictors, because he had seen twelve vulturs, a number, which had given him the superiority over his brother.

(R) Dionysius Halicarnassensis expressly affirms, that each *decuria* was undivided into ten *decuriæ*, and that these lesser bodies were governed by *decuriones*. And upon the strength of his authority, most compilers of the Roman history give the same account. But the learned Gravins is of opinion, that Dionysius by a mistake ascribes such a division to the *curiæ*, as was peculiar to the *turma* in the army (27).

(27) Vide Gravium in præf. ad 1. Vol. Thef. antiq. Rom.

- a patrons, and the protected clients. It was the duty of the patron to advise his clients in point of law, to manage their suits, to take care of them as of their own children, and by all ways and methods to secure their peace and happiness. The clients on the other hand were to assist their patrons with money on several occasions, to ransom them or their children, when taken in war, to contribute to the portions of their daughters, to defray in part the charges of their public employments, &c. They were never to accuse each other, or take contrary sides; and if either of them was convicted of having violated this law, the crime was equal to that of treason, and any one was allowed to kill the offender with impunity. This patronage was as effectual as any consanguinity or alliance, and had a wonderful effect towards maintaining
- b union and concord among the people for the space of six hundred years, and upwards; during which time we find no dissensions nor jealousies between the patrons and their clients, even in the times of the republic, when the populace frequently mutinied against those who were most powerful in the city *.

- AFTER this Romulus formed a senate, which consisted of a hundred persons chosen out of the patricians; but the choice was not made by the king himself; each tribe chose three senators, and each of the thirty *curiæ* the like number, which made in all the number of ninety-nine; so that Romulus named only the hundredth, who was the head, or *prince of the senate*, and the chief governor of the city, when the king was in the field. They were called *patres* or *fatbers*, either on account of their age, or
- c their fatherly care of their fellow-citizens. Their descendants, to whom alone some appropriate the name of *patricians*, were the prime nobility among the Romans. The senate being thus established, Romulus ordered the *curiæ* to chuse him a guard of three hundred young men, ten out of each *curia*; and these he called *celeres* from their activity, and the expedition with which they executed the orders they received. They were all horsemen; but fought either on foot or on horseback, as occasion required, or the ground would allow. They were commanded by a tribune called *Tribunus Celerum*, three centurions, and other inferior officers. Romulus in the next place proceeded to settle the respective powers and privileges of the king, senate, and people. The king's office at home was to take care of religious affairs; to be guardian of the laws and customs; to decide the weightier causes between man and man, referring those of less moment to the senate; to call together the senators, and assemble the people, first delivering his own opinion relating to the affairs he proposed, and then ratifying by his consent what was agreed on by the majority: abroad, and in time of war, he was to command the army with absolute authority, and to take care of the public money †. The senate were not only to be judges in causes of small importance, but to debate and resolve upon such public affairs as the king proposed, and to determine them by the plurality of voices. To the people he committed three things, *viz.* to create magistrates, enact laws, and resolve upon any war that was proposed by the king; but in all these things the approbation of the senate was necessary.

- WHEN order was thus established in political affairs, Romulus thought it his duty to make some regulations in matters of religion. He did not indeed give it that form, to which it was afterwards brought, but contented himself with establishing some sort of regularity in the priesthood, and in the worship of those deities, which Evander had introduced, or Aneas brought from Troy, or the *Aborigines* worshipped in their time. He appointed that each *curia* should have its own temple, and its peculiar gods and priests, that the people should assemble on certain stated days in *cænacula*, or public halls, and that they should there feast in common on the victims that had been offered to the gods. He likewise established festivals, whereby religion became an
- f ease and relief to the labouring people. The chief ministers of the gods were chosen out of the patricians, and the inferior priests out of such families only as were honourable. They were to be at least fifty years old, and none but their wives were allowed to perform the functions of priestesses. Their sons were to wait at the altars to the age of puberty, and their daughters so long as they continued virgins. The sons were called *camilli*, and the daughters *camillæ*. When a priest had no children of his own, he might chuse the handsomest in his *curia* to attend him in the sacrifices. As the sacerdotal families were exempted from paying taxes, and bearing arms, and besides, their employment was for life, Romulus prohibited the seeking of it by intrigues and cabals,

* PLUT. *ibid.* DIO. HAL. p. 83—85.† DIO. HAL. *ibid.* p. 84, 85.

the purchasing of it by money, and even the trusting of it to the hazard of lots. He left to each *curia* the free choice of their priests, auspices, and augurs. The aruspices inspected the intrails of the victims; and the augurs foretold future events by the flight and singing of birds (S).

The asylum.

THUS was the colony founded; but, as it was thin of inhabitants, *Romulus*, to attract strangers from the neighbouring countries, opened an asylum or place of refuge for fugitive slaves, homicides, outlaws, and persons plunged in debt. These he did not at first receive within the walls; but allotted them the hill *Saturnius*, afterwards called *Capitolinus*, for their habitation. Nor was the appearance of religion

(S) As we shall frequently have occasion, in the course of this history, to speak of *Augurs* and *Haruspices*, or *Auspices*, it may not be improper to give some account in this place of that kind of divination. The art of divination, and foretelling future events, by the flight, chirping or motions of birds, came from the *Cushidians* to the *Greeks*, from them to the *Etrurians*, and from the *Etrurians* to the *Latins* and *Romans* (28). The name of *Augur* is derived by some *ab avium gestu*; by others *ab avium garru*, that is, either from the motion and actions, or from the chirping and chattering of birds. As *Romulus* himself was well versed in this art, after he had divided the city into three tribes, he appointed an augur for each tribe (29). A fourth was added some time after, probably by *Servius Tullius*, who increased the tribes. These four were all chosen out of the patricians; but in the year of Rome 454, at the solicitation of the tribunes, five persons were added to the college, elected out of the common people (30); and in the year 672, *Sylla* increased their number to fifteen (31). The eldest of these presided over the rest, and was honoured with the title of *magister collegii* (32). Their office, which we find comprised in the augural law mentioned by *Tully* (33), was to interpret dreams, oracles, prodigies, &c. and to tell whether any action should be fortunate or prejudicial to particular persons, or to the whole state. Thus they were the interpreters of the will of the gods, with respect to the making of war or peace; and all were obliged to obey them in so important an article. We find five sorts of auguries mentioned by the ancients; 1. From the appearances in heaven, as thunder, lightning, comets, and other meteors. 2. From birds, whence they had the name of *Auspices*, from the Latin words *avis* and *conficio*. Some birds furnished them with observations from their chattering or singing; others, from their flying. The former were called *Oficines*, and the latter *Præpetes*. For the taking of both these sorts of auguries, the augur went up to some high place, took the augural staff, which was bent at one end like a crozier, and marked out with it the four *templa* or quarters of the heaven. Then he turned to the east, and, in that situation, waited for the omen, which was of no signification, unless confirmed by another of the same sort. 3. From birds kept in a coop for that purpose. The manner of divining from them was as follows: Early in the morning the augur that was to make the observation, after having commanded a general silence, ordered the coop to be opened, and then threw in a handful of crumbs or corn. If the chickens did not eat greedily, scattered their food about with their wings, let a great deal of it fall from their mouths to the ground, or, above all, refused to eat, the omen was reckoned unlucky, and some great misfortune portended; but if they fed greedily, and let none of their food drop out of their mouths, there was all the assurance that possibly could be wished for of happiness and success (34). This sort of augury was called *tripudium*, from the ancient

Latin word *pavire*, to strike, and *terra*, the earth; because the birds, in eating greedily, struck the ground with their beaks. The 4th sort of augury was from beasts, viz. wolves, goats, foxes, hares, asses, rams, hares, weasels and mice. The general observations about them were, whether they appeared in a strange place, or crossed the way; whether they ran to the right or left, &c. The last sort of divination by auguries, was from what they called *Dira*, or unusual accidents happening to any person, as stumbling, seeing apparitions, hearing strange voices, meeting a wolf, a fox, a hare, &c. Any augur was allowed to take an observation; but the judging of the omen was left to the decision of the whole college.

As to the *Auspices*, they were so called *ab avis aspicendis*, that is, from looking on the altars. The Roman aruspices were all taken at first from *Etruria*, where their art was in great request; but afterwards the senate ordered twelve of the sons of the chief men in Rome to be sent into that country, to learn there the rites and ceremonies of the *Etruscan* religion, of which this science was the chief part (34). The business of the aruspices was to look upon the sacred victims, and by them to foretell the success of any enterprize. They took their observations from the victims before they were cut up; from their intrails after they were cut up; from the flame that used to rise while they were burning; and lastly, from the flour, bran, frankincense, wine or water used in the sacrifice. Before the victims were cut up, it was an ill omen when they would not come to the altar without being dragged, when they broke the rope, fled away, avoided the stroke, struggled much after it, made a great howling, were long a dying, or bled but little. When the victim was cut up, they observed the colour of the parts, and whether any were wanting: a double liver, a little or lean heart, were counted very bad omens. If the heart was wholly missing, nothing could be thought more dreadful and fatal; if the entrails fell out of the priest's hands, or were more bloody than usual, or of a pale colour, they portended sudden danger and ruin. As to the flame of the sacrifice, it furnished them with a good omen when it was pure and clear, rose up in a pyramid without noise, and did not go out till the victim was consumed. The smoke likewise was considered, whether it whirled about, or spread itself to the right or left, or yielded a smell different from that of broiled meat. If the incense they burnt melted all at once, and had an agreeable smell, it was a lucky omen. There were several other signs which supplied them with conjectures too insignificant to be mentioned here. The business of the aruspices was not restrained to the altars and sacrifices; but they had an equal right to the explaining of other portents and monitions. Hence we find them often consulted by the senate on extraordinary occasions. If the Roman aruspices lay under any disrepute, others were sent for out of *Etruria*, where this science had most credit.

(28) Cic. de divin. & Orig. l. iv. cons. Celf. l. iv. c. 3.
(32) Vide Alex. ab Alex. l. v. c. 19.
Alex. ibid. (35) Cic. de divin. l. i.

(29) Plut. ibid.

(30) Liv. l. x.

(31) Flor.

(33) Cic. de divin. l. ii.

(34) Vide Alex. ab

- a wanting to cover the king's policy: he erected a temple to a new sort of divinity, called by him the *Afylæan* god (T), under whose protection all criminals were to live securely. Afterwards, when *Romulus* enlarged his new city, the asylum was inclosed within the walls, and those, who had fled to it, being brought under some regulation, became citizens of *Rome*: (U). Nothing was now wanting, but women, to secure the duration of the state; but as the neighbouring people refused to give their daughters in marriage to such a crew of vagabonds, *Romulus*, by the advice of his grandfather *Numitor*, and the consent of the senate, proclaimed a solemn feast and public games, in honour of *Equeſtrian Neptune*, called *Consus*. This occasioned a great concourse of people, who flocked from the adjacent places to behold those pompous shews, together with the new city; but in the midst of the solemnity, the *Romans*, upon a signal given by *Romulus*, rushing in with their drawn swords among the strangers, seized their daughters, and by main force carried them to their houses, where they were kept till the next day, without any further insult being offered to them, agreeable to the express orders of *Romulus*. They were in all six hundred and eighty-three, and *Romulus* chose so many husbands for them, marrying them after the same manner that was ever after used in *Rome* (W).

The rape of the Sabine women.

- c This violence was highly resented by the neighbouring people, especially by the *Sabines*; but as they were unwilling to engage in a war, their country being open on all sides, and defenceless, they first sent to demand the restitution of their daughters, promising to enter into an alliance with the *Romans*, whereby they should have liberty to intermarry with them; but *Romulus* was inflexible, demanding, on his part, that the *Sabines* should confirm the marriages of his *Romans*. While the treaty, which went on slowly, suspended hostilities on both sides, *Acron*, whom the historians style king of *Canina* (X), being provoked at the late audacious rape, and jealous of the growing power of the new city, took the field; and being joined by the inhabitants of *Crustumium* and *Antemna* (Y), made an incursion into the *Roman* territories. *Romulus* instantly marched out against him, and having engaged the enemy in the open field, challenged their leader, according to the custom of those times, to a single combat, killed him, put his army to flight, and pursuing the fugitives to their town, made himself master of it without opposition. He spared the blood of the conquered; but razed their city, and carried the inhabitants to *Rome*, where he allowed them the same privileges as the most ancient citizens*. For this victory *Romulus* decreed himself the honours of a triumph; and bringing home the spoils of king *Acron*, consecrated them to *Jupiter Feretrius*, so called, according to some, from the *Latin* word *ferire*, to *smite*, because he had killed the king with his own

Romulus defeats the *Caninenses*, and kills their king.

* PLUT. & DIO. HAL. *ibid.*

* DIO. HAL. l. ii. p. 98. PLUT. *ibid.* LIV. l. i.

(T) *Plutarch* tells us, that the asylum was put under the protection of the *Afylæan* god; but who this god was, is unknown to us. *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* tells us, that, in his time, the place where the asylum had been, was consecrated to *Jupiter*; whence some have conjectured, that the *Afylæan* god was no other than *Jupiter*, worshipped by *Romulus* under the title of *Afylæus*, that is, the protector of asylums.

(U) To this *Juvenal* alludes in the following verses, addressed to a *Roman* citizen boasting of his original and noble extraction:

*Attamen us longe repetas, longeque revolvus,
Nomen; ab infami gentem deducis asylo.
Majorum quisquis primus fuit ille tuorum,
Aut latro fuit, aut illud, quod dicere nolo* (35).

(W) The form used in marriage was, *Partake you of your husband's fire and water*. This communication of fire and water between the husband and wife, was the symbol of conjugal love and union, and insinuated, that their goods were in common between them. The virgins seized on this occasion were all called *Sabines*, because the greater number was of that nation. The common opinion is, that they were in all six hundred and eighty-three; some

say five hundred and twenty-seven, and others reduce them to thirty only, deriving the word *curia* from *Cures* the name of the town, of which the women were for the most part natives. But no historian of any account is of this opinion. *Romulus* found but one married woman among all those who had been seized. Her name was *Herfília*; and we are told by *Zenodotus*, quoted by *Plutarch*, that *Romulus* married her, and had a daughter by her, named *Prima*, because she was his first child, and a son, called *Abilius*; but other historians say, that *Herfília* was married to a noble *Roman*, named *Hostus*; and that *Tullus Hostilius*, the third king of *Rome*, descended from her.

(X) *Canina* was situated on the confines of *Latium*, and the country of the *Sabines*; whence some geographers make it a city of the *Sabines*, and others of ancient *Latium*. *Claudian* thinks it stood on the banks of the *Anio* next to *Rome*; but *Holstenius* places it on the opposite bank, in the neighbourhood of the present *Monticelli*.

(Y) *Crustumium* and *Antemna* were either subject to the *Sabines*, or in their neighbourhood. Some geographers think the former stood where *Marcigliano Vecchio* now stands, and place the latter on the *Tiber*, between the *Tiburine* and *Nomansine* ways.

Opima spolia.

Romulus reduces Crustumini and Antemnæ.

His war with the Sabines.

hand; or from the word *ferre*, to carry, because *Romulus* had himself carried thither ^a the armour of the king he had killed. A name of distinction was likewise given to the spoils; for they were called *opima spolia* (Z), because they were more honourable than any other, on account of their being taken by the general of the *Roman* army from the enemy's general, after he had killed him with his own hand. *Romulus*, elated with this victory, marched with one legion (A), levied in haste, against the *Antemnæ* and *Crustumini*, who had joined the king of *Cænina*; and having, without much ado, overcome them, and taken their cities, at the request of *Herfiliæ*, who was a native of *Antemna*, he not only pardoned the inhabitants, but transplanted them to *Rome*, where they were admitted to all the privileges of *Roman* citizens. By this conduct, the reputation of his clemency, as well as bravery, became so great, ^b that several cities of *Hebruria* voluntarily submitted to him. *Calius*, an *Hebrurian* leader, led all the troops under his command to *Rome*, and settled on a hill near the city, which, from him, took the name of mount *Calus* ^b. And now *Romulus*, being obliged to enlarge the compass of his city, took in the hill *Saturnius*, called afterwards the *capitol*; and on the top of it built a citadel, which he committed to the government of a noble *Roman*, named *Tarpeius*. The citadel was surrounded on all sides with ramparts and towers, which equally commanded the city and country. From the foot of the hill *Saturnius* a wall was carried on quite to the *Tiber*, and a gate opened in it, which they called *Carmentalis*, from *Carmenta*, the mother of *Evander*, who either lived there, or had in that place some altar or chapel erected to her. ^c

NOTWITHSTANDING this increase of the *Roman* forces, the *Sabines* sent a second deputation to *Romulus*, to demand back their daughters; and, upon his refusal, began hostilities, and marched towards *Rome* with an army of twenty-five thousand foot, and one thousand horse, under the command of their king *Titus Tatius*. *Romulus*, having received supplies from his grandfather *Numitor*, and from *Hebruria*, marched out against them, at the head of twenty-thousand foot, and eight hundred horse. *Romulus* posted his army between the hills *Esquilinus* and *Quirinalis*, while the *Sabines* encamped at the foot of the hill *Saturnius*, in the plain afterwards called *Campus Martius*. *Tatius* finding the *Romans* too well fortified to be attacked, was very uneasy about the success of the enterprize. But an unforeseen accident extricated him ^d out of his difficulties; for *Tarpeia*, daughter to the governor of the citadel, being greatly taken with the bracelets and rings of the *Sabines*, called to them from above, and promised to betray the place into their hands, provided they gave her what they wore on their left arms. The *Sabines* readily agreed to grant her what she required, and being by her admitted into the citadel, made themselves masters of that important place. We are told, that the *Sabines* crushed *Tarpeia* to death with their bucklers, which they threw upon her, thinking they discharged their promise by thus giving her what they wore on their left arms. From her the hill *Saturnius* took the name of *Tarpeius*, till the building of the capital; and even then the steepest part of it, whence criminals were thrown down headlong, continued to be called the *Tarpeian* ^e rock. The *Sabines*, now masters of the citadel, had the advantage of being able to continue the war with more security. For a long time only light skirmishes passed between the two parties; but at last, as they both began to be tired with the charges of the war, they resolved to put the whole to the issue of a general engagement, which was fought with great resolution on both sides, and renewed, for several days together, with almost equal success. In the last contest the *Sabines* were at first put in disorder, and obliged to take refuge in the citadel, which the *Romans*, who pursued them, expected to have re-taken. But the enemy rolling great stones from the top of the hill, wounded *Romulus* on the head, and stunned him so, that falling down sense-

^b PLUT. LIV. DIO. HAL. *ibid.*

(Z) *Festus* derives the word *opima* from *ops*, which signifies the earth, and the riches it produces; so that *opima spolia*, according to that writer, signify rich spoils. But *Plutarch* derives it from the word *opus*; so that *opima spolia*, are spoils hard to be obtained, are, in his opinion, one and the same thing. This name was given, as *Plutarch* informs us, only to such spoils as the general of the *Roman* army had taken from the general of the enemy's troops. Of

the order, laws and pomp of the ancient triumphs we shall speak hereafter.

(A) The word *legion* is derived from the *Latin* word *legere*, to choose, the legions consisting of chosen men. The number of men in a legion was different at different times, as we shall occasionally observe in the sequel of this history. In the times we are now speaking of, a legion consisted of three thousand foot, and three hundred horse, as we read in *Plutarch* (36).

(36) *Plut. in Romulo*

less,

- a lets, he was carried out of the field into the city. This accident inspired the *Sabines* with new courage, who falling upon the *Romans*, put them to flight in their turn, and pursued them to the very gates of *Rome*. In the mean time *Romulus*, coming to himself again, returned to the battle, encouraged his routed troops, and having made a vow to *Jupiter* in order to obtain his favour (B), drove the enemy back to the citadel. Some writers tell us^c, that, in the heat of the engagement, the *Sabine* women, at the persuasion of *Herfília*, rushing out of the city with their hair dishevelled, and their children in their arms, threw themselves desperately into the midst of the darts and dead bodies, and, by their tears and intreaties, put a stop to the fury of their husbands and fathers. But this is an adventure too wonderful not to be thought fabulous. What part the *Sabine* women acted in the reconciling of the two people, will appear in the sequel of the history.

- Titus Tatius* being in possession of the citadel, and *Romulus* continuing shut up in his city, neither party was very forward to hazard another engagement. The *Sabines* were doubtful, whether they should raise the siege, and content themselves with ravaging the *Roman* territory. The *Romans*, on their side, were no less undetermined what to do. They considered, that the *Sabines* were a powerful people, and that the late victory had neither been complete nor decisive; but, on the other hand, they could not with honour restore the *Sabine* women; for that would have been an acknowledgment of their weakness, which would have made the enemy more haughty, and more difficult to treat with. But while the men were thus deliberating, the women, at the persuasion of *Herfília*, demanded an audience of the senate; and being admitted, laid before them a design which they had formed, without the privity of their husbands. This was to mediate between the contending nations, and try whether they could put an end to the war, which had been undertaken for their sake. Their proposal met with no opposition in the present conjuncture of affairs. A decree was immediately passed, permitting the women to go upon the negotiation they proposed. All the security that was required of them was, to leave one of their children at *Rome*; the rest they were allowed to carry with them in their arms, in order to raise the compassion of their grandfathers. The women, being thus authorized, laid aside their ornaments, and putting on mourning, advanced to the camp of the *Sabines*, where, by throwing themselves at the feet of their fathers and relations, they raised a general compassion. King *Tatius* having assembled his chief officers, ordered the women to declare on what purpose they were come; which *Herfília* is said to have done in a long and pathetic speech: after which she begged a truce, that the chiefs of the two armies might have an opportunity of conferring together. As the *Sabines* wanted only an honourable pretence to put an end to the war, they were easily prevailed upon to accept the proposal. Accordingly a truce was granted, during which the two kings had a conference, which ended to the satisfaction of both parties; for a treaty of union was made, and confirmed by oath, the articles whereof were, 1. That the two kings should reside, and jointly reign, at *Rome*. 2. That the city should still, from *Romulus*, be called *Rome*; but the citizens *Quirites*, a name till then peculiar to the *Sabines* (C). 3. That the two nations should become one; and that the *Sabines* should be made free of *Rome*, and enjoy all the privileges of *Roman* citizens^d. Three *Sabine* families of great distinction are particularly said to have settled at *Rome* on this occasion, with their relations and dependents. The head of one was *Valerius Volesus*; of another *Talus Tyrannus*; and of the third *Metius Curtius*, who had signalized himself in the last battle (D). To *Valerius Volesus* *Plutarch* ascribes the honour of negotiating the peace.

The Romans
and Sabines be-
come one people

THE

^c PLUT. *ibid.* LIV. l. i. c. 13.

^d DIO. HAL. LIV. PLUT. *ibid.*

(B) We are told, that while the *Romans* were flying before the enemy, *Romulus* made a vow to *Jupiter*, in order to obtain his assistance for the speedy rallying of his troops, and that they unexpectedly stopped at the sight of their general, on his return to the field of battle. Being therefore fully convinced, that this was a particular blessing of heaven, he erected a temple to *Jupiter*, whom he called *Stator*, in memory of the happy moment, when the *Romans*, recovering from their fright, made a stand, and faced the enemy (37).

(C) The word *quiris*, in the *Sabine* language, signified both a dart, and a warlike deity armed with a dart. 'Tis uncertain whether the god gave name to the dart, or the dart to the god; but however that be, this god *Quiris*, or *Quirinus*, was either *Mars*, or some other god of war, and continued to be worshipped in *Rome*, till *Romulus*, who, after his death, was honoured with the name *Quirinus*, took his place (38).

(D) While the *Romans* had the advantage, this brave *Sabine*, breaking into the centre of their army,

and

(37) *Ann. Victor.*

(38) *Plin. in Romulo.*

The comitium.

The creation of
the first Ro-
man knights.

THE two nations being thus united, *Tatius*, in imitation of *Romulus*, formed a council of an hundred senators of his own nation, who were also styled fathers, and enjoyed the same privileges with those who had been instituted by the founder. The two councils assembled first at the houses of their respective kings; but afterwards met at the same place, which from thence was called *comitium* (E). After this union of the two nations and senates, were instituted, according to *Livy**, the three bodies of *Roman* knights, called *Ramnenjes*, *Tatenses*, and *Luceres*. The first body had its name from *Romulus*, the second from *Tatius*, and the third from the *lucus* or grove where the asylum stood, this order being formed out of those who had peopled it. These three bodies of horse were incorporated into the *Roman* legions, which, from this time, consisted, according to the most common opinion, of four thousand men each; whence a legion was called *quadrata*. As *Rome* was chiefly indebted to the *Sabine* women for this happy increase of wealth and power, honourable privileges and marks of distinction were allowed them; every one was commanded to give way to them; all immodest and too free discourses were forbidden in their presence; no indecent objects were to be brought into their sight; in capital causes they were exempted from the jurisdiction of the ordinary judges; and lastly, their children were allowed to wear a golden ball hanging from their necks, and a particular robe, called *prætecta*, to distinguish them from the vulgar (F).

THE

* Liv. l. i. c. 13.

and rallying his countrymen, who had been put in disorder, turned the scale in their favour. But *Romulus* meeting him, and engaging him in single combat, obliged him, as he was already wounded, to quit the field. *Curtius* being surrounded on all sides by the enemy, chose rather to throw himself into a pool, made by the inundation of the *Tiber*, than to go a great way about. As the pool was deep, and full of mud, *Romulus* thinking his enemy was lost, left him, and rejoined his army; but the *Sabine* was taken out of the water, and the place ever after called *Lacus Curtius*, even when it was dried up, and almost in the centre of the *Roman* forum (38). *Proculus* says, that the earth having opened, the aruspices declared it necessary for the safety of the republic, that the bravest man in the city should throw himself into the gulf; whereupon one *Curtius*, mounting on horseback, leaped armed into it, and the gulf immediately closed. Before the building of the common sewers, this pool was a sort of sink, which received all the filth of the city. Some writers think, that it received its name from *Curtius* the consul, colleague to *M. Genucius*, because he caused it to be walled in by the advice of the aruspices, after it had been struck with lightning (39).

(E) The word *comitium* is derived from the ancient *Latin* verb *cumire*, which signifies to meet. The comitium was at the foot of the hill *Palatinus*, over-against the capitol. Not far from thence the two kings built the temple of *Vulcan*, where they usually met to consult the senate about the most important affairs.

(F) Authors are divided in their opinions about the form of this ornament, which the *Sabine* women were allowed to hang about the necks of their children. It was called *bullæ*; and *Plutarch* says (40), that it was like the little bubbles which the drops of rain make, when they fall upon running water. It is therefore probable, that these little golden balls were hollow and light. Others think they were but half globes, being on one side flat, and on the other globular. *Macrobius* says, that *Tarquin* the elder extended the right of wearing this ornament to all the children of the patricians, and that he began with his own. The young men, when they attained the age of manhood, quitted the *bullæ*, and made an offering of it to the *diis lares*, or household gods. As to the *prætecta*, it had a border of purple round its

edges; whence it took its name. This robe was wore by girls till their marriage, and by boys till they were seventeen, when they took the *toga virilis*, or manly robe. But what in the time of *Romulus* was a mark of distinction for the children of the *Sabine* women, became afterwards very common; for even the children of the *liberti*, that is, of those who were made free, wore robes bordered with purple in their youth. In process of time the gravest magistrates wore them, not only at *Rome*, but in the colonies and municipia. This *prætecta* was not only a mark of the quality of the person that wore it, but was besides looked upon as a sacred habit, and a kind of guard or defence against the injuries to which children are exposed. Thus *Persius* calls it *culus purpureus* (41); and *Quintilian*, in one of his declamations, styles it, the sacred habit of the *prætecta*, the robe, which raises in us a holy reverence and veneration to the helpless condition of childhood. In process of time the *bullæ* became as common as the *prætecta*, all the sons of the *ingenui* or free-born being allowed to wear it; but with this distinction, that their *bullæ* was not of gold, but of leather, as *Juvenal* insinuates in the following verses:

— *Etruscum puero si consigit aurum,
Vel nodus tantum, & signum de paupere loro* (42).

The poet calls the *bullæ aurea*, *Etruscan* gold, because that sort of ornament was used by the *Etruscans* long before it was introduced among the *Romans*. In the account we have given here of the *bullæ aurea* and *prætecta*, we have followed *Diomysius Halicarnassensis* and *Livy*; but *Macrobius*, on the authority of some writers, relates the matter in a quite different manner; for he says, that *Herfilius* being carried away with her daughter, fell in marriage to *Hofius*, an officer of great distinction, and was the first who bore a child to *Rome*. To this child alone, who was called *Hofius Hofilius*, *Romulus* granted the privilege of wearing the *bullæ aurea*. Some say, that *Tarquinus Priscus*, in a triumph for a victory gained over the *Sabines*, first honoured his own son with the *prætecta* and *bullæ aurea*, for killing one of the enemy's chief commanders with his own hand. Others, without mentioning this victory, pretend, that *Tarquin*, among other wise constitutions, took particular care to assign the proper habit both to the boys and

(38) *Dio. Hal. ibid.*(39) *Varro de ling. Lat. l. iv.*(40) *Plut. ibid.*(41) *Persius sat. v.*(42) *Juvenal. sat. v. ver. 164.*



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|-------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|
| A. The Hill Palatinus | F. The Gate Mufonia | L. The Hill Esquilinus |
| B. The Capitol | G. The Gate Romanulia | M. The Hill Quirinalis |
| C. The Tyber | H. The Hill Janiculus | N. The Suburb of the Rhamnenses |
| D. The Gate Carmentalis | I. The Hill Aventinus | O. The Suburb of the Tatienses |
| E. The Gate Pandana | K. The Hill Caelius | P. The Suburb of the Luceres |

- a** THE two kings reigned jointly, and in great harmony, for the space of five years, *Romulus* holding his court on the hill *Palatinus*, and *Tatius* residing on the hill *Tarpeius*. The *Sabines* settled on a hill, called by them *Quirinalis*, either in memory of their city *Cures*, or in honour of their god *Quiris*. The place between the hills *Palatinus* and *Tarpeius* became a common market-place for the two united nations, and was called the *forum*. The union of the two nations soon produced a mixture of manners, customs and religion. The *Sabines* adopted the *Roman* gods, and the *Romans* those of the *Sabines*. They unanimously instituted the festival called *matronalia*, in memory of the peace concluded by the mediation of the women (G). As to martial affairs, the conquest of *Cameria*, a city in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, was the only
- b** military achievement under the two kings. Four thousand of its inhabitants were transplanted to *Rome*, and a colony sent from thence to *Cameria*. In the sixth year of *Romulus* and *Tatius*, the latter having provoked the *Lavinians*, by protecting some of his friends who had ravaged their territories, was by them murdered at the foot of the altar, while he was offering a sacrifice, together with *Romulus*, in the city of *Lavinium*, to the tutelary gods of the state. *Romulus* conveyed the body of his colleague to *Rome*, with great pomp, and caused it to be honourably interred on mount *Aventine*. The *Lavinians*, fearing the resentment of *Romulus*, delivered up the assassins into his hands; but he sent them back unpunished, which gave occasion to suspect, that he was not at least displeased at the death of his colleague¹.
- c** Not long after, a cruel plague, attended with a great famine, breaking out at *Rome*, the *Camerini* laid hold of this opportunity to shake off the yoke, and lay waste the *Roman* territory. But *Romulus* marching out against them, gave them battle, killed six thousand of them on the spot; and returning to *Rome*, entered the city in triumph, as he had done after the defeat of *Acron*. The like success attended him against the *Fidenates*, whose city, standing about forty furlongs from *Rome*, he took, and made it a *Roman* colony. This drew new enemies upon him; for the *Veientes* (H), reclaiming *Fidene*, as a city within their jurisdiction, laid siege to it; but their forces being defeated in two battles, and a great number of them taken prisoners, together with their commander, they were forced to prevent their total ruin by a timely submission. They therefore sent ambassadors to *Rome* to sue for peace; and *Romulus* granted them a truce for a hundred years, upon the following conditions, viz. that they should deliver to him seven small towns on the *Tiber*, some salt-pits near the mouth of that river, and send fifty of their chief citizens to *Rome*, to be kept there as hostages. A war thus advantageously ended, procured *Romulus* the honour of a third triumph, which, as the city was much increased both in riches and inhabitants, exceeded in all likelihood the two former. The prisoners were all sold for slaves; and what was done at this sale, gave rise to a custom, which prevailed ever after; for when they returned thanks to the gods for any victory, they used to dress an old man in a purple robe, with a child's bulla about his neck, and cry round him, *Sardians to sell*. By this ceremony they alluded to the old king or governor of the *Veientes*, who, in this war, had behaved like a child; and to the *Veientes*, who, with the other *Ettrurians*, were a colony of *Lydians*, whose metropolis was the city

Death of
Tatius.

Romulus de-
feats the Ca-
merini, Fide-
nates, and Ve-
ientes.

¹ DIO. HAL. p. 110.

and girls, and appointed the *prætecta* and *bullæ aureæ* for the sons of the senators and patricians, and the *prætecta* alone for their daughters, and also for the sons of those who had served among the horse the full time the law required. The figure of a man's heart was sometimes impressed on the *bullæ aureæ*, to put those who wore them in mind of this moral truth, that men are only valuable for the qualities of their hearts. In like manner the purple colour of the *prætecta* was to remind them of the modesty which became them at that age (43).

(G) This festival was celebrated on the first of *March*. *Ovid* (44) gives other reasons for the institution of it, viz. to obtain of *Mars* the blessing of bearing good children; a blessing which he first bestowed on *Rhea Sylvia*. But, at the same time, the poet owns, that the *matronalia* were chiefly instituted in memory of the benefits the *Romans* had

received from the *Sabine* women. During this festival, the *Roman* women, such as were married, served their slaves at table, and received presents from their husbands, as the husbands did from their wives in the time of the *saturnalia*. As the festival of the *matronalia* was consecrated to *Mars*, and, as some will have it, to *Juno Lucina*, sacrifices were offered to both these deities. This feast was the subject of *Horace's* ode,

Martius calebs quid agam calendis, &c.

(H) *Veii* was situated on a craggy rock, about one hundred furlongs from *Rome*, and is compared by *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* to *Athens* for extent and riches. *Cluverius* places it in the neighbourhood of the present *Scrofa*.

(43) *Marrob. saturnal.* l. i. c. 6. Vide *Dacier*, in *Horat.* l. v. od. 5.
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(44) *Ovid. trist.* l. iii.

of *Sardis* ^a. Other writers date this custom from the time of the conquest of *Sardinia* by *Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus*, when such a number of slaves was brought from that island, that nothing was to be seen in the markets but *Sardinians*.

The laws
of Romulus.

THIS was the last war in which *Romulus* engaged. He employed the remaining part of his life in settling the government on the surest foundations. He made many good laws; but we have only some fragments of them remaining. The first relates to marriages, and forbids a wife to leave her husband upon any pretence whatsoever; but, at the same time, allows the husband to put away his wife, and even to punish her with death, in case she were convicted of adultery, poisoning, making false keys, or only of drinking wine. Each husband was confined to one wife, their goods being in common between them; but under the administration of the husband. In relation to children, *Romulus* gave their fathers an absolute power over them; so that they could, by their own private authority, imprison them, sell them for slaves, and even put them to death, of whatever age they were, and whatever dignity, office or employment they held ^b. He appointed no punishment for real parricide; but called all murder so, thinking the latter a detestable crime, but the former impossible; and indeed it was unknown in *Rome* for near six hundred years, as divorces were, notwithstanding the power granted to husbands, for five hundred and twenty years ^c.

He provokes
the senate by
his arbitrary
behaviour.

Romulus, in the latter end of his reign, whether elated with his former successes, or carried away with some pleasing notions of arbitrary power, began to enlarge his prerogative beyond the bounds he had formerly set to it, and to pay no longer any deference to his great council. The senators were assembled indeed; but merely for form-sake, and to ratify his commands. But what most of all provoked the fathers, was his sharing the conquered lands among his soldiers, as he pleased, without consulting them, and his restoring to the *Veientes* their hostages, against their opinion. This haughty and arbitrary carriage they could not brook, and therefore conspired his destruction; which they soon after effected. *Romulus* having appointed a review of his troops on a plain without the city, the senate attended him thither. While he was haranguing them, a sudden storm of hail and thunder dispersed the army; and the senators remaining alone with the king, thought this too favourable an opportunity to be neglected. The king was therefore slain, and his body conveyed out of sight in an instant. Some writers tell us, that the better to conceal the fact, the senators cut him in pieces, each of them carrying away one under his robe (I). However that be, the senators took occasion, from the secrecy of the fact, and the concealment of the body, to persuade the multitude, that the king was all on a sudden surrounded by a flame, and snatched up into heaven; but this stratagem did not appease the soldiery, till *Julius Proculus*, a senator of great distinction, having assembled the curiæ, told them, that *Romulus* had appeared to him, and enjoined him to acquaint his people, that it had pleased the gods he should return to heaven, from whence he originally came; but that he would be always a propitious god to them, under the name of *Quirinus*. As *Julius Proculus*, who was esteemed a man of great probity, and had been always thought a friend to *Romulus*, swore to the truth of this story, all suspicions were laid aside, and divine honours decreed to the new deity ^d. His death happened on the seventh day of *July*, in the thirty-seventh year of his reign, and sixtieth, or, as others say, fifty-fifth year of his age. Such was the end of *Romulus*, the founder and first king of *Rome*. He was thought to be the son of *Mars*, and it does not appear, that he ever acted unbecoming that character, having, in a short time, made his small colony formidable to all the neighbouring nations. Nor

Is murdered.
Year after the
flood 2288.
Before Christ
711.
Of Rome 37.

^a PLUT. & DIO. HAL. *ibid.*

^b DIO. HAL. l. ii. p. 92. A. GELL. c. 23.

^c PLUT. *ubi supra*.

^d DIO. HAL. l. ii. p. 119. PLUT. LIV. *ibid.*

(I) Historians differ about the place where *Romulus* lost his life; some saying he was killed in the open field, while he was haranguing his troops; others, that he lost his life in the temple of *Vulcan*, or in the senate. Neither do they agree about the manner in which he was assassinated; some say, he was murdered by the people, for shewing more favour to those who were newly come to *Rome* from the conquered cities, than to the ancient inhabitants;

while others pretend, the senators stabbed him in full senate, and having cut his body in pieces, every one carried a part of it away under his robe. However that be, his death gave rise, according to *Plutarch* (45), to the *caprosine nones*, or *populifugium*, that is, the flight of the people, a festival in the Roman calendar, on the *nones* of *July*. But other authors give another origin to this festival; of which we shall speak in a more proper place.

(45) *Plut. ibid.*

- a was his wisdom and policy inferior to his courage; for, in a few years, he increased his subjects from three thousand three hundred men, to forty-seven thousand; and what is still more surprising, formed a people out of a gang of slaves and profligates, who in process of time became masters of the world, and yet were long more renowned for their virtue, than for their courage or conquests. After the death of his grandfather *Numitor*, the sovereignty of *Alba* devolved upon him; but he reserved to himself no other power over it, than that of naming annually a magistrate, with the title of dictator, to govern it in form of a republic; which is somewhat surprising in a prince, who was so eagerly bent on extending his dominions, and subjecting all the states around him.
- b *Romulus* dying without issue, the city was greatly divided about the election of a new king. The *Romans* did not judge it by any means adviseable to resign the regal authority to the *Sabines*; and on the other hand the *Sabines* thought it was but just that the king should be chosen out of their nation, since they had peaceably submitted to *Romulus*, and contributed, as much as the *Romans*, to the raising of the city to its present pitch of wealth and power. During these disputes, the senators, to prevent anarchy and confusion, took the sovereignty into their own hands. The two hundred senators divided themselves into decuries or tens. These decuries drew lots which should govern first, and the decury, to whose lot it fell, enjoyed the supreme authority for five days, yet in such manner, that one person only of the governing decury had the badges of sovereignty at a time. To these another decury succeeded, each of them sitting on the throne in his turn, wearing the crown, &c. This form of government, which was called *inter-regnum*, lasted little more than a year, when the people, growing weary of such frequent change of masters, obliged the fathers to resolve on the election of a king. The *inter-rex* therefore for the time being, having summoned the people, addressed them thus: Elect yourselves a king, O *Romans*; the senate gives their consent; and, if you chuse a prince worthy to succeed *Romulus*, the senate will confirm your choice. The people were so well pleased with this condescension of the senate, that they remitted the choice to them. But as the old difficulty still remained, whether the king should be a *Sabine* or a *Roman*, this occasioned long disputes, till at length they came to this agreement among themselves, that the *Romans* should chuse the king, but should be obliged to elect a *Sabine*. There was at this time an austere *Sabine* philosopher, who led a solitary life, and was wholly taken up with the worship of the gods. His name was *Numa Pompilius*, and he was the fourth son of *Pompilius Pompo*, an illustrious *Sabine*. He had married *Tatia*, the daughter of king *Tatius*, and, together with her, remained in his native country, preferring the tranquillity of a private life to the splendor of a court. Upon the death of his wife, with whom he had lived thirteen years, he gave himself up intirely to the study of wisdom; and leaving the city of *Cures*, confined himself wholly to the country, wandering from solitude to solitude, in search only of those woods and fountains, which religion had made sacred. This gave rise to the fable, which was very early received among the *Sabines*, that *Numa* lived in familiarity with the nymph *Egeria* (K). This man both the senate and people pitched upon to be their king; and, without delay, dispatched *Julius Proculus* and *Valerius Volesus*, two senators of distinction, to acquaint *Numa* with their resolution, and make him an offer of the kingdom. The *Sabine* philosopher rejected at first their proposal; but being at last prevailed upon by the arguments and intreaties of the deputies, joined with those of his father, and of *Martius* his near relation, he yielded at last; and having offered sacrifices to the gods, set out for *Rome*, where he was received by all ranks of people with loud shouts of joy. *Spurius Veltius*, the *inter-rex* for the day, having assembled the curiæ, he was elected in due form, and the election was unanimously confirmed by the senate¹.

His death is followed by an inter-regnum.

Numa Pompilius elected to succeed Romulus.

¹ DIO. HAL. l. ii. p. 121. PLUT. LIV. *ibid.*

(K) *Numa's* inclination to solitude, and his custom of retiring into the secret places of the forest of *Aricia*, gave rise to several popular opinions. Some believed, that the nymph *Egeria* herself dictated to him the laws, both civil and religious, which he established. Of this persuasion he took advantage, when he was on the throne, to bring about a reformation of *Rome*. Others, less favourable to *Numa's*

reputation, have thought, that, under this affected passion for woods and caves, was concealed another more real, and less chaste. This seems to have been the opinion of *Juvenal*, who, in speaking of this grove, known to the *Romans* by the name of *Lucus Egeria*, or the grove of *Egeria*, says,

Hic ubi nocturna Numa constituebat Amica (46).

(46) *Juvenal. satir. iii. ver. 12.*

He dismisses the
guard of 300
celeres.

Divides the
ministers of re-
ligion into eight
classes.

Dedicates a
temple to
Janus.

THIS king's reign was no-ways memorable for battles or conquests; for he made it his chief study to quiet all contentions at home, to reform the manners of the Romans, and to establish good policy in the city. The first thing he did, was to dismiss the royal guard of three hundred *celeres*, saying, He would not rule over a people, of whom he conceived the least distrust. In the next place, he applied himself to quiet the dissensions at Rome, to bring all the citizens to a perfect concord and harmony among themselves, and to moderate the warlike ardour of the Romans, by impressions of religion. *Plutarch* tells us ^a, that he had true notions of the deity, that is, of a first principle of all things, impassible, invisible, incorruptible, and purely intelligible; and therefore prohibited the representing of God in the resemblance of man or beast. The same author adds, that, for the space of one hundred and sixty years, ^b there were no painted nor graven images in the Roman temples or sanctuaries. But tho' *Numa* had, according to *Plutarch*, right notions of the deity, yet he did not introduce the true worship of the Supreme Being; but authorized both the *Sabine* and *Alban* superstitions, introducing only order and decency in the performance of them. With this view he divided the ministers of religion into eight classes, viz. *Curiones*, *Flamines*, *Celeres*, *Augurs*, *Vestal Virgins*, *Salii*, *Feciales*, and *Pontifices*. The *Curiones* were the particular priests of each *curia*. The *Flamines*, so called from the fashion or colour of their caps (L), were priests, whose ministry was confined to some particular god, from whom they took their name, as the *Flamen Dialis*, the *Flamen Martialis*, &c. The *Celeres* were inferior ministers, whose duty it was to take care of the sacrifices, under the direction of the tribunes, who had commanded them when they were guards to *Romulus*. The *Augurs* not only foretold future events by the flying of birds, but had many other kinds of divination under their province. The *Vestals* were wholly devoted to the goddess *Vesta*, and obliged, under the severest penalty, to keep the sacred fire in her temple perpetually burning. The *Salii* were the guardians of the *ancilia*, or twelve shields, hung up in the temple of *Mars*. They took their name from their dancing in the celebration of the annual festival instituted in memory of a miraculous shield, which, *Numa* pretended, fell down from heaven. The business of the *Feciales* was to demand satisfaction for the injuries Rome received from her enemies, to proclaim war against them, in case of refusal, and to take care ^c that all treaties with the neighbouring nations were faithfully observed. The *Pontifices* (M) were the most venerable of all the classes; their office was, to give judgment in all causes relating to religion, to inquire into the lives and manners of the inferior priests, and to punish them, if they saw occasion; to regulate the feasts, sacrifices, and all other sacred institutions; to determine what works should be deemed lawful, and what unlawful, on festival days. They had a president over them, with the title of *Pontifex Maximus*, whose office was one of the most honourable in the commonwealth. Some say, that *Numa* reserved this eminent dignity for himself; and others, that he conferred it on his relation *Numa Marcius*.

Numa's view, in thus multiplying the ceremonies of religion, was the more effectually to divert the Romans from pursuits of ambition, and violence of arms. For the same purpose, or, at least, to put a check to the hasty temper of so fierce a people, ever ready, upon the slightest occasions, to begin a war, he dedicated a temple to *Janus*, the symbol of prudence, which looks two ways, and examines what is past, and what may come. This temple was to stand open in time of war, and to be shut in time of peace. He likewise erected an altar to *Bona Fides*, or *Good Faith*, in order to bring the republic to be faithful to her treaties; and the private citizens to their private

^a *Plut.* in *Numa*.

(L) These priests were first called, as *Plutarch* informs us, *Pileamines*, from the Greek word *πῖλος*, or the Latin *pileus*, which signified a sort of cap which was peculiar to them. Others think they took their names from the flame-coloured tufts they had on their caps. They were chosen by the people, and inaugurated by the *pontifex maximus*. The *Flamines* could not be deposed but for very great reasons. Their wives, who were called *Flaminica*, partook of the priesthood of their husbands, and shared with them the care of the sacrifices. A *Flaminica* could not be divorced on any account; and, upon her death, the *Flamen* lost his sacerdotal dignity.

(M) The word *Pontifex* is by most authors derived from *pons* and *facere*, the repairs of the bridges, which were deemed sacred, being committed to the *Pontifices*. But *Plutarch* finds fault with this etymology, and tells us, that the word *Pontifex* was in use at Rome before there were any bridges there. He derives it from the word *potis*, which, in old Latin, signified powerful. Others take it to be a compound of *potis* and *facere*, where *facere* signifies to sacrifice. We shall have occasion to speak of the functions of each class of priests in the course of this history.

contracts

- a contracts with one another. The same spirit of equity made him introduce another kind of deities, under the name of *Termini*, or *Boundaries*, which he caused to be placed on the borders of the *Roman* state, and of each man's private lands. In honour of these deities he instituted a festival called *terminalia*, which was annually celebrated on the twenty-second or twenty-third of the month of *February*. To remove the *Dii Termini* was deemed a sacrilege of so heinous a nature, that any man might kill with impunity the transgressor ^a.

THE reformation of religion was followed by an improvement of the laws, in which he had a particular regard to the preserving of modesty in women; nevertheless he permitted husbands to lend their wives after they had had children by them.

- b This was a kind of temporary divorce in favour of those men, whose wives were barren; but the husbands still continued to have the same power over them, and could call them home, or lend them to others, as they pleased. He reformed the law made by *Romulus*, with relation to the power of parents over their children; for he would not suffer a father to sell his son after marriage, thinking it unjust, that a woman, who had married a freeman, should be obliged to live with a slave.

- FOR the encouraging of agriculture, *Numa* shared the lands, which the late king had obtained by conquest, among those who had no other occupation. And the better to keep them constantly attentive to the improvement of their farms, he distributed them into *pagi* or villages, over each of which he appointed a chief or superintendant, whose business was to keep a watchful eye over the husbandmen, to encourage them when diligent, to punish them when slothful, and to make a report of the progress of agriculture in his district to the king, who often advanced the industrious husbandmen to the first dignities in the state. By this means the lands were cultivated, and the city disburdened of the idle soldiery, who had been accustomed, under *Romulus*, to live by rapine ^c.

BUT the master-piece of *Numa's* policy, was his distributing the citizens of *Rome* into distinct bodies of tradesmen. The city had been hitherto rent into two factions, occasioned by the union of the *Sabines* and first *Romans*; and nothing could be more dangerous than such a division of the state as it were into two different nations.

- d *Numa* therefore, to take away all distinction of *Roman* and *Sabine*, divided all the inhabitants according to their several trades and occupations, making every profession a particular company and society, and appointing to each their respective courts and privileges. In this division the musicians had the first rank, because employed in the offices of religion. The goldsmiths, carpenters, curriers, dyers, tailors, &c. formed also distinct communities, and were all allowed to make by-laws among themselves, to have their own festivals, particular sacrifices, &c. By this means the *Romans* and *Sabines*, being intermixed in the same societies, forgot their party-names, and were brought to an intimate union ^e.

- THE last reformation which *Numa* undertook, was that of the calendar. *Romulus* had divided his year into ten months, which, according to *Plutarch*, had no certain or equal number of days, some consisting of twenty, some of thirty-five, and some of more ^f. But *Macrobius* tells us ^g, that he settled the number of days with more equality, allotting to *March*, *May*, *Quintilis* and *October*, one-and-thirty days; to *April*, *June*, *Sextilis*, *November* and *December* thirty, making up in all three hundred and four days. *Numa* was better acquainted with the celestial motions, and therefore, undertaking to reform the calendar, in the first place added the two months of *January* and *February*. To compose these two months, he added fifty days to the three hundred and four, in order to make them answer to the course of the moon; he then took six more from the six months that had even days, adding one odd day more than he ought to have done, merely out of superstition, to make the number fortunate (N). However, he could get but eight-and-twenty for *February*; and therefore that month was always counted unlucky. Besides this, he observed the difference between the solar and the lunar course to be eleven days; and, to remedy the inequality, he doubled those days after every two years, adding an interstitial

^a PLUT. LIV. & DIO. HAL. *ibid.*

^c PLUT. in *Numa*.

^e *Idem ibid.*

^f *Idem ibid.*

^g MACROB. *Saturnal.* l. i. c. 12.

(N) The pagans look on an even number as the symbol of division, because it could be divided into two equal parts; whereas an odd number was, for the contrary reason, the symbol of concord. This

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prejudice gave birth to a thousand superstitious practices, which, in some countries, are still kept up by those whom reason and religion ought to have undeceived.

5 T

month

month after *February*, which *Plutarch* calls in one place *Mercidinus*^a, and in another a *Mercidonius*^b (O). As *Numa* was sensible that the solar year consisted of three hundred sixty-five days, and six hours, and that the six hours made a whole day in four years, he commanded, that the month *Mercidinus*, after every four years, should consist of twenty-three days; but the care of these intercalations being left to the priests, they put in or left out the intercalary day and month, as they fancied it lucky or unlucky, and, by that means, created such a confusion, that the festivals and solemn days came, in process of time, to be kept at a season quite contrary to what they had been formerly^c.

Numa dies.

Numa had now reigned near forty-three years, and was in the eighty-second of his age, when he died of a distemper, which gradually wore him away, without impairing the vigour of his mind. During the time of his long reign, peace had so softened the warlike temper of the *Romans*, that it might be literally said of them, that their weapons were changed into instruments of husbandry. No intestine seditions, no ambitious desires of the throne, not so much as any murmurs against the person of the king, or his administration, appeared among them. When he died, he was as sincerely lamented by the *Romans*, as if every man had lost his dearest friend, or his own father. Strangers, to whom he was equally dear, upon the news of his death, flocked from all parts to *Rome*, to celebrate his obsequies, bringing along with them perfumes and crowns to be used at his funeral. As he had forbid the burning of his body, it was put into a stone coffin, and buried, pursuant to his own orders, with the greatest part of the books he had writ, at the foot of the hill *Janiculus* (P); whither he was carried on the shoulders of his senators, and followed by all the people, who, with tears and lamentations, bewailed the loss of so good a prince. He left behind him but one daughter, named *Pomilia*, who was married to *Numa Marcius*, by whom she had *Ancus Marcius*, the fourth king of *Rome*^w (Q).

Tullius Hostilius.
Year of the
flood 2333.
Of Christ 666.
Of Rome 82.

THE death of *Numa* was followed by an inter-regnum, which proved very short, *Tullus Hostilius* being unanimously chosen by the people, and accepted by the senate. *Hostus*, the grandfather of *Tullus Hostilius*, was originally of *Medulia*, a city of *Latium*, but had settled at *Rome* about four years after its foundation. There he married the famous *Herfilia*, or, as others will have it, her daughter, and had by her

^a PLUT. in *Numa*.

^b Idem in *Jul. Cæs.*

^c Idem ibid. Vide CENSORIN. de die natali, c. 20.

^w PLUT. DIO. HAL. & LIV. ibid.

(O) *Festus* speaks of certain days, which he calls *mercidonius dies*, because they were appointed for the payment of workmen and domestics. Perhaps the intercalary month was for the same reason called *mercedonius*, from the Latin word *merces*, signifying wages. As for the other months, *January* had its name from *Janus*; *February* was so called from the expiations, signified by the word *februa*, which were performed in this month; *March*, the first month of *Romulus's* year, had its name from *Mars*, his supposed father; *April*, from *Venus*, called by the Greeks *Αφροδιτη*; *May*, from *Maia* the mother of *Mercury*, according to *Plutarch* (47); tho' *Macrobius* makes the *Maia*, to whom *May* was consecrated, the same with *Rhea*, *Ops*, or the *Earth*, and different from *Mercury's* mother (48); *Ovid* brings it from the word *maiores* or elders (49). *June* either comes from *juvenens*, because this is the youthful and gay part of the year (50); or is a contraction of *Junonius*, and dedicated to the goddess *Juno* (51). The other months had their names from their order, as *Quintilis*, *Sextilis*, *September*, *October*, *November*, and *December*. Only *Quintilis* and *Sextilis* afterwards changed their names into *July* and *August*, in honour of *Julius Cæsar* and his successor *Augustus*.

(P) The books, which he ordered to be buried with him, were dug up again four hundred years after his death, and burnt by a decree of the senate. He therein explained his reasons for the novelties he

had introduced into the *Roman* worship. We are indebted to *Varro* for this account (52). One *Terentius*, says he, had a piece of ground near the *Janiculum*; and a husbandman of his, one day accidentally running his plough over *Numa's* tomb, turned up some of the legislator's books, wherein he gave his reasons for establishing the religion of the *Romans* on the foot on which he left it. The husbandman carried these books to the *prætor*, and the *prætor* to the senate, who, after having read his frivolous reasons for his religious establishments, agreed, that the books should be destroyed, according to *Numa's* intentions; and it was accordingly decreed, that the *prætor* should throw them into the fire. *St. Austin* thinks there were some footsteps of magic in these books, of which *Numa* had been in his life-time suspected. *Aurelius Victor* assures us, that *Numa's* motives for the religion he established at *Rome*, were found to be so trivial, that the senate thought fit to suppress them.

(Q) Some writers have given *Numa* four sons, who, they say, were afterwards the stocks of four illustrious families. But the common opinion is, that he had only one daughter, named *Pomilia*; and she is said to have been born to him of a second wife, by name *Lucretia*, whom he married after his election to the crown. *Ancus Martius*, his grandson, was only five years old when his grandfather died; and therefore passed by in the next election, as not being of an age fit to govern.

(47) PLUT. in *Numa*.

(48) MACROB. ibid.

(49) OVID. fast. ver. 41.

(50) PLUT. ibid.

(51) MACROB. ibid.

(52) VARRO apud S. AUGUST. l. vii. de civis. Dei. c. 24.

- a *Hoflus Hofilius*, the father of *Tullus Hofilius* (R). *Tullus* began his reign, by distributing certain lands, which were the demesnes of the crown, among such of his subjects as had no lands of their own. This act of generosity immediately gained him the hearts of his people. As he was of a bold and fiery temper, he was more inclined to tread in the steps of *Romulus* than of *Numa*; and it was not long before he had a favourable opportunity of seconding his martial inclination. *Caelius*, or, as *Livy* styles him, *Clulius*, who was at the head of affairs in *Alba*, being jealous of the growing greatness of *Rome*, privately commissioned some of the most indigent among his subjects to lay waste the *Roman* territory, not doubting but this would soon give occasion to a war between the two nations: nor was he disappointed in his expectation;
- b for a *Roman* army, entering the territories of *Alba*, attacked the robbers, slew many of them, and took a great number of prisoners. *Clulius*, having now a plausible reason for engaging his people in a war with the *Romans*, convened an assembly; and by exaggerating the losses which *Alba* had sustained, brought them to this resolution, that an embassy should be first sent to *Rome*, to demand satisfaction; and, in case they refused it, that war should be declared. When the ambassadors arrived at *Rome*, *Tullus*, guessing at their errand, made use of various pretences to defer giving them audience; and in the mean time sent an embassy to *Alba*, with orders to require satisfaction on the part of *Rome*. A *fecialis* was at the head of the ambassadors, who finding *Clulius* in the midst of the public forum, discharged his commission, and put him in mind of the ancient treaty between the two nations, whereby it was stipulated,
- c that they should never make war upon one another, till a reparation of injuries on either side had been previously asked in a friendly manner. To this *Clulius* answered, That he had already sent ambassadors to *Tullus*, but to no effect; and therefore declared war against him. Hereupon the *fecialis*, calling the gods to witness, that the *Romans* had been first refused their demands, and that they might therefore declare war without any infraction of the treaty, left *Alba*, and set out for *Rome*. Upon the return of the *Roman* ambassadors, *Tullus* sent for the *Alban* deputies; and being told by them, that their errand was to demand satisfaction of him, and, in case of a refusal, to declare war, the king replied, *Go, tell your master, that the king of Rome*
- d *calls the gods to witness which of the two nations first refused the other satisfaction, that they may cause all the miseries of this war to fall upon those who first broke the treaty.* Thus did *Tullus* reduce to bare appearances that sincerity, which his predecessor had laboured to establish in *Rome* *.

His war with
the Albans.

- THE *Roman fecialis* had allowed *Clulius* the space of thirty days before hostilities were to begin; which was no sooner elapsed, than both armies took the field. But when they came in sight of each other, whatever was the cause of it, their ardour cooled, neither party caring to come to an engagement. This inaction raised great murmurs in the *Alban* army against *Clulius*, as the author of a mock war; insomuch that, not being able to bear their reproaches, he resolved to offer the *Romans* battle,
- e or, if they declined it, to force their intrenchments. But the next morning he was found dead in his tent in the midst of his guards, without any signs of violence; which occasioned various conjectures, some imputing his death to the friends of *Rome*, others to the anger of the gods, who, they said, had thus punished him for beginning an unjust and unnecessary war; but the greater part looked upon it as a common accident, and therefore chose in his room one *Metius Fuffetius*, or, as others call him,

* Liv. l. i. c. 22.

(R) *Hoflus* had signalized himself under *Romulus* in his wars with the *Sabines* and *Fidenates*. He was the first who entered the breach at the taking of *Fidena*, and was on that account rewarded by *Romulus* with a mural crown. This was the reward bestowed by generals on the person who first scaled the walls of a besieged city. In the second battle with the *Sabines*, *Hoflus* was killed, and his death occasioned the flight of the *Romans* (53). Nevertheless he had distinguished himself, before the *Roman* army was put to flight, in so eminent a manner, that the remembrance of his gallant behaviour was preserved by an inscription on a pillar erected on the field of

battle (54). As for *Hoflus Hofilius*, the son of *Hoflus*, and father of *Tullus*, we find nothing worth mentioning said of him. But *Tullus Hofilius* appeared both to the *Roman* people and senate to be possessed of all those qualifications, which could be desired in a successor to *Numa*. What some historians say of his education, has no appearance of truth (55), viz. that he was brought up in woods, and there kept sheep, as a common shepherd; it being no-ways credible, that one of the first and most wealthy of the *Roman* citizens should employ his son in that mean office.

(53) Plin. l. xvi. c. 4.

(54) Dio. Hal. l. iii. p. 136.

(55) Val. Max. l. iii. c. 4.

Suffetius,

Suffetius, a man no less famous for his hatred to the *Roman* name than *Clulius*. He had been one of the chief promoters of the war; but whether he distrusted his own skill in the management of it, or did not care to venture an engagement, he continued, under various pretences, in the same inactivity which he had blamed in his predecessor. In the mean time he received certain advice, that the *Veientes* and *Fidenates* were preparing to fall upon both armies, when they should be weakened by a battle. This intelligence still increased his delays, and he now thought of nothing but coming to a conference with the king of the *Romans*, and changing the preparations of war into a sincere reconciliation. With this view he marched out of his intrenchments; and *Tullus*, not doubting but his design was to offer him battle, went out to meet him: but he was greatly surprized to find that the *Alban*, instead of coming to an engagement, demanded an interview. However, he readily granted him his request, and the two commanders came to a parley at the head of their respective armies. After reciprocal salutations and protestations of friendship, as if it had never been interrupted, *Fuffetius* acquainted the *Roman* king with the conspiracy of the *Veientes* and *Fidenates*, and produced the letters he had received from his friends in *Fidenæ*. *Tullus* acknowledged that he had received the same intelligence, which had induced him to keep within his camp, and prevented his undertaking any thing against the *Albans*. Both consented to end the quarrel in an amicable manner, and expressed a willingness to unite the two nations; but in order to make the union more durable and perfect, *Tullus* proposed, that all, or at least the chief, families of *Alba*, should remove to *Rome*; or in case they were unwilling to leave their native city, that one common-council should be established to govern both cities under the direction of one of the two sovereigns. *Fuffetius* took aside those who attended him, to consult with them about this proposal; but they, though willing to come to an union with the *Romans*, absolutely refused to leave *Alba*; so that the only difficulty remaining was to settle which city should have the superiority. *Fuffetius* spoke in favour of *Alba*, alledging that she was the metropolis, or mother-city, whereas *Rome* was but a colony. *Tullus* urged in behalf of *Rome* her superiority in wealth and power, and in the close of his speech proposed to terminate the dispute by a single combat between himself and *Fuffetius*. The *Alban* general, not caring to enter the lists with *Tullus*, declined this offer, and made a new proposal, which was, that three champions should be chosen out of each camp to decide the difference; and to this *Tullus* agreed. The agreement was no sooner known in the two armies, than it excited a strong emulation among the young warriors, for the honour of being chosen to this important combat. But while the choice of the champions was yet in suspense, *Fuffetius* cast his eyes upon three *Albans*, whose birth had something wonderful in it. *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* gives us the following account of it: *Sequinius*, an illustrious citizen of *Alba*, had two daughters; one he married to *Curatius*, a citizen of *Alba*, and the other to *Horatius*, a citizen of *Rome*. These two sisters were brought to bed on the same day, each of three male children, who were now in the flower of their age, and remarkable for their strength and dexterity. The *Alban* general therefore, imagining that the gods had brought them into the world on purpose to determine the fate of their respective countries with their swords, communicated his thoughts to the king of *Rome*, and exhorted him to pitch upon the three *Horatii*, as he had fixed his choice on the three *Curatii*. *Tullus* accordingly proposed the matter to the *Horatian* family, but would lay no restraint upon them. The three young heroes answered, that they could not dispose of their lives without his consent, from whom they had received them. Old *Horatius*, the father of the three brothers, was under no small apprehension of a combat, wherein much of the blood of his family would be spilt; and as an additional matter of concern, one of his daughters was betrothed to one of the *Curatii*. However, the love of his country getting the better of all other considerations, he left his children to their own choice; and when he understood that they, following the example of the *Curatii*, preferred a glorious death, or important victory, to an inglorious life, he lifted up his eyes to heaven, and embracing his children, cried out, *I am a happy father*; and then commanded them to declare his consent to the king.

The dispute between *Alba* and *Rome* decided by them.

AND now the combat of the *Horatii* and *Curatii* being proclaimed in both camps, *Tullus* led the former, and *Fuffetius* the latter, the people strewing the way, as they passed, with flowers, and putting garlands on their heads; for they were looked upon

- a as victims, which had voluntarily devoted themselves for their country. A great plain lying between the two camps was chosen for the place of the combat; and the two kings advanced with their champions and *feciales* to the middle of it; and before the engagement began, concluded a treaty, which served as a pattern for most of the treaties that were ever after made by the *Romans* (S). This done, the *Roman* and *Alban* champions advanced with a slow pace, each towards his antagonist. But when the people expected to see them engage, they quitted their arms, and flew to embrace one another with all the marks of the most tender and sincere friendship. At this moving sight the spectators, not able to refrain their tears, began to complain of their kings for engaging so near and affectionate relations to shed one another's blood. But the
- b tenderness of the young heroes did not abate their courage: Each of them returned to his arms, and chose his adversary. The eldest of the *Horatii* engaged the eldest of the *Curatii*, and the other two chose their adversaries, in the same manner, according to their age (T). The noise of their arms was already heard at a great distance, and the air rung with a confused mixture of shouts and acclamations from both camps, as either of the combatants appeared to have the advantage. The skill and dexterity of the champions kept the victory long in suspense. At length the eldest of the *Horatii* received a mortal wound, and fell. At this sight the *Albans* triumphed, and their joyful acclamations threw the *Romans* into the utmost consternation, which was soon after changed into despair, when they saw the second *Horatius*, being run through
- c by another of the *Curatii*, expire on the body of his brother. But the three *Alban* brothers were all wounded, and the remaining *Horatius* unhurt and vigorous. However, not thinking himself a match for the three brothers together, he made use of a stratagem to separate them: he cunningly retreated, as if he fled; and the *Curatii* pursuing him, but at unequal distances, as their wounds allowed them, the *Roman* champion turning short upon them, slew them all before one could come up to the assistance of the other; and big with this victory, seized the spoils of the vanquished,

(S) Of this treaty *Livy* gives us the following account: First, one of the college of the *feciales*, named *Marcus Valerius*, asked king *Tullius*, Whether he gave him orders to conclude a peace with the *pater patratus* of the *Albans*? The king answered, He did. Give me then, replied the herald, the sign of my commission: this sign was to be some vervain plucked up by the roots. Yes, answered the king, bring me some vervain that is pure. At these words the *fecialis* went and gathered some vervain on a little hill, brought it, and went on thus: Do you then appoint me to be *fecialis* and plenipotentiary of Rome to the *Albans*, and engage to protect my equipage and residue? Yes, replied the king, so far as is consistent with my interest, and that of the *Roman* people. Then *Valerius*, the *fecialis*, appointed *Spurius Fufius* to be *pater patratus* of the treaty, by crowning him with vervain. His office, as such, was to pronounce aloud the words of the oath in the name of the *Roman* king and people, and to repeat the whole form of the treaty. After this ceremonial, which passed only among the *Romans*, the new *pater patratus* read the articles of the convention in the presence of the *Albans*, and then expressed himself thus: Hear, O Jupiter; hear, O *pater patratus* of the *Alban* people; hear, O *Alban* people; of these articles, as I have just now read them out of those waxen tablets, without fraud or deceit, and as they have been from one end to the other clearly understood, the *Roman* people will never be the first violators. If they should violate them by public authority, and by fraud, may Jupiter as this instant strike them, as I shall now strike this victim! May thy stroke, great Jupiter, be as much heavier, as thy power is greater. At which words he killed a fow, which was to be offered up as a sacrifice, in confirmation of the treaty, by a blow on the head with a flint. The heralds of the *Albans* took the like oaths, and also offered their sacrifices (56).

As to the *pater patratus*, it is not easy to determine whether he was a constant officer, and chief of the *feciales*, or only a temporary minister elected for the denouncing of war, or making a peace, which were both done by him. *Rosinus* makes him the constant governor, or head of the *feciales* (57); *Festus* looks upon him as a distinct officer (58). *Pomponius Latius* (59), and *Polydore Virgil* (60), are of opinion, that he was only chosen by one of the *feciales* upon such occasions as we have just now mentioned. No person was intrusted with this office, but who had a father and a son both alive, and therefore *pater patratus* is no more than a more perfect sort of father, as they imagined him to be, whose own father was still living after he himself had been a father for some time. That a *pater patratus*, that is, one, who had both a father alive, and was himself father of children still alive, should be always chose for the above-mentioned purposes, was, according to some writers, a political law established by *Numa*, that king being well apprised, that a man, who had a father and children alive, would be more inclined to be faithful to his country, and promote the common interest. Some think that the *pater patratus* was so called a *patrando jurejurando*, that is, from the oath he was obliged to take to attest the justice of his demand. *Festus* says, he was so called, because by virtue of his commission he acted as *pater patriæ*, that is, father of his country.

(T) *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, by telling us, that the eldest of the *Curatii* chose out the eldest of the *Horatii*, and that the other two chose their adversaries according to their age, seems to insinuate, that the two sisters had each three children one after another, and at different births; for he plainly supposes that they were not all of the same age. But this difference of age most authors explain by the order in which the laws placed twins.

(56) *Liv.* l. i. c. 25.(57) *Rosin.* l. iii. c. 21.(58) *Ant. de invent. rer.* l. iv. c. 14.(59) *Pomp.**Latius de sacerdot. Rom.* c. 6.(60) *Polydor. Virgil.* l. iv. c. 6.

while the *Roman* camp resounded with joyful acclamations in honour of their hero (U). Thus *Rome* gained the superiority over *Alba*, her mother city, which *Fuffetius* acknowledged on the very field of battle, saluting king *Tullus* as his sovereign, and asking him what were his commands? *Tullus* answered, *I command you nothing, but to keep the Alban youth in a readiness to march at my orders, in case I make war with the Veientes*.

Horatius kills
his own sister.

As *Horatius* was returning to the city in a sort of triumph, he was met by his sister, who, in seeing him loaded with the spoils of the three brothers, among which was a military robe, which she had wrought with her own hands for the *Curatius*, to whom she had been betrothed, could not forbear tearing her hair, beating her breast, and reviling her brother with the most provoking and reproachful words for imbruing his hands in the blood of his relations. Hereupon *Horatius*, flushed with his late victory, and enraged at his sister's unseasonable grief, killed her upon the spot, and went on strait to his father's house, who not only approved of the action, but would not allow his daughter to be buried in the sepulchre of the *Horatian* family. However, when *Tullus* returned to *Rome*, young *Horatius* was brought by some illustrious citizens to his tribunal, to take his trial there. They thought it dangerous to abate the rigour of the laws in favour of conquerors; and therefore insisted on his being tried, and condemned, if found guilty. *Tullus*, being divided between his regard for the laws, and the desire he had to save the young *Horatius*, and foreseeing he should be censured by some for condemning, and by others for acquitting the criminal, dextrously turned the affair into a state crime, the cognizance of which did not belong to him, but to two commissioners, or *dumviri*, whom the king was to name. As the crime was notorious, and not disowned by the prisoner, the *duumviri* without delay pronounced sentence against him in these words: *We judge you to be guilty of treason; go, lie low, and tie his hands*. As soon as judgment was given, *Horatius*, by the king's advice, appealed to an assembly of the people, by whom the sentence against the criminal was revoked, rather through admiration of his courage, says *Livy*, than for the justice of his cause. However, that the crime might not go wholly unpunished, *Horatius* was condemned to pass under the yoke, an ignominy with which it was usual to treat prisoners of war, who had cowardly surrendered their arms. The king also appointed expiations to pacify the anger of the gods provoked by this violation of the laws. Nor was this all; the pontifices erected two altars, the one to *Juno*, and the other to *Janus*, which were still remaining in the time of *Augustus*, together with the yoke, known by the name of *Sororium Tigillum*, under which they made the criminal pass.

Is condemned
by the dum-
viri, but saved
by the people.

Tullus makes
war upon the
Veientes.

Tullus, mindful of the suspicious behaviour of the *Fidenates*, during his war with the *Albans*, cited them to appear before the senate of *Rome*, and answer for their conduct. But they, being conscious of their guilt, and in private intelligence with *Fuffetius*, who had stirred them up under-hand in hopes of shaking off the *Roman* yoke, refused to obey, and in conjunction with the *Veientes* took the field. *Fuffetius*, in compliance with *Tullus's* orders, joined him with the *Alban* troops; but the day before the battle he acquainted his principal officers with his design, which was to stand neuter, till fortune had declared for one side, and then join the conqueror. His project was universally approved, and all, who were present, bound themselves by a solemn oath to conceal his design, and obey his orders. In the mean time both armies marched out of their intrenchments, and while they were in motion, *Fuffetius* leaving the place he had been posted in, retired with his men to a rising ground. *Tullus* being apprised of his desertion, in that distress made privately a vow to add twelve priests to the college of the *Salii*, and to build a temple to *fear* and *paleness*; and then dissembling his fear, cried out with a loud voice, which was heard, both by his own men, and by the enemy; *Courage, friends, we have conquered; it is by my order, that the Albans are possessing themselves of the hill, whence they are to fall down upon the enemy*. The confidence of the king inspired his troops with courage; and the *Fidenates* and *Veientes* on the other hand, looking on the inaction of the *Albans* as suspicious, began to distrust them. And thus the discouragement one army was under, and the valour

The treachery
of the Albans.

† Liv. l. i. c. 25. Dio. Hal. l. iii. p. 156.

* Liv. & Dio. Hal. ibid.

(U) *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* says, that one of the *Curiatii* was killed in the beginning of the combat; so that there were but two *Curatii* left to en-

counter the *Horatius*, who was conqueror. But all the *Latin* historians contradict him in this particular, and we have chose to follow the greater number.

... of

- a of the other, decided the day. The *Roman* cavalry fell upon the *Fidenates* with great resolution, and obliged them to retire in disorder to *Fidenæ*. *Tullus*, without losing time in pursuing them, returned upon the *Veientes*, who being disheartened at the defeat of their allies, after a feint resistance betook themselves to flight, and perished for the most part either in the *Tiber*, while they attempted to save themselves by swimming, or on the banks of that river by the swords of the *Romans*, who overtook them. Then *Fuffetius*, coming down from his hill, fell upon the remains of the dispersed *Fidenates* and *Veientes*. But *Tullus*, concealing his knowledge of *Fuffetius*'s treachery, went privately in the night to *Rome* to consult the senate, and returned to the camp by break of day. He then detached *Horatius*, who had conquered the three
- b *Albans*, with a chosen body of horse and foot to demolish *Alba*, as had been concerted with the senate. While these orders were executing, *Tullus* commanded both the *Roman* and *Alban* troops to attend him unarmed; but with private instructions to the *Romans* to bring their swords concealed under their garments. When they were all assembled, he laid open the perfidioulness and treachery of *Fuffetius* in a long speech; and in the conclusion ordered him to be fastened to two chariots drawn by horses, and to be torn asunder. His accomplices were all put to the sword; but the rest of the *Alban* soldiers were carried to *Rome* with the citizens, and the chief men among them were even admitted into the *Roman* senate. Others were promoted to the dignity of knights, and all without exception enjoyed the privileges of *Roman* citizens^b. Thus
- c fell the city of *Alba*, famous for its riches, the number of its inhabitants, and above all for being the mother of *Rome*. This new increase of inhabitants obliged *Tullus* to enlarge the limits of the city; he took in mount *Cælius*, allowing the *Albans* to settle there, and built on the same hill his own palace. The next spring he marched against the *Fidenates*, defeated them in a pitched battle, and having obliged them to shelter themselves within their walls, by cutting off all succours and provisions reduced them to such straits, that they surrendered at discretion. The ring-leaders of the revolt were punished, but the rest suffered to continue in their native city under the same form of government, only dependant upon *Rome*. So complete a victory procured him the honours of a triumph, in which the spoils of the conquered enemy were carried
- d before him as trophies.

Alba demolished, and the inhabitants transplanted to Rome.

Tullus defeats the Fidenates.

- As the power and wealth of *Rome* was much increased by these repeated victories, and the destruction of *Alba*, *Tullus* demanded satisfaction of the *Sabines*, who were a very powerful nation, for the insults which had been formerly offered to some *Roman* citizens at the temple of the goddess *Feronia*, which stood at the foot of mount *Soracte*, upon the banks of the *Tiber*, and was frequented both by the *Sabines* and *Romans* (W). The *Sabines*, having solicited in vain the neighbouring nations to join them, kept themselves for some time on the defensive only. But at length, being provoked by *Tullus*, who laid waste their country, they came to an engagement, which proved so bloody, that both nations, terrified with the numbers of their slain, retired into their respective countries, without attempting any thing more that campaign. The
- e next year the war was renewed with more fury than before. Both armies met in the neighbourhood of *Lerum*, a town about thirteen miles from *Rome*, and fought with incredible fury, victory inclining to neither side, till *Tullus*, giving his men new courage, by making a vow to institute on the same day a festival in honour of *Saturn* and *Ops* (X), gained a complete victory. The conquered had no other resource but

Gains a complete victory over the Sabines.

^a Liv. l. i. c. 27. Dio. Hal. l. iii. p. 165.

^b Dio. Hal. p. 171. Liv. ibid.

(W) The goddess *Feronia* presided over forests, gardens, and orchards, and is thought by some to be the same with *Flora* or *Proserpine*. Her temple was frequented by the neighbouring nations, who came to pay their homage, and make offerings to the deity, which they worshipped in common. A fair was kept annually near her temple, and the preceding years some *Roman* citizens had been on that occasion robbed, and kept in captivity by the *Sabines*, who refused to set them at liberty, when demanded by their country, saying, that the *Romans* had used them in the same manner by opening an asylum, and peopling *Rome* with their fugitives.

(X) The festivals of *Saturn* and *Ops*, or *Rhea*,

were kept in the month of *December*, under the name of *Saturnalia* and *Opalia*, which were, properly speaking, one and the same solemnity, continued for several days together. The festival appropriated to *Saturn* was fixed to the sixteenth of the calends of *January*, and that of *Ops* to the fourteenth. *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* ascribes the origin of them to *Tullus Hostilius*'s vow. But *Macrobius* assures us, that they were celebrated in *Italy* long before the building of *Rome* (61). Servants had at this time a right of being served by their masters, wearing their cloaths, and reproving them for their faults. In this sense *Horace* encourages his servant to speak his mind freely, applying himself to him thus:

Age,

(61) *Macrobius Saturnal. l. i. c. 7.*

to implore the clemency of the conqueror; and *Tullus*, whose bare name made them tremble, granted them a peace upon his own terms ^c.

Tullus, flushed with success, summoned all the *Latin* towns, which had been dependant on *Alba*, to submit to the *Roman* laws, and follow the fortune of their metropolis. Upon this it was resolved in a general assembly of the *Latins* held at *Teromium*, that they should not by any means submit to *Rome*, but to the utmost of their power maintain their ancient independency. Two generals were elected by the assembly, viz. *Ancus Publicius* of *Cora*, and *Spurius Vecilius* of *Lavinium*, to whom a full power was granted of declaring war, or making peace, as they should think fit. However, the *Romans* did not think it advisable to make war upon them in a regular manner; they contented themselves with making inroads and incursions, and destroying ^b ing their harvest. *Medulia* alone, which had received a colony in *Romulus's* time, and had now joined the *Latins*, was taken, and, as was then thought, put out of a condition of ever taking up arms again ^d.

Taken: Medulia,
a Latin city.

Defeats the
Sabines a
second time.

SOME years after, the *Sabines*, thinking themselves in a condition to repair their ancient losses, invaded the *Roman* territories, and dividing themselves into small parties, over-ran the whole country. As they met with little opposition, they began to entertain thoughts of laying siege to *Rome*. But *Tullus*, marching out against them, defeated them in a pitched battle, and made them once more sensible of the superiority of *Rome*.

His death.

Tullus being now advanced in years, fell into superstition, and was easily imposed ^c upon by stories of prodigies, and voices from heaven. Sometimes they told him, that it had rained stones on the hill of *Alba*, and sometimes that a voice from heaven had been heard there, commanding the *Albans* to resume their ancient ceremonies. The king believed these prodigies, and appointed expiatory sacrifices for nine days, which gave rise to the custom of employing nine days to appease heaven as often as men were alarmed with prodigies of this kind. As to the manner of his death, authors disagree; some tell us, that he was killed by lightning, with his wife, children, and his whole family (Y); others are of opinion, that he died by the hands of *Ancus Marcius*, his successor, who slew him and his whole family, while they were performing a domestic sacrifice, and then set fire to the palace to conceal his crime. He ^d died after a reign of thirty-three years, leaving the city greatly increased, but the dominions much the same as they had been in the time of *Romulus*. As he was looked upon as a man struck by the gods, we find no mention in history of honours decreed to his ashes, or even of the place of his burial.

AFTER a short inter-regnum, the people and senate unanimously chose *Ancus* (Z) *Marcius*, the grandson of *Numa*, by his daughter *Pompilia*, and *Marcius* his relation, the

^c DIO. HAL. p. 175.

^d Idem ibid.

*Ago, libertate Decembri,
Quando ita majores voluerunt, usque: NATTA (62).*

This, according to some, was done in memory of the liberty enjoyed in the golden age, before the names of servant and master were known. Besides, friends at this time sent presents to one another: no war was to be proclaimed, and no offender executed. One day only was kept at first, the fourteenth of the calends of *January*; but the number was afterwards increased to three, four, five, and, some say, to seven days (63).

(Y) He is said by some to have studied magic, and to have hid himself in a private place to perform a magical sacrifice; but that omitting some part of the necessary ceremonies, he so incensed the god, to whom he was sacrificing, that the enraged divinity set his palace on fire by lightning, and destroyed his wife and children in the flames (64).

(Z) Every *Roman* had, generally speaking, three, and sometimes four, names: the first was called *prænomen*, the second *nomen*, the third *cognomen*, and the fourth *agnomen*. The *nomen* shewed the family, from which he was sprung; the *prænomen*

and *cognomen* were often nick-names, taken from the circumstances of the person's birth, or his defects, or bodily qualities; and the *agnomen* was a title of honour; as *Africanus*, *Germanicus*, &c. Thus the prince of the *Roman* orators was called *Marcus Tullius Cicero*. The *prænomen* *Marcus* signified that he was born in the month of *March*; his *nomen*, or name *Tullius*, was that of his family, and his *cognomen*, or surname *Cicero*, alluded to the mark or wart he had in his face, which was like a vetch, called by the *Latins* *cicer*. *Valerius* tells us, that *Marcius* had the name of *Ancus* from the *Greek* word *αγκυρα*, because he had a crooked arm, which he could not stretch out to its full length. We must observe here, that the *ingeniti* alone, or those, who were free-born, were allowed to take three names. Hence *Juvenal*,

*Si quid tentaveris unquam
Hicere, tanquam habeas tria nomina, &c. (65).*

For the slaves in ancient times had no name, but what they borrowed from the *prænomen* of their masters; as *Lucipor*, *Publipor*, *Marcipor*, that is, *Lucii*

(62) HORAT. l. ii. SATIR. 7.
VENAL. SAT. 5. v. 126.

(63) LIPSIUS JURNAL. l. i. c. 3.

(64) DIO. HAL. p. 176.

(65) Ju-

- a the son of that *Marcus*, who persuaded *Numa* to accept of the kingdom, and afterwards killed himself, because he was not chose in his room. The new king began his reign, by endeavouring to restore the religious ceremonies, which had been neglected in the last reign, to their former use, and to revive husbandry, advising his subjects to lay aside all sorts of violence, and to return to their peaceable employments. Notwithstanding this seeming inclination to peace, *Ancus* in his heart loved war, and was desirous of the honours of a triumph. However, the love he affected for the arts of peace, gained him the affections of his subjects; but at the same time drew upon him the contempt of the neighbouring nations. The *Latins* were the first, who made him give way to his martial inclination. These, pretending that their treaty with the Romans was no longer binding, than while king *Tullus* lived, made inroads into the territories of *Rome*. *Ancus* therefore resolved to be revenged on them; but out of respect to the laws of *Numa*, omitted no ceremony in declaring war, which that law-giver had appointed (A). He then took the field with an army consisting intirely of new-raised troops, marched to *Politorium* (B), a *Latin* city, and made himself master of the place before the *Latins* could relieve it. He spared the city, and only transplanted the inhabitants to *Rome*, settling them with those of *Tillena* and *Ficana*, two other cities of *Latium*, which he likewise took, on the hill *Aventinus*. The next year he retook *Politorium*, which the *Latins* had repeopled, and upon this second reduction demolished it intirely. He then laid siege to *Medulia*, a place of great strength, which he took, after having led his troops four years successively against it. He likewise made himself master of *Ficana*, destroying it with fire and sword. This city he had taken in the beginning of the war; but having neglected to demolish it, the *Latins* had possessed themselves of it, and it was with the utmost difficulty that he reduced it the second time. The *Latins*, enraged, but not discouraged, at their losses, made great preparations, and took the field, with all the forces they could draw together. But *Ancus*, having defeated them in a pitched battle, obliged them to sue for a peace, and triumphed at *Rome* for the advantages he had gained over them. The *Fidenates*, *Veientes*, and *Volsci*, felt likewise the effects of his martial disposition. The *Fidenates* had revolted during the *Latin* war; and it was no sooner ended, than *Ancus* marched against them, and took their city by sap; this being the first instance we meet with in the *Roman* history of that kind of attack. The king dug a way under-ground from

*Ancus Mar-
cius.*

*Year of the
flood 2366.*

*Before Christ
633.*

Of Rome 115.

*His war with
the Latins.*

*And the Fide-
nates, Sabines,
Veientes, and
Volsci.*

Lucii puer, Publici puer, &c. or the slave of *Lucius*, of *Publicus*, &c. When this custom grew out of fashion, the slaves were usually called by some name of their own, which was often taken from their country, as *Syrus*, *Geta*, &c. Upon their manumission they took the *prænomen* and *nomen* of their masters; but instead of the *cognomen* made use of their former name, as *Marcus Tullius Tiro*, the freedman of *Cicero*. After the same manner it was customary for any foreigner, who had been made free of *Rome*, to bear the *prænomen* and *nomen* of the person by whose means he had obtained that privilege.

(A) The ceremonies were as follow: A *fecialis* was sent to the *Latins*, to demand satisfaction; he no sooner arrived on their borders, but he cried out, *Great Jupiter, and ye confines of the Latin nation, hearken to justice. I come hither with a deputation from the Roman people in all the legal forms; and I demand that credis be given to what I say.* After this formal declaration, he laid open his demands; and then calling *Jupiter* to witness the truth of what he said, he pursued thus: *If I have unjustly and impiously made these demands, may'st thou, great god, never suffer me to return to my own country.* He repeated these words at his entering the *Latin* territory; then to the first person he met; afterwards at the gate of the city; and lastly, in the market-place. If in about thirty days his demands were not satisfied, he added to what he had said before; *O Jupiter, Juno, show Romulus, and all ye gods of heaven, of earth, and of hell, hearken; I call you all to witness, that the Latins are unjust. We will therefore enter into deliberations at Rome on the proper*

means of obliging them to give us just satisfaction. No sooner was the *fecialis* returned, but the king referred the affair to the senate, addressing himself, according to the form prescribed by *Numa*, to each particular senator in these words: *Say, what think you of the refusal, which the pater patratus, and the whole nation of the Latins have given the pater patratus of the Romans, of restoring and granting us what we demanded of them?* To which each senator gave this answer: *Let us again demand our rights by a just and lawful war. This is the opinion, for which I declare.* When the greater part of the senators had thus declared their opinion, the war was considered as unanimously agreed on. Then the *fecialis* went to the confines of the enemy's country, carrying in his hand a javelin, which was dipped in blood, and either headed with iron, or burnt at the end. When he arrived on the territories of the *Latins*, he pronounced the following form of words in the presence of at least three persons, not under fourteen years of age: *On accounts of the damages which the Latin nation has done the Roman people, and in obedience to a decree made by the senate and people of Rome, importing that war be declared against the Latins; I and the Roman people declare it, and begin it.* At these words he threw a dart upon the enemy's lands (66). 'Tis to be observed here, that at this time no use was made of the king's name or authority; he never being mentioned, but only the senate and people.

(B) It is not easy to ascertain the true situation of *Politorium*, *Tillena*, and *Ficana*. All we know of them is, that they were all three *Latin* cities, at a small distance from each other, not far from the mouth of the *Tiber*.

his camp quite under the walls of *Fidenæ*; and his men, having by that means got into the city without being observed, opened the gates to their companions, and put *Ancus* in possession of the place, in which he left a strong garison, after having caused those to be put to death, who had been most active in the revolt. He next marched against the *Sabines*, who had renewed their hostilities, defeated their united forces, and granted them a peace upon honourable terms. Over the *Veientes* he obtained two complete victories, for which a triumph was decreed him by the senate^c.

The Janiculum
taken in.

Rome was greatly enlarged in this king's reign; for he not only carried the walls round the *Aventine* hill, but also inclosed the hill *Janiculum*, which stood on the other side of the *Tiber*, and made it a sort of citadel for Rome. In order to open a communication between the city and the new citadel, he built the bridge *Sublicius* (C), over the *Tiber*, where it washes the foot of the *Aventine* hill. He likewise made a large ditch, called *Fossa Quiritium*, which was no small defence against those who came from the plains. And now the city having received a vast increase, *Ancus*, to suppress the licentiousness of such multitudes of people, built a large prison in the *Roman* forum. But he did not content himself with enlarging the city; he likewise extended its dominions; for having taken from the *Veientes* the *Mesian* forest, the territories of Rome reached quite to the sea, where he built the port and city of *Ostia* to secure the advantages of trade to his subjects. About this town he caused many salt-pits to be dug; and the distribution of salt, which he made among his subjects at this time, gave rise to those public liberalities, called *congiaria*, from the word *congius*, a measure used among the ancient Romans. He rebuilt the temple of *Jupiter Feretrius* after a more stately and magnificent manner, and spent the latter years of his reign in improving the city, and enriching the citizens. He died after a reign of twenty-four years; during which he shewed himself no ways inferior to any of his predecessors in the arts either of peace or war. *Plutarch* says, he died a violent death, but is therein contradicted by most of the ancients. *Ancus* left two sons behind him, one an infant, the other near fifteen years of age, both under the tuition of *Tarquin*, not suspecting that a stranger, who had lately settled at Rome, could gain the suffrages of the people in competition with his son, and place the crown on his own head. *Tarquinius* was the son of a rich merchant of *Corinth*, who, to secure his great wealth from the rapines of *Cypselus*, the tyrant of that place, had left his native country, and settled in *Tarquinii*, one of the most famous cities of *Hebruria*. There he married a woman of distinction, and had by her two sons, to whom he gave *Hebrurian* names, calling the one *Arunx*, and the other *Leucumo*. *Arunx*, who was the eldest, died before his father; and though he left his wife with child, yet his father, not knowing it, and dying soon after, left his whole estate to *Leucumo*, his second son. So that the posthumous son of *Arunx* was disinherited before he was born; and therefore took the name of *Egerius* from *egere*, to want. *Leucumo*, being now in possession of his father's immense riches, aspired to the highest dignities in *Tarquinii*, his wife *Tanaquil*, who was of a noble extraction, stirring up his ambition. But being looked upon in *Hebruria* as a stranger, he was debarred from rising to any considerable post in the country where he dwelt. Roused therefore by the reproaches of the aspiring *Tanaquil*, he resolved to remove to Rome, where two *Sabines* had been raised to the throne, and where personal merit was the surest and only means of arriving at the first dignities of the state (D). He was no sooner admitted citizen of Rome, but he endeavoured to appear intirely Roman, changing the prænomen of *Leucumo* into *Lucius*, and the

Ostia built.

Ancus dies.

An account of
Tarquin's
family.

gave rise to the following fable; viz. that as *Tarquin* was on the road with his wife in an open chariot, an eagle appearing over his head at the foot of the *Janiculum*, snatched off his hat, and soaring up again, was lost for some time among the clouds; but at length came down again with great rapidity, and left the hat on *Leucumo's* head. Hereupon *Tanaquil*, who is said to have been skilled in the art of augury, embracing her husband with tenderness, in a transport of joy, explained to him the happy presage of his future grandeur (67).

^c Dio. Hal. l. iii. p. 172. Liv. ibid.

(C) Some writers derive the name *Sublicius* from the piles on which it stood, that being the import of the Latin word *Sublicia*; others from the ancient word *licio*, which signifies to join. Neither iron nor copper were made use of in building this bridge; both being equally prohibited, if we believe *Plutarch*, by an ancient oracle. The care of keeping it in good repair belonged first to the pontifices, and afterwards to the questors. It was the first bridge that was built over the *Tiber*, and perhaps in Italy.

(D) The success which attended the new-comers,

gave rise to the following fable; viz. that as *Tarquin* was on the road with his wife in an open chariot, an eagle appearing over his head at the foot of the *Janiculum*, snatched off his hat, and soaring up again, was lost for some time among the clouds; but at length came down again with great rapidity, and left the hat on *Leucumo's* head. Hereupon *Tanaquil*, who is said to have been skilled in the art of augury, embracing her husband with tenderness, in a transport of joy, explained to him the happy presage of his future grandeur (67).

(67) Liv. ubi supra.

- a *Nomen*, or name *Damaratus*, which favoured too much of the *Greek*, into *Tarquinius*, borrowed from *Tarquinius*, where he had been brought up. As for the cognomen of *Priscus*, or *Old*, it was not probably given him till after his death, when it was used to distinguish him from the other *Tarquin*. The polite and engaging behaviour of the *Greek*, now become a *Roman*, soon gained him the favour of the people, and made him known in the court of *Ancus*, into whose favour he artfully insinuated himself; and lest his immense riches should create suspicions in a city which was yet poor, he offered to deposit them in the public treasury to supply the wants of the public. As he was well apprised that military exploits were a sure step to great honours, he not only contributed to the expences of the war out of his estate, but in all expeditions distinguished himself in a very eminent manner. In the war with the *Latins*, he fought on foot, and against the *Veientes* signalized himself at the head of the *Roman* cavalry; so that the king, in consideration of his gallant behaviour, raised him to the rank of a patrician and senator. As he was no less prudent in council, than formidable in arms, he shone in the senate from his first admission into it; and his advice was always followed by the king in military expeditions ^f.

- Tarquin* looking upon the death of *Ancus* as a critical time to attempt mounting the throne, brought on the election with the utmost expedition, and caused the curiæ to be summoned before young *Marcus* was quite fifteen. For the greater precaution, he took care to keep his pupil out of the sight of the people during the comitia; and for that purpose sent him into the country on a hunting match. In the mean time he carried on his intrigues, and gained some by money, others by promises. He was the first who introduced into *Rome* the custom of soliciting for offices, and making interest to obtain them, the *Romans* having till his time concealed from the world the desire they had of obtaining the highest posts. But the *Greek*, who was above these timorous scruples, plainly begged the kingdom in an harangue, which he made to the people, urging the example of *Tatius* and *Numa*, the first an enemy as well as a stranger, and the second wholly unacquainted with the city; whereas he was not only a friend to the *Romans*, but had spent all his riches among them, and was so well acquainted with the laws and customs of *Rome*, that the late king had employed him in affairs both civil and military of the greatest consequence. Then he cunningly insinuated his past services, and as the people had a high opinion of his merit, they commanded him, for that was the term then used, to take upon him the management of public affairs. In the beginning of his reign, to strengthen his party in the senate, and reward those who had shewn most zeal in his election, he created an hundred new senators, who were called *Senatores Minorum gentium*, because chosen out of the plebeian families. However, they had the same authority in the senate as the other senators, and their children were deemed patricians.

Tarquinelected king.
Year after the flood 2390.
Before Christ 600.
Of Rome 139.

- c His first war was with the *Latins*, from whom he took the cities of *Apiolæ*, *Crustumini*, *Nomentum*, and *Collatia*. The inhabitants of *Apiolæ* were sold for slaves; but those of *Crustumini* and *Nomentum*, having submitted after their revolt, were treated with great clemency. *Collatia*, which was more obstinate, met with a more severe treatment: the inhabitants were disarmed, and obliged to pay a large sum of money. As for the city, he thought he might dispose of it as he pleased, and therefore gave the sovereignty of it to *Egerius*, his brother *Arunx*'s son, who from thence took the name of *Collatinus*, which he transmitted to his posterity. *Corniculum* was likewise besieged, taken by storm, and reduced to ashes. *Tarquin*'s progress alarmed the other cities of *Latium*; several of them united their forces against the common enemy, but they were defeated in a bloody battle near *Fidenæ*, and obliged to enter into an alliance with the conqueror. Hereupon a national assembly of all the *Latins* being held at *Ferentinum*, it was resolved, that they should employ all their strength to oppose the torrent that threatened them. Pursuant to this resolution, they drew together what forces they could, and having engaged all *Sabinia*, and great part of *Hetruria*, to join them, they took the field with a very numerous army. But *Tarquin* having defeated the confederate armies in two actions, forced those *Latin* cities which had refused his alliance, to sue for it, and submit to a sort of dependence upon *Rome*. *Tarquin*, on his return to *Rome*, was honoured with a triumph. The spoils he had taken in the conquered cities of *Latium*, especially in *Apiolæ*, he employed in build-

His war with the Latins.

^f *DIO. HAL.* l. iii. p. 184, 185.

^g *DIO. HAL.* l. iii. p. 188, 189, 190.

The Circus
Maximus
built.

Tarquin sub-
dues the twelve
leucumones of
Hetruria.

ing a circus for the *Roman games*, otherwise called the *great games* (E). The place chose for the circus was the *Myrtian* or *Murtian* valley, which reached from the *Aventine* to the *Palatine* hill (F).

THE war with the *Latins* was scarce ended, when all *Hetruria* combined against *Tarquin*, on account of his detaining the ambassadors, whom they had sent to demand back some prisoners of theirs. It was even decreed in a general assembly of the twelve leucumones, that if any city of *Hetruria* stood neuter, it should be for ever cut off from the general alliance. Having by this means raised a considerable army, they took the field, ravaged the *Roman* territory, and made themselves masters of *Fidenæ* by the treachery of some of the inhabitants. The king did not appear the first year in the field, but quietly suffered them to go on without opposition, chusing rather to let them triumph for a time, than to encounter them without the necessary preparations. The next year he armed all his legions, and having applied to his allies for succours, took the field early in the spring, and divided his army into two bodies. The *Romans* he commanded himself, and placed his cousin *Collatinus* at the head of the allies. *Collatinus* was defeated, while presuming too much on his strength, he divided his army to plunder the enemy's country. But the king with his *Romans* made a more fortunate campaign, having routed the *Hetrurians* first near *Veii*, and afterwards under the walls of *Cære*. As *Fidenæ* was a key to the *Roman* dominions, *Tarquin* marched against it with all his forces, put the *Hetrurian* army, that covered it, to the rout, and made himself master of that important place. Such of the *Fidenates* as were suspected to have been concerned in betraying it to the enemy, were whipped to death, and the rest sent into banishment, and their lands divided by lot among the *Roman* soldiers. Then *Tarquin* hastened to fall upon the *Hetrurians* once more, before the whole strength of the new army they were raising could be got together. He came up with them near *Eretum*, ten miles from *Rome*, and overthrew them with great

(E) As *Tarquin* was of a *Greek* family, he was the first who thought of building a circus at *Rome* in imitation of the chief cities of *Greece*. For the first circus we read of was built at *Elis*, where the olympic games were celebrated, and served as a pattern for all the rest. *Livy* assures us, that the *Roman* games were also called the *Great games*: but we must not infer from thence, that all the sports, which were celebrated in the circus, and called *Circenses*, were the *great games*. Some were celebrated in the circus in honour of *Ceres*, *Apollo*, &c. which were different from the *Roman* or *great games*; as were also the *Megarense*. For the former were celebrated before the nones of *April*, and the latter on the eve of the nones of *September*. Besides, the *great games* were celebrated in honour of the *great gods*; whence they were called the *great games*; and the latter in honour of *Cybele*. Lastly, the *great games* were instituted by *Tarquinius Priscus*, and the *Megalense* not till the time of *Junius Brutus*, who appointed them in honour of *Cybele*, then called *μεγαλυνία*, or the *great goddess*. As to the name of circus, which was given to the magnificent structure raised by *Tarquin*, some derive it from the word *circulus*, a circle, part of it being built in that shape. Others will have it to have been so named, because the chariots, that disputed the prize, were obliged to run seven times round the posts, which were at each end of it. The poets mention only seven rounds, without expressly saying, whether they were about several posts, or one only. But *Cassiodorus* tells us in express words, that it was necessary to turn round seven different posts. However, it is generally thought, that there was but one post, round which the charioteers were obliged to drive seven times. From this turning round some derive the word *circus*. But *Terentian* (68) pretends, that the *Roman* circus took its name from *Circe*, the fabulous daughter of the sun; and imagines, that she was the first who invented the *Circensian* sports, intending by them to represent the

course of the sun her father, running round the globe of the earth in a chariot drawn by four horses.

The circus had four fronts; one at the bottom, where the posts stood; one at the opposite end, where the chariots started, and one at each side, whence the spectators beheld the shows. *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* tells us, that this circus was three stades and a half long, and four *jugera* broad, and that one hundred and fifty thousand men could sit in it at their ease. *Pliny* (69) tells us, that the *Roman* stadium contained six hundred twenty-five *Roman* feet, each of which contained twelve inches, or sixteen fingers breadths; so that the circus, as it was, according to the above-mentioned writer, three stadia and a half long, must have been two thousand one hundred and eighty-seven *Roman* feet in length. As it was four *jugera* broad, each of which contained, according to *Pliny*, two hundred and forty *Roman* feet, it is from thence manifest, that the circus was nine hundred sixty *Roman* feet broad, and consequently above twice as long as it was wide. So that the length of the circus was somewhat more than three *English* furlongs. It was called the *great circus*, either on account of its vast circumference, or because the *great games* were celebrated in it, or, perhaps, because it was consecrated to the *great gods*, viz. to *Vercumnus*, *Neptune*, *Jupiter*, *Juno*, *Minerva*, and especially to the *Di Penates* of *Rome*, which were in a special manner called the *great gods*. This circus was extremely beautified and adorned by the *Roman* emperors, in whose times it was enlarged to such a prodigious extent, that it contained in their proper seats two hundred and fifty thousand spectators (70).

(F) This valley was so called, according to some, from a temple erected to a goddess of that name at the foot of the *Avensian* hill. Others style it *Myrtia* from a temple built in that place to *Venus*, surnamed *Myrtia*, because the myrtle was consecrated to her.

(68) *Terentian. de spectac.*

(69) *Plin. l. i. c. 3.*

(70) *Plin. l. xxxvi.*

- a slaughter; for which victory the senate decreed him a triumph^b. And now the leucumones, despairing of any future success against the *Romans*, sent deputies to the king, with an unlimited commission to conclude a peace upon any terms whatsoever. As *Tarquin* was naturally inclined to clemency, and followed that inclination when he found it noways prejudicial to his ambition, he granted them a peace without insisting upon any other condition than their owning his sovereignty over them. The *Hetrurians* readily agreed to this, and in proof of their accepting the king of *Rome* for their sovereign, they sent him all the ensigns of royalty, which were in use among them, viz. a crown of gold, a throne of ivory, a sceptre with an eagle on the top of it, a tunic embroidered with gold, and adorned with figures of palm-branches (G), and a purple robe enriched with flowers of several colours. However *Tarquin* deferred wearing these stately ornaments, till such time as the people and senate had consented to it by an express law. He then applied these regalia to the decoration of his triumph, and never after laid them aside. In his triumph he appeared in a gilt chariot drawn by four horses, clothed in a purple robe, and a tunic embroidered with gold, attended by twelve lictors, with their axes and fasces, with a crown on his head, and a sceptre in his hand. Thus ended the war with the *Hetrurians*, after it had lasted nine years.

- Tarquin* having now an interval of rest from his wars, applied all his thoughts to the beautifying, cleansing, and fortifying the city. He built the walls of *Rome* with hewn stone, and those famous common-sewers, which have been since looked upon as one of the wonders of the world (H). He likewise adorned the forum, fur-

His triumph.

Applies himself to the beautifying of Rome.

^bIdem, p. 191.

(G) This the *Latins* called *Tunica Palmata*, which we ought to distinguish from the *Tunica Picta*. The former was not, properly speaking, a long hanging robe, but rather a vest, which was partly hid under the robe. It had at first no sleeves, and afterwards but very short ones. As all the *Romans* wore tunics, they shewed the difference of their rank by that of their tunics. Some sowed upon theirs purple flowers, which were stuck on like the heads of nails; and hence came the word *Laticlavium*. Only the chief magistrates, senators, and generals of the army, were allowed to wear these. The inferior magistrates, the *Roman* knights, and some other officers in the army, wore indeed tunics with purple flowers; but these flowers were smaller than the others; and from thence comes the name of *Angusticlavium*. Those who triumphed, instead of embroidered flowers, wore purple palm-branches upon their tunics or *tunica palmata*. As to the *Toga picta*, some think it was a robe common among the *Romans*, only of a purple colour: and as to the robe in general, it was nothing but a very long mantle hanging in great folds quite down to the ground, which they put upon their right shoulders, throwing one lappet of it over the left. The robes of the senators were adorned with great purple flowers, as well as their tunics; and those of the knights with smaller. The robes of those who triumphed, were probably adorned with palm branches as well as their tunics. At least it is certain, they were made of rich stuffs, and were called *toga picta*. Two persons only had ever the privilege of wearing them out of a triumph, viz. *Paulus Æmilius* and *Pompey*.

We have followed here the most common opinion with relation to the *Laticlavium* and *Angusticlavium*, about which critics are strangely divided. Some are of opinion, that the *clavi* were a kind of flowers interwoven in the cloth; others will have them to be the buttons or clasps by which the tunic was held together. A third sort pretend, that the *Latinus clavus* was nothing but a tunic bordered with purple. *Scaliger* thinks the *clavi* did not belong to the vest, but hung down from the neck, like chains and ornaments of that nature. *Rubinius* endeavours to refute all these conjectures, and to prove that the

clavi were no more than purple lines or streaks in the middle of the garment. According to that author they did not receive the name of *clavi*, as an immediate allusion to the heads of nails, to which, he says, they bore no resemblance, but were so called from their being of a different colour from the rest of the garment. For the *Romans*, says that writer, used to inlay their cups, and other precious utensils, with studs of gold, or other ornamental materials. These, from their likeness to nail-heads, they called in general *clavi*. So that it was very natural to bring the same word to signify these lines of purple, or other colours, which were different from all the rest of the garment, as those *clavi* were of a different colour and figure from the vessels, which they adorned. A modern critic, of no mean character (71), tells us, that the *clavi* were nothing else but purple galleons, with which they bordered the fore-part of the tunic on both sides in the place where it came together. The broad galleons, says he, made the *Laticlavium*, and the narrow the *Angusticlavium*. As to the name of *clavi*, he thinks the ancients gave that name to any thing that was made with a design to be put upon another.

(H) *Pliny*, who did not examine them till near eight hundred years after they were built, could not speak of them without admiration (72). *Rome* contained at that time four hills within its compass, viz. the *Palatinus*, *Tarpeius*, *Quirinalis*, and *Ælius*. In the valleys between these hills the rain-water and springs uniting, formed great pools, which laid under water the streets and public places. The mud likewise made the way impassable, infected the air, and rendered the city unhealthy. This prompted *Tarquin* to undertake the cleansing the city from its filth, by conveying off the waters through subterraneous canals into the *Tiber*. He made all the arches of these common-sewers of hard stone, and spared neither expence nor labour to make the work durable. Their height and breadth were so considerable, that a cart loaded with hay could easily pass through them under-ground. But what most increased the difficulty of the work, was the conveying of the waters, which through these sewers were to carry off the filth, into the *Tiber*. It was necessary

sary

(71) *Dacier*. in *Horat.* l. ii. sat. 5.(72) *Plin.* l. xxxiii. c. 15.

rounding it with galleries, in which were shops for tradesmen, and building temples a in it with schools for the youth of both sexes, and halls for the administration of public justice.

His war with
the Sabines.

The king had scarce ended these works when he engaged in a war with the *Sabines*, under pretence that they had assisted the *Hebrurians*. Both armies took the field, and came to an engagement on the confines of *Sabinia*, which lasted the whole day without any considerable advantage on either side; insomuch that the generals, standing in awe of each other, retired to their respective camps, and soon after returned home, without attempting any thing else that campaign. *Tarquin* employed the winter in making the necessary preparations against the next year. He considered that he had been often prevented from pursuing the advantages of a victory for want of horse. b For though the infantry was very numerous, the cavalry continued on the same foot, on which *Romulus* had left it. He therefore resolved to add some new bodies of knights to those of the first institution. In any state less superstitious than that of the *Romans*, this design would have been put in execution without any dispute. But in *Rome* the innovation, which *Tarquin* had a mind to introduce, met with great opposition. As the first division of the horse into three bodies had been determined by auguries, *Attius* *Nævius*, the most famous augur of that time, obstinately withstood the king's will, and took upon him the defence of *Romulus's* institution. *Tarquin* could not persuade himself, that the augur was serious in his opposition; and therefore commanded him to be brought into his presence, fully resolved to confound and discredit the diviner in the art, which superstition maintained to the diminution of the royal authority. c As soon as *Nævius* appeared before *Tarquin* in the midst of the forum, and in the sight of all the people; *Canst thou discover by thy art, diviner, said the king, whether what I am thinking of can be done, or not? Go and consult thy birds.* The augur did as he was ordered, and returning quickly, answered with great composure; *Yes, Tarquin, my art tells me, that what you are thinking of may be done.* Upon this the king, pulling out a razor from under his robe, and taking a flint in his hand, replied with a contemptuous smile; *I was thinking whether it was possible to cut this flint with this razor. I have taken thee in thy own craft; the introducing the gods into thy decisions is all cheat and imposture. If thou canst perform what is impossible, do.* At these words the people d burst out a laughing. But *Nævius*, without discovering the least surprise, addressed the king with an air of assurance, and said, *Put the razor to the flint, and try; I readily submit to any punishment, if you don't do what you thought on.* The king did as he was directed, and saw, to his great surprize, the flint give way to the edge of the razor, which cut through it with so much ease, that it reached the king's hand, and drew blood from it. *Livy* says, that *Nævius* took the flint into his own hand, and cut it in *Tarquin's* presence. e Be that as it will, the people testified their surprize by loud acclamations; and *Tarquin*, turning his contempt for augury into admiration, laid aside his project of increasing the number of the corps of horse, and contented himself with augmenting the number of the knights of each corps, making the *Roman* f cavalry amount in all to eighteen hundred men. From this time no determination was made either in the camp, or city, without the approbation of the augurs. As for *Nævius*, *Tarquin* erected a statue of brass to his memory in the comitium, which continued there till *Augustus's* time. The razor and flint, which were kept as monuments of the miracle, were buried near it, under an altar, at which witnesses were afterwards sworn in civil causes. This event, though related with so many circumstances, attested by all the writers of the *Roman* history, and adopted by some of the fathers of the church, who impute it to magic, is without all doubt a mere fabulous invention, and was looked upon as such by *Tully*, who, though himself an augur, writes of it thus: *Look with contempt (he speaks to his brother Quintus) on the razor and flint of the famous Attius; when we reason as philosophers, we ought to lay no stress upon fables.*

Tarquin re-
news the war
with the Sa-
bines.

Tarquin early in the spring took the field against the *Sabines*, who, having received considerable reinforcements from *Hebruria*, were beforehand with him, and had in-

^a Deo. HAL. p. 203.

^b Liv. l. i. c. 36.

^c Cic. l. i. de divin.

sary to cut through hills, and under the city thro' rocks, a chanel large enough for a navigable stream, and covered with arches strong enough to bear the weight of houses, which were often built upon them, and stood as firm as on the most solid founda-

tions. The expence of this great work was never so well understood, as when it came to be repaired. For the censors gave no less than a thousand talents to the person who undertook the cleansing of it.

camped

- a camped near the conflux of the *Anio* and the *Tiber*. The *Hebrurians* were posted on one bank of the *Tiber*, and the *Sabines* over-against them, on the other. The confederate armies had a communication by a bridge of boats; and this *Tarquin*, who had incamped on a hill near the banks of the *Anio*, found means to set on fire, by sending down the river flat-bottom'd boats, loaded with dry wood, sulphur, and rosin. The *Sabines* hastened to extinguish the flame, leaving, as is very frequent on such unforeseen and sudden accidents, their camp unguarded. Then *Tarquin*, laying hold of this opportunity, attacked, and made himself master of it; while a detachment, which he had sent out, having passed the *Tiber* in the night, came and fell suddenly on the camp of the *Hebrurians*. The enemy being thus attacked on both sides, betook themselves to flight, and in that confusion perished, some by the flames, some by the sword, and others by leaping into the river. By this means the arms of the enemy, which came floating down the stream, brought the news of the victory to *Rome* before the arrival of the couriers dispatched by the king. After this victory, *Tarquin*, without allowing the enemy any respite, entered the territory of the *Sabines*; who having with incredible expedition drawn together another army, faced him a second time; but being once more routed with great slaughter, they had at last recourse to the clemency of the conqueror, and sued for peace; but *Tarquin* did not think fit to grant them more than a truce, which was no sooner expired, than they passed the *Anio*, and made incursions on the *Roman* lands. Hereupon *Tarquin*, leaving the city, fell upon the free-booters, and having taken their booty from them, incamped with the few forces he had then with him over-against the enemy, while the rest of the army hastened after him. The *Sabines*, whose courage was not in the least abated by their former misfortunes, did not fail to offer him battle; and the king, as soon as he was joined by the forces he expected, accepted the challenge. As the *Sabines* were no ways inferior to the *Romans*, either in numbers or bravery, the victory continued doubtful, till a body of horse, which *Tarquin* had detached before the battle, having taken a great compass, fell unexpectedly on the enemy's rear in the heat of the action. Then the *Sabines*, seized with a sudden panic, betook themselves to a disorderly flight. Few of them reached the neighbouring cities, their retreat being cut off on one side by the main body of the *Roman* army, and on the other by the detachment of horse. Those who escaped the swords of the conquerors, fled to their camp, which, though well fortified, was attacked and taken, almost without resistance, by the *Romans*. Thus ended this campaign. The next year the *Sabines*, having chosen a more experienced commander, appeared early in the field, but declined a battle. *Tarquin*, not thinking it safe to attack the enemy's camp, surrounded it on all sides; and by cutting off their communication with the neighbouring country, reduced the *Sabines* to the utmost extremity. The *Romans* looked upon them as a sure prey; but the *Sabine* general, taking advantage of a dark and stormy night, marched his army out of his intrenchments, and without being observed, got out of the enemy's reach, leaving only in the camp some wounded men, and a few cattle^m; and thus the campaign ended.
- f THE next year the *Romans* and *Sabines* appeared anew in the field, as soon as the season was fit for action, and having incamped over-against each other, the two generals agreed to put the whole to the issue of a battle. As *Tarquin* had divided his army, which was very numerous, into three bodies, he commanded the *Romans* himself, put his nephew *Arunx* at the head of the *Hebrurians*, and gave the command of the *Latins*, and other allies, to *Servius Tullius*, a foreigner, who from a slave was become a *Roman* citizen. The two armies engaged with the utmost fury, and fought the whole day with equal intrepidity and resolution; but in the end the *Romans* gained the victory, after *Tarquin* had inspired his men with fresh courage, by making a vow to build a magnificent temple in honour of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*. The *Sabines* being routed and dispersed, *Tarquin* entered their country, which now lay open to him; and having plundered their lands, and open places, returned to *Rome* loaded with booty, and crowned with fresh glory. During the winter he made the necessary preparations for the besieging of their fortified places, which was to be the work of the next campaign. But in the mean time the *Sabines*, despairing of success, ^{The Sabines} humbled themselves so far as to send deputies to *Tarquin*, offering to put him in possession of all their strong-holds upon honourable conditions. The king treated them

^m Idem, p. 197.

as favourably as he had done the *Hebrurians*, delivered up to them their prisoners ^a without ransom; and having taken possession of their country, returned to *Rome*, and entered the city in triumph ^a.

The temple of
Jupiter, &c.
on the capitol.

Tarquin, being now advanced in years, thought only of enjoying the sweets of repose after his great labours, and continual victories. However, mindful of the vow he had made to *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*, he levelled the top of the hill *Tarpeius*, marked out the plan of the temple, and laid the foundations of that glorious structure, which afterwards became the principal place of the *Roman* worship. And now the celebrated *Navius* appeared again upon the stage. This augur, being consulted about what part of *Rome* *Jupiter* would like best, declared for the hill *Tarpeius*, formerly *Saturnius*. But when they came to consecrate the area, a difficulty arose about removing the gods, who had already altars on the hill, without giving them offence. By the help of augury all these gods were consulted, and found willing to be removed, except the god *Terminus*, and the goddess *Youth*, who insisted upon not being displaced, and were consequently inclosed within the walls of the temple, which was afterwards consecrated to *Jupiter*, his wife *Juno*, and his daughter *Minerva*. Not long after *Navius* disappeared; and as the manner as well as the author of his death were utterly unknown, the sons of *Ancus Marcius* endeavoured to fix the calumny on the king, and by that means stir up the people against him. But their accusation being found groundless, the sons of *Ancus* were detested for having calumniated their king, and delivered up to him by the incensed multitude. *Tarquin*, who was naturally inclined ^b to mercy, pardoned them, in consideration of the favours he had received from their father. Motives of religion prompted him to be more severe on a prostitute vestal, by name *Pinaria*, whom he condemned to be buried alive. As this is the first instance we meet with of this kind of punishment, *Tarquin* is thought to have been the author of it. It was ever after inflicted on such of those priestesses as dishonoured their consecration. However, the king did not shew less esteem to the college of the vestals, but on the contrary added two to their number, and increased it to six ^c.

The sons of
Ancus conspire
the death of
Tarquin.

As *Tarquin* was now about eighty years of age, and drew near his end, the ambition of the sons of *Ancus* grew daily more active. They had not forgot the arts, by which *Tarquin* had secured to himself their father's kingdom, and had long watched ^d an opportunity of seizing it for themselves. But finding it impossible to put their design in execution, they lived quietly under the government of *Tarquin*, till such time as he began to take proper measures for the continuing of the crown in his family by marrying one of his daughters to *Servius Tullius*. Then they set no bounds to their resentment, but resolved to put the king to death before the interest of his son-in-law was well established among the people. The method they took for the execution of their design was this: They hired two young men, who dressing themselves like peasants, with hatchets on their shoulders, as if they were wood-cleavers, began a feigned quarrel near the king's palace. Many of the conspirators crouded about them under pretence of putting an end to the dispute, which still continued, till they got to the gate of the palace. Then they called out on the king for justice, and were brought before him by the officers of the court. At first they began to bawl and rail at each other, till they were restrained by a lictor, and ordered to speak by turns. Then one of them began to tell his story, and while the king was wholly intent on what he said, the other gave him a great blow on the head with his hatchet, and leaving his weapon in the wound, fled with his companion out of the palace. But while some of the king's attendants hastened to his assistance, others, pursuing the assassins, seized them. When they were put to the torture, they confessed that they had been employed by the sons of *Ancus*. Queen *Tanaquil*, who had courage and wisdom above her sex, did not lose her presence of mind even at the sight of her dying husband. She ^e immediately commanded the palace to be cleared of the croud, and gave strict orders, that no person whatsoever should be admitted within the gates. Then shutting herself up in the apartment of the expiring king, with her son-in-law *Servius Tullius*, his wife, and *Ocrisia* his mother, she encouraged *Servius* to ascend the throne. She then opened the window, which looked into the street, where this sudden accident had brought the people together; and with an air of assurance, told them, that the wound was not deep; that the king was stunned with the sudden blow, but was come to himself again, and hoped to have the pleasure of seeing his people again very soon; ^f

He is assassina-
ted in his own
palace.

^a Idem ibid.

^b Idem, p. 204.

but

- a but in the mean time ordered them to obey *Servius Tullius*, who would administer justice to them, till the king was perfectly recovered. This wise dissimulation of *Tanaquil* Queen Tanaquil by a stratagem secures the kingdom to her son-in-law. had all the success she could expect from it. The sons of *Ancus*, believing that the king was still alive, went of their own accord into banishment; so that the plot, which perhaps would have succeeded, had the people seen *Tarquin* dead, was quite defeated, upon their believing that he was still alive. The second day after the murder of *Tarquin*, *Servius Tullius* heard causes from the throne in the royal robes, and attended by the lictors. But as he pretended only to supply the king's place, when any difficult case occurred, he promised to report it to the king. As he thought it incumbent upon him to inquire into the wicked attempt upon the king, and revenge it, he cited the sons of *Ancus* to appear before his tribunal; and upon their non-appearance caused them to be declared infamous, and their estates to be confiscated. After he had thus managed affairs for some time, and by his prudent administration gained the hearts of the people, the death of *Tarquin* was published, as a thing recent, with great lamentations in the palace; and *Servius*, after having performed his obsequies with great pomp, appeared in public with a strong guard, and all the marks of royalty, without waiting for the election either of the senate or people. *Livy* indeed tells us, that he took possession of the kingdom with the consent of the senators. But as he was not duly elected, the people looked upon him rather as governor, than king, of *Rome*.
- c THE most probable account authors give of the birth and education of *Servius Tullius*, is as follows: He was the son of *Ocrisia*, a native of *Corniculum*, who was made captive by the *Romans* at the taking of that place. But who his father was, is uncertain. *Dionysius Halicarnassicus* tells us, that one *Tullius*, an officer of royal extraction, who was killed in the defence of his country, was the husband of *Ocrisia*, whom he left with child at his death. *Tarquin* made a present of this beautiful captive to his queen *Tanaquil*, who being apprised of her extraction, and taken with her polite behaviour, restored her to her ancient freedom. But as her son was born while she was still in a state of slavery, the name of *Servius* was added to that of *Tullius*, which he received from his father. This is *Dionysius's* account. But *Plutarch* pretends, that *Ocrisia* was very young, when she was carried into captivity, and that she was afterwards married to one of *Tarquin's* clients, by whom she had *Servius*. Some have given this prince a divine origin, and made him the son of *Vulcan*, or at least of the *Lar*, or the household god of *Tarquin's* palace. Perhaps by the god of the royal palace they meant *Tarquin* himself. But however that be, it is certain, that *Tarquin* shewed all the tenderness of a father for *Servius*, and took particular care of his education. *Tanaquil*, who was no less fond of him than her husband, in order to gain him the greater veneration and esteem among the people, with what political view is not known, spread the following report, which the credulous people believed; viz. that a sudden flame, in form of a crown, surrounded the head of *Servius*, while he was a child, and asleep in her apartment. However, notwithstanding the great favour shewn him by the king and queen, it was chiefly by an uniform and wise conduct, that he raised himself to the throne. He distinguished himself in the army by his gallant behaviour; and his extraordinary abilities in council so gained him the esteem and affection of the people, that he was unanimously raised to the rank of a patrician, and a place in the senate. The king then married him to an illustrious *Roman* lady, by name *Gegania*; and upon her death, as his merit and fame daily increased, *Tarquin* thought it no dishonour to his family to give him his daughter *Tarquinia* in marriage. From this time the court set no bounds to the favours they bestowed upon him. The king reposed an entire confidence in him, trusting him with the management both of his domestic concerns, and the affairs of the public; in which latter he acquitted himself so well, that the people were no less satisfied with his conduct, than with the king's; and this, upon the death of his father-in-law, paved him the way to the throne.
- f As *Servius*, notwithstanding his superior merit, looked upon himself as chiefly indebted to *Fortune* for his grandeur, he erected an incredible number of temples and altars to her, under the names of *Fortuna Primigenia*, *Fortuna Obsequens*, *Fortuna Privata*, *Fortuna Virgo*, *Fortuna Virilis*, &c. As he proposed *Numa* for his pattern, and designed to establish as much order in the civil, as that wise prince had

Servius Tullius.
Year after the
flood 2427.
Before Christ
572.
Of Rome 176.

His birth and
education.

The honours he
pays to the goddess
Fortune.

^a Idem ibid. ^b Liv. l. i. ^c Dic. HAL. l. iv. p. 206. ^d PLUT. de fort. Rom. ^e Liv. l. i. c. 39.

done in the religious polity of *Rome*, to gain himself respect from the people, he pretended to have a private correspondence with the goddess *Fortuna*, as *Numa* had had with *Egeria* *. However, the beginning of his reign was not without disturbances and dissensions. The sons of *Ancus Marcius* had a strong party among the patricians, who thought it beneath them to be governed by a man born in slavery. Besides, it had been hitherto customary in *Rome* not to proceed to the election of a king, till after an inter-regnum; and this order, established ever since *Romulus*'s time, *Servius* had broken through, taking the power into his own hands, without the order or consent of the people. Complaints of this nature were at first dropped, as it were, accidentally, in private assemblies; but at last brought on an almost general conspiracy. The senators agreed among themselves to force the new king, the first time they assembled, to lay down his authority, to establish an inter-regnum, and then to proceed to the free election of another king. *Servius*, in this emergency, made it his study to gain the people, and make use of them against the senate. As he was therefore a man of great eloquence, instead of calling the senate together, he assembled the people, and placing one of the two grandsons of the late king on each side of him, made an artful and moving speech to the multitude, intreating them to be joint guardians with him of the offspring of a prince, whose memory ought to be dear to them, and promising to protect the people against the patricians, to pay all their debts, and to divide the lands taken from the enemy among them. Nor were his promises empty words; a few days after he commanded all those who were in debt, to send him an account of their debts, and the names of their creditors; and opening compting-houses in the forum, paid there all the debtors bills with his own money. Nor was this all; he published an edict, commanding all those, who had usurped lands belonging to the public, to quit them at an appointed time, and ordered the *Roman* citizens, who had no lands of their own, to petition for them. In short, he revived many of the laws of *Romulus* and *Numa*, which disuse had abolished, and made several new ones in favour of the common people, who were in many things put upon an equality with the senators and patricians †.

He defeats the
Hetrurians.

THOUGH *Servius* was naturally more inclined to works of peace than to military exploits, yet he found himself obliged to imbarque in a long war with the *Veientes*, and the rest of the *Hetrurians*, who had shaken off the yoke, pretending, that their obligations to be subject to *Rome* were dead with *Tarquin*, who had subjected them. But *Servius*, taking the field, soon subdued them anew, and depriving them of their lands, transferred the property of them to such of the new citizens of *Rome* as had yet no lands of their own. For this victory he obtained by the favour of the people, in spite of the senate, the honours of a triumph, and entered *Rome* with all the pomp, which *Tarquin* had introduced in such public shews ‡.

Servius, now finding the people intirely attached to his interest, resolved to take advantage of their present favour, to render his title to the throne less disputable. Accordingly, he assembled the citizens, and in a moving speech, which drew tears from their eyes, complained of a design formed by the patricians to take away his life, and to bring back the sons of *Ancus*; and this for no other reason, but because he was too kind to the common people. In the close of his speech, he left the kingdom to their disposal, begging them to determine between him and his pupils on one side, and their competitors on the other. He had no sooner ended his speech, than he came down hastily from the tribunal, in order to leave the assembly; but they even used violence to stop him, intreating him to be their king, and encouraging him not to fear the plots of his enemies. Then some, whom the king had dispersed among the multitude for that purpose, cried with a loud voice, *Let the curiæ be assembled without delay, that we may elect Servius to be our king*. In the mean time the prince, though at the bottom of the whole intrigue, affected to act only in compliance with the inclination of the people. *I am glad*, said he, *to find you have gratitude for the good offices I have done you*. *You may*, continued he, with an air of indifference, *do just as you please*. Accordingly, a day was appointed, and *Servius* elected by the curiæ by a greater unanimity than any of his predecessors §. However, as the senate, whose faction was formidable, could never be brought to confirm the election, *Servius* deliberated with himself, whether he should not renounce the dignity conferred on him by the people. But having imparted his uneasiness and perplexity to *Tanaquil*, she

He is legally
elected by the
curiæ.

* PLUT. de fort. Rom. † Idem, p. 213. ‡ FAST. CAPIT. & DIO. HAL. p. 216. § LIV. l. i. c. 46. DIO. HAL. l. iv. p. 218.

- a removed his apprehensions, and even prevailed upon him to take an oath, whereby he engaged never to resign the crown. This great queen died soon after, and *Servius* omitted nothing that could contribute towards transmitting the remembrance of her noble actions to posterity. To immortalize her domestic virtues, the true glory of a woman, he hung up her distaff in the temple of *Hercules* ^a.

- Servius* soon after his election marched against the rebellious *Hebrurians*, reduced them, and was on that account honoured with a second triumph. After this victory he applied all his thoughts to the adorning and enlarging of the city. To the hills *Palatinus*, *Tarpeius*, *Quirinalis*, *Cælius*, *Aventinus*, he added the *Esquilinus*, and *Viminalis*, inclosing them within the limits of the city, and fixing his own palace on the *Esquilinus*, in order to draw inhabitants thither. He likewise added a fourth tribe to the three originally established by *Romulus*, calling it *Tribus Esquilina*. The public imposts and taxes were raised by laying a certain sum on every tribe, and hence the public subsidies were called tributes; and those, who commanded the tribes in war, were from them named *tribunes*, though that name was afterwards given to several sorts of magistrates. The law which obliged each inhabitant to continue in the tribe in which he was born, established great regularity in levying both the militia, and the taxes. *Servius* made likewise a law, that a piece of money should be paid upon every death, into the temple of the goddess *Libitina*, who presided over funerals; another into the temple of *Juno Lucina*, upon every birth; and another into the temple of *Youth*, as soon as any person was past the state of childhood. By this means the number of *Roman* citizens was known, especially of such as were able to bear arms. No regard had hitherto been had at *Rome* to slaves; but *Servius*, perhaps to do honour to his first condition, extended his care even to them, ordering little wooden oratories to be erected in all the cross-ways of the several quarters of the city; these he consecrated to the *Diis Compitales*, or gods of the cross-ways, and appointed slaves only to be priests of these gods, who had their particular festival, on which masters gave their slaves rest from all labour, and by this act of humanity gained their good-will.

- THAT an equal order might be established in the country, as well as in the city, the king divided the whole *Roman* territory into distinct tribes, commanding that there should be at least one place of refuge in each tribe, situated on a rising ground, and strong enough to secure the effects of the peasants, in case of a sudden alarm. These strong-holds he called *Pagi*, that is, *villages*, and commanded that each of them should have their peculiar temple, tutelary god, and magistrates. Each of them had likewise their particular festival, called *paganalia*, when every person was to pay into the hands of those, who presided at the sacrifices, a piece of money, the men of one kind, the women of another, and the children of a third. By this means an exact computation was made of the men, women, and children, in each tribe ^a.

- IN the mean time his two wards, *Lucius Tarquinius*, and *Aruns*, the grandchildren of *Tarquin*, being grown up, in order to secure their fidelity, he married them to his two daughters. And though the elder of these daughters, who was of a mild and tractable disposition, resembled in character the younger of his pupils, as the elder of his pupils did the younger of his daughters, who was of a violent and vicious temper, yet he thought it adviseable to give his elder daughter to *Tarquin*, and the younger to *Aruns*; for by that means he matched them according to their ages, and at the same time hoped, that the elder *Tullia*'s sweet disposition would temper *Tarquin*'s impetuosity, and the younger *Tullia*'s vivacity rouse the indolence of *Aruns* ^b.

- DURING the public rejoicing for this double marriage, the twelve *leucumonies* of *Hebruria*, uniting their forces, attempted to shake off the *Roman* yoke; but were in several battles defeated by *Servius*, and obliged to submit to him on the same conditions, on which they had submitted to his predecessor. For this success *Servius* was honoured with a third triumph ^c.

THE king, being thus disengaged from a troublesome war, returned to the pursuit of his political schemes, and put in execution that master-piece of policy, which *Rome* made use of ever after, and which established a perpetual order and regularity in all the members of the state, with respect to wars, to the public revenues, and the suffrages of the comitia. The public supplies had hitherto been raised upon the people at so much a head, without any distinction of rich and poor. Whence it likewise fol-

^a PLIN. l. iii. c. 7.^b DIO. HAL. p. 220.^c Idem ibid. LIV. ubi supra.^d FAST. CAPIT.

lowed,

lowed, that when levies were made for the war, the rich and poor were equally obliged ^a to take the field, according to the order of their tribe; and as they all served at their own expence, the poorer sort could, with much ado, bear the charges of a campaign. Besides, as the most indigent of the people saw themselves burdened with the same taxes as the rich, they pretended to an equal authority in the comitia: so that the election of kings and magistrates, the making of peace or war, the judging of criminals, were given up into the hands of a populace, who were easily corrupted, and had nothing to lose. *Servius* formed a project to remedy these evils, and put it in execution, by enacting a law, injoining all the *Roman* citizens to bring in an account in writing of their own names and ages, and of those of their fathers, wives, and children. By the same law, all heads of families were commanded to deliver in upon oath ^b a just estimate of their effects, and to add to it the places of their abode, whether in town or country. Whoever did not bring in an account of his effects, was to be deprived of his estate, to be beat with rods, and publicly sold for a slave. *Servius* from these particular accounts, which might be pretty well relied on, undertook to ease the poor by burdening the rich, and at the same time to please the latter by increasing their power.

Divides the Roman citizens into six classes, and these into centuries.

To this end he divided the *Roman* people into six classes: the first class consisted of those, whose estates and effects amounted to the value of ten thousand drachmæ, or an hundred thousand asses of brass; the first way of computing being used by the *Greeks*, and the latter by the *Latins*. This class was subdivided into fourscore centuries, or companies of foot. To these *Servius* joined eighteen centuries of *Roman* knights, who fought on horse-back, and appointed that this considerable body of horsemen should be at the head of the first class; because the estates of these knights, without all doubt, exceeded the sum necessary to be admitted into it. However, the public supplied them with horses, for which a tax was laid upon widows, who were exempt from all other tributes. This first class, including infantry and cavalry, consisted of ninety-eight centuries. The second class comprehended those, whose estates were valued at seven thousand five hundred drachmæ, or seventy-five thousand asses of brass. It was subdivided into twenty centuries, all foot. To these were added two centuries of carpenters, smiths, and other artificers. In the third class ^d were those, who were esteemed worth five thousand drachmæ, or fifty thousand asses. This class was subdivided into twenty centuries. The fourth class was of those, whose effects were rated at the value of five hundred drachmæ, or twenty-five thousand asses, and was divided into twenty centuries; to which were added two other centuries of trumpets, and blowers of the horn, who supplied the whole army with this martial music. The fifth class included those only, whose whole substance did not amount to more than twelve hundred and fifty drachmæ, or twelve thousand five hundred asses; and this class was divided into thirty centuries. The sixth class comprehended all those, who were not worth so much as those of the fifth class. They exceeded in number any other class, but nevertheless were reckoned but as one ^e century.

THE wise king drew from these regulations all the advantages he had expected. Levies for the army were no longer raised by tribes, nor were taxes laid at so much a head, as formerly; but all was levied by centuries. When, for instance, an army of twenty thousand men, or a large supply of money, was wanted for the war, each century furnished its quota both of men and money; so that the first class, which contained more centuries, though fewer men, than all the other together, furnished more men and more money for the public service, than the whole *Roman* state besides. And by this means the *Roman* armies consisted, for the most part, of the rich citizens of *Rome*, who, as they had lands and effects to defend, fought with more resolution, ^f while their riches enabled them to bear the expence of a campaign. As it was but just the king should make the first class amends for the weight laid on it, he gave it almost the whole authority in public affairs, changing the comitia by curiæ, in which every man gave his vote, into comitia by centuries, in which the majority was not reckoned by single persons, but by centuries, how few soever there might be in a century. Hence the first class, which contained more centuries than the other five taken together, had every thing at its disposal. The votes of this class were first taken; and if the ninety-eight centuries happened to agree, or only ninety-seven of them, the affair

^a DIO. HAL. l. iv. p. 223. LIV. l. i. c. 43. AUL. GELL. l. xvi.

- a was determined, because these made the majority of the hundred and ninety-three centuries, which composed the six classes. If they disagreed, then the second, the third, and the other classes in their order, were called to vote; though there was very seldom any occasion to go so low as the fourth class for a majority of votes. So that by this good order, *Servius* brought the affairs of the public to be determined by the judgment of the most considerable citizens, who understood the public interest much better than the blind multitude, liable to be imposed upon, and easily corrupted.

- AND now the state being thus divided into different orders, according to the census The census and lustrum. or valuation of their estates, *Servius* resolved to solemnize this prudent regulation by some public act of religion, that it might be the more respected, and the more lasting. Accordingly, all the citizens were commanded to appear, on a day appointed, in the *campus Martius*, which was a large plain, lying between the city and the *Tiber*, formerly consecrated by *Romulus* to the god *Mars*. Here the centuries being drawn up in battalia, a solemn lustration, or expiatory sacrifice, was performed in the name of all the people. The sacrifice consisted of a sow, a sheep, and a bull, whence it took the name of *Suovetaurilia*. The whole ceremony was called *lustrum*, à *luendo*, that is, from *paying*, *expiating*, *clearing*, or perhaps from the goddess *Lua* (1), who presided over expiations, and to whom *Servius* had dedicated a temple. This wise king, considering that in the space of five years there might be such alterations in the fortunes of private persons, as to intitle some to be raised to a higher class, and reduce others to a lower, enjoined that the census should be renewed every five years. As the census was usually closed by the lustrum, the *Romans* henceforth began to compute time by lustrums, each lustrum containing the space of five years. However, the lustrums were not always regularly observed, but often put off, though the census had been made in the fifth year. Some writers are of opinion, that *Servius* at this time coined the first money which had ever appeared at *Rome*; and add, that the circumstances of the lustrum probably led him to stamp the figures of the animals there slain on pieces of brass of a certain weight. It is past all doubt, that money was called *pecunia*, from the word *pecus*, which signifies cattle, a name which continued to be given to all coins, when the impressions on them were changed into more noble figures *.
- c
- d

- THE government of the city being thus established in so regular a manner, *Servius*, He gives the freedmen the privilege of Roman citizens. remembering his former servile condition, and touched with compassion on those, whom the misfortunes of an unsuccessful war had reduced to slavery, thought that such of them as had by long and faithful services deserved and obtained their freedom, were much more worthy of being made *Roman* citizens, than untractable vagabonds from foreign countries, who were admitted without distinction. He therefore gave the freedmen their choice, either to return to their own country, or continue at *Rome*. Those who chose to continue there, he divided into four tribes, and settled them within the city; and though they were distinguished from the *Plebeians* by their old name of *liberti*, or *freed-men*, yet they enjoyed all the privileges of free citizens. The senate took offence at the regard which the king shewed to such mean people, who had but lately shaken off their fetters; but *Servius*, by a most humane and judicious discourse, intirely appeased the fathers, who passed his institution into a law, which subsisted ever after.
- e

- THE wise king, having thus established order among the people, undertook at last Reforms the royal power. to reform the royal power itself, his equity, which was the main spring of all his resolutions, leading him to act contrary to his own interest, and to sacrifice one half of the royal authority to the public good. His predecessors had reserved to themselves the cognizance of all causes both public and private; but *Servius*, finding the duties of his office too much for one man to discharge well, committed the cogni-
- f

* DIO. HAL. & LIV. *ibid.*

(1) The name of this goddess was lost through the ignorance of editors; but brought to light again by *Justus Lipsius* in his commentaries on *Tacitus*. For that ancient writer tells us, that *Servius Tullius* consecrated an altar to the goddess *Lua*. But the editor, not knowing who this goddess was, changed the word *Lua* into *Luna*, as if *Servius* had dedicated

an altar to the moon. *Lipsius* corrects this mistake, and shews that *Lua* was the goddess, to whom the sacrifice of the lustrum was offered. As she was the goddess of expiations, the lustrum probably took its name from her, as she did hers from the word *luo*, which signifies *to pay*, because on that day every one paid his quota of the tax laid on his century.

zance of ordinary suits to the senate, and reserved that only of state-crimes to a himself.

*Secures the
friendship of
the Latins and
Sabines.*

ALL things being now regulated at home, both in the city and country, *Servius* turned his thoughts abroad, and formed a scheme for attaching the *Sabines* and *Latins* to the *Romans* by such social ties, as should be strengthened by religion. He summoned the *Latin* and *Sabine* cities to send their deputies to *Rome*, to consult about an affair of great importance. When they were come, he proposed to them the building of a temple in honour of *Diana*, where the *Latins* and *Sabines* should meet once a year, and join with the *Romans* in offering sacrifices to that goddess; that this festival should be followed by a council, in which all disputes between the cities should be amicably determined; that there proper measures should be taken to pursue their common interest; and lastly, that in order to draw the common people thither, a fair should be kept, at which every one might furnish himself with what he wanted. The king's design met with no opposition. The deputies only added to it, that the temple should be an inviolable asylum for the united nations, and that all the cities should contribute towards the expence of building it. It being left to the king to chuse a proper place for it, he pitched upon the *Aventine* hill, where the temple was built, and assemblies annually held in it. The laws which were to be observed in these general meetings, were engraved on a pillar of brass, and still to be seen in *Augustus's* time in the *Latin* tongue, but in *Greek* characters^t.

*The wicked in-
trigues of Tar-
quin and the
younger Tullus.*

BUT now *Servius* was grown old, and the ambition of *Tarquin*, his son-in-law, revived in proportion, as the king advanced in years. His wife used her utmost endeavours to check the rashness and fury of her husband, and to divert him from all criminal enterprizes; while her younger sister, a domestic fury, was ever instigating *Aruns*, who placed all his happiness in a private life, to the most villainous attempts. She was continually lamenting her fate in being tied to such an indolent husband, and wishing she had either continued unmarried, or were become a widow. Similitude of temper and manners formed by degrees a great intimacy between her and *Tarquin*. At length she proposed to him nothing less than the murdering of her father, sister, and husband, that they two might meet and ascend the throne together. Soon after they paved their way to an incestuous marriage, he by poisoning his wife, and she her husband, and then had the assurance to ask the king's and queen's consent to their marriage. *Servius* and *Tarquinia*, though they did not give it, were silent, through too much indulgence for a daughter, in whom now was their only hope of posterity. But these criminal nuptials were only the first step towards a yet greater iniquity. The wicked ambition of the new-married couple first shewed itself against the king; for they publicly declared, that the crown belonged to them; that *Servius* was an usurper, who being appointed tutor to *Tarquin's* grand-children, had deprived his pupils of their inheritance; that it was high time for an old man, who was but little able to support the weight of public affairs, to give place to a prince, who was of a mature age, &c. The patricians, whom *Servius* had taken great pleasure in humbling during the whole time of his reign, were easily gained over to *Tarquin's* party; and by the help of money many of the poorer citizens were also brought over to his interest. The king being informed of their treasonable practices, endeavoured to dissuade his daughter and son-in-law from such proceedings, which might end in their ruin, and exhorted them to wait for the kingdom till his death. But they, despising his counsels, and paternal admonitions, resolved to lay their claim before the senate, which *Servius* was obliged to summon; so that the affair came to a formal process. *Tarquin* reproached his father-in-law with having ascended the throne without a previous inter-regnum, and with having bought the votes of the people, and despised the suffrages of the senate. He then urged his own right of inheritance to the crown, and injustice of *Servius*, who, being only his guardian, had kept possession of it, when he himself was of an age to govern. *Servius* answered, that he had been lawfully elected by the people, and that, if there could be an hereditary right to the kingdom, the sons of *Ancus* had a much better one than the grandsons of the late king, who must himself have been an usurper. He then referred the whole to an assembly of the people, which being immediately proclaimed all over the city, the forum was soon filled, and *Servius* harangued the multitude in such a manner, as gained all their affections. They all cried out with one voice; *Let Servius reign; let him continue to make the Romans happy.* Amidst

^t DIO. HAL. l. iv. p. 230.

their

- a their confused clamours, these words were likewise heard ; *Let Tarquin perish ; let him die ; let us kill him.* This language frightened him so, that he retired to his house in great haste, while the king was conducted back to his palace with the acclamations of the people :

THE ill success of this attempt cooled *Tarquin's* ardent desire of reigning ; and his ambition made him act a new part. He undertook to regain the favour of his father-in-law, by caresses, submissions, and protestations of a sincere regard and affection for him ; insomuch that the king, who judged of the probity of others from his own, was sincerely reconciled to him, and tranquillity re-established in the royal family. But it was not long ere *Tarquin*, roused by the continual reproaches of his wife, began

- b to renew his intrigues among the senators ; among whom he had no sooner gained a considerable party, than he put in execution a stratagem, which surprized the people by its novelty, and succeeded by the boldness of its execution. He cloathed himself in the royal robes, and causing the fasces to be carried before him by some of his domestics, crossed the *Roman forum*, entered the temple, where the senate used to meet, and seated himself on the throne. Such of the senators as were of his faction he found already in their places, for he had given them private notice to be there early ; and the rest being summoned to assemble in king *Tarquin's* name, made what haste they could to the appointed place, thinking that *Servius* was dead, since *Tarquin* assumed the title and function of king. When they were all assembled, *Tarquin* made a long

- c speech, reviling his father-in-law, and repeating the invectives against him, which he had so often uttered, calling him a slave, an usurper, a favourer of the populace, and an enemy to the senate and patricians. When he was yet speaking, *Servius* arrived ; and rashly giving way to the motions of his courage, without considering his strength, drew near the throne to pull *Tarquin* down from it. This raised a great noise in the assembly, which drew the people into the temple ; but no body ventured to part the two rivals. *Tarquin* therefore, being more strong and vigorous, seized the old man by the waste, and hurrying him through the temple, threw him down from the top of the steps into the forum. The king, who was grievously wounded, raised himself up with some difficulty ; but all his friends had abandoned him ; only

- d two or three of the people, touched with compassion, lent him their arms to lead him home to his palace. As they were dragging him on slowly, the cruel *Tullia* appeared in the forum, whither she had hastened in her chariot on the first report of what had passed in the senate. She found her husband on the top of the steps of the temple, and, transported with joy, was the first who saluted him king ; and her example was immediately followed by the senators of *Tarquin's* party. Nor was this enough for the unnatural daughter. She took aside her husband, and suggested to him, that he would never be safe so long as the usurper of his crown was alive. Hereupon *Tarquin* instantly dispatched some of his domestics to take away the remains of the unfortunate king's life. The orders for the wicked parricide were no sooner given, than *Tullia*

- e mounted her chariot again with an air of triumph to return home. The way to her house was through a narrow street called *Vicus Cyprius* (K), or, *the good street*. There the assassins had left the king's body, which was still panting. At this sight the charioteer, struck with horror, checked his horses, and made a stop : *Why don't you go on ?* cried *Tullia* to him. *What stops you ?* The charioteer turning about to her, *Alas !* said he, *it is the body of the king your father.* At these words *Tullia*, catching up a stool that was in the chariot, and throwing it at his head, *Go on,* she cried, *and don't be afraid of driving over a dead body.* The charioteer obeyed, and the blood of the father is said to have dyed the wheels of the chariot, and even the cloaths of the inhuman daughter. And hence the street was called ever after *Vicus Sceleratus*. Such was the end of *Servius Tullius*, after he had lived seventy-four, and reigned forty-four years.

- f He was a prince of eminent justice and moderation, and made *Rome* more formidable by a peace of twenty years, than his predecessors had done by many victories. He was beloved by the people, esteemed by the patricians, and perhaps would have had no enemies, if he could have preserved the affections of his own family. *Tarquin* not suffering his obsequies to be performed with the usual pomp, lest the people might on that occasion rise up in arms, and revenge his death, *Tarquinius* conveyed the body of

Tarquin re-gains the king's favour.

Servius is murdered by Tarquin, who usurps the throne.

* DIO. HAL. LIV. *ibid.*

(K) The word *Cyprius*, according to *Varro*, is an old *Ænean* word, signifying *good* or *happy* ; to this street, as the same author informs us, was first inhabited by the *Salines*.

her

her husband privately by night to his tomb, and the night following died herself; ^a but whether of grief, or by her own hands, or by the wickedness of *Tullia*, is uncertain. The veneration which the people had for this king's memory, seems to have placed him among the gods; for the slaves annually celebrated his festival in the temple of *Diana Aventina* on the day he lost his life.

Tarquin II.
Year of the
flood 2471.
Before Christ
528.
Of Rome 220.

Tarquin having thus possessed himself of the throne by a most wicked parricide, behaved himself during the whole time of his reign like a most cruel and despotical tyrant. In the very beginning of it the surname of *proud* was given him on account of his capricious humour, and haughty behaviour. As he had ascended the throne without a previous inter-regnum, and despised the suffrages of the people, and approbation of the senate, he communicated no affairs of state either to the senate ^b or people. All controversies whatsoever he decided himself, assisted by his intimate friends, and banished, fined, and even executed whom he pleased. To prevent the natural consequences of his tyranny, he kept constantly a strong guard about his person, mostly consisting of strangers, who were ready on all occasions to execute his pleasure. Wealth and merit became unpardonable crimes, as plainly appeared in the murder of *M. Junius*, a venerable old man, the father of the famous *Brutus*, who afterwards destroyed the regal power. This *Junius* was descended of a noble family, and had an ample patrimony, on which considerations *Tarquin the elder* had given him his daughter in marriage. The new king, to get possession of his estate, caused both him and his other son to be assassinated, *Brutus* escaping by counterfeiting mad- ^c ness. The flower of the senate retired from the city into voluntary banishment, to avoid the effects of the king's cruelty and avarice. The people, who had rejoiced at first to see the senate humbled, were in their turn as ill treated as the senators, and all the laws made in their favour annulled. Informers were dispersed all over the city to watch the words and behaviour of every citizen, and the worst construction was put upon every thing. All assemblies of the people, even for diversion and recreation, were prohibited both in the city and country. But as he was well apprised that the people would sooner or later attempt to shake off the yoke, and recover their ancient privileges and freedom, he turned his thoughts to gain a strong party among foreigners; and with this view married his daughter to *Octavius Mamilius*, a man of great interest ^d among the *Latins*. *Mamilius* indeed did his utmost to bring over a great many leading men of his country to the interest of his father-in-law, and his solicitations succeeded. But the king had like to have lost them again by his haughty behaviour. He had invited the *Latins* to meet in a national assembly at *Ferentinum*, on a day appointed by himself. The deputies came and took their places in the sacred grove. But as *Tarquin* did not appear after they had waited some hours, the assembly grew impatient, and *Herdonius*, an enterprising man, who hated *Tarquin*, took this occasion of inveighing against him. His speech made no small impression upon the assembly; but *Mamilius* prevailed upon them to adjourn the council to the next day. Then *Tarquin* appeared, and having first made a frivolous excuse for his absence, ^e acquainted the assembly, that his business with them was to demand his right of commanding the *Latin* armies, a right which he derived by inheritance from his grandfather. Upon this a profound silence ensued, till *Herdonius* stepping forth into the midst of the assembly, made a bitter invective against *Tarquin*, and represented the fatal consequences of admitting his proposal. *Tarquin*, disconcerted by the boldness of the orator, desired that the assembly might sit again the following day, when he promised to answer the invectives of *Herdonius*. In the meantime, having corrupted some of his domestics, he engaged them to hide a great quantity of arms in their master's baggage. The next morning he entered the assembly with an air of confidence, and after having told them that the malice of *Herdonius* against him was wholly ^f owing to his having refused him his daughter in marriage, he accused his adversary of having laid a plot to cut off all the deputies there present, and to usurp a tyranny over the *Latin* cities. In proof of this, he informed them of the arms concealed in *Herdonius's* baggage. The accused, knowing nothing of those arms, consented to be adjudged guilty, if upon examination the fact alledged should be found true. Accordingly, his baggage was searched, and the arms being found, and brought into the assembly, the innocent *Herdonius* was immediately sentenced to be thrown into a basin at the head of the spring of *Ferentinum*; where a hurdle being laid upon him, and stones heaped upon it, he was pressed down into the water and drowned ^g.

His treacherous contrivance to destroy Turnus Herdonius.

^a DIO. HAL. l. iv. p. 247. LIV. l. i. c. 50.

a THE *Latins*, not doubting but *Herdonius* was guilty of the crime laid to his charge, looked upon *Tarquin* as their deliverer, renewed the treaty made with his grandfather, and declared him general of the *Latin* armies. Not long after the *Fernici*, and two cantons of the *Volsci*, entered into an alliance with him upon the same terms. *Tarquin*, to secure the fidelity of his new allies, erected, with their approbation, a new temple in the midst of them, on a hill near the ruins of *Alba*, which he consecrated to *Jupiter Latialis*. There the diets of the confederate cantons were to assemble; and these assemblies were called *Latia*. The twenty-seventh of *April* was the day appointed for their annual meeting, and had the name of *Feria Latina*. The *Romans*, as the chief members of the alliance, always presided at the sacrifices and deliberations. The diet consisted of forty-seven deputies from so many cities, who formed the *Latin* association, which was afterwards the best part of the *Roman* strength, and contributed more than all the rest of *Italy* to the conquest of the world.

The Feriae Latinae.

b WITH the assistance of the *Latins*, *Tarquin* thought himself in a condition to make war upon those *Volsci*, who had refused to enter into an alliance with him. But as he could not depend upon the fidelity of the *Romans*, he blended them in the same legions with the *Latins*, who till his time had been a separate corps. The inhabitants of *Suessa Pometia* (L), one of the most flourishing cities of the *Volsci*, were the first who felt the effects of this new alliance. They had plundered the territories of their neighbours, and *Tarquin* laying hold of this pretence to begin the war, marched against them, defeated their army, laid siege to their city, and having taken it by storm, gave the plunder of it to his troops, reserving only the tenth part of the spoil towards the expence of finishing the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*. He then turned his arms against the *Sabines*, who had committed some depredations in the *Roman* territories, gained two complete victories over them, and made the whole *Sabine* nation tributary. Upon his return to *Rome*, where we are told he triumphed twiceⁱ, he undertook the finishing of the common sewers, and the great circus, and having obliged the idle populace to work without any other reward, but that of a poor maintenance, soon brought to perfection those two structures, which his grandfather had begun^k.

Assisted by the Latins, he defeats the Volsci, and subdues the Sabines.

c IN the mean time many of the discontented patricians, abandoning their native country, took refuge at *Gabii*, a city of *Latium*, about a hundred furlongs from *Rome*, and prevailed upon the inhabitants to espouse their cause, and make war upon *Tarquin*. This war lasted seven years with various success, during which time the *Romans*, who could neither sow nor reap, being afflicted with a great famine, began to murmur, and at length to demand of *Tarquin* in a tumultuous manner, either a peace or provisions. Their complaints and murmurs being fomented by emissaries sent privately from the exiles at *Gabii*, the whole city was in the utmost confusion, and seemed only to wait for a favourable opportunity to take up arms, and drive out *Tarquin*, the cause of all their misfortunes. The king being on one side unwilling to make a shameful peace, and apprehending on the other a general revolt of his subjects, was at a loss what resolution to take, and under the greatest uneasiness. But his son *Sextus Tarquinius* found out an expedient, no less dishonourable than artful, for extricating him out of this difficulty. He pretended to be upon very ill terms with his father, and openly inveighed against him as a tyrant. Hereupon the king, as it had been agreed on before-hand, commanded him to be publicly beaten with rods as a rebel. This was no sooner known at *Gabii*, but the inhabitants, desirous to have *Sextus* among them, made him privately great offers; which he readily accepted, after they had solemnly promised never to deliver him up to his father upon any pretence whatsoever. It is not to be imagined how agreeable *Sextus's* arrival was to the *Gabini*, or what hopes they founded on their gaining over a prince, who was so much valued by the *Romans*. From that time they looked upon *Rome* as already reduced. And indeed the artful *Sextus* played his game with all imaginable dexterity. His public and private discourse turned upon nothing but the tyranny of the king of *Rome*. From words he proceeded to actions. No enemy *Rome* ever had was more active. He often ravaged the *Roman* lands, and returned to *Gabii*, loaded with booty. His father took care to facilitate his military exploits, and sacrificed such soldiers and officers as he suspected, to the glory of his

His war with the people of Gabii.

The stratagem by which he became master of that city.

ⁱ Fasti CAPITOL.

^k DIO. HAL. p. 251. LIV. l. i. c. 52.

(L) *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* reckons *Suessa Pometia* among the most wealthy cities of the *Volsci*. It was called *Pometia*, to distinguish it from another

Suessa in the country of the *Aurunci* beyond the *Liris*. It stood between *Cora* and *Velitra*, at a small distance from these two cities.

son. His reputation being thus increased by the craft of his father, without the least suspicion of any intelligence between them, the *Gabini* placed so much confidence in his fidelity and valour, that they appointed him commander in chief of their army. His authority being now sufficiently established in *Gabii*, he dispatched a slave, in whom he could confide, privately to *Rome*, to inquire of his father what he should do. The king, not thinking fit to answer either in writing, or by word of mouth, took the slave into a garden, and there struck off the heads of all the tallest poppies. This done, he sent back the messenger. *Sextus* understood the hint, and, having assembled the *Gabini*, pretended to have discovered a plot to deliver him up to his father. The people pressed him to declare the conspirators, and extorted from him, as it were, by force, the name of *Antistius Petrus*, a man whose merit had made him the most considerable person in his country. *Sextus* had bribed his servants to convey among his papers some letters from the king of *Rome*, which being produced and read, the incensed multitude, without further examination, immediately stoned him, and committed to *Sextus* the care of discovering his accomplices, and inflicting on them such punishments as he should judge proper. Upon this he ordered the gates of the city to be shut, and having sent officers into the several quarters of it, caused all the eminent men in *Gabii*, who gave him umbrage, to be inhumanly massacred. In the midst of this desolation and confusion, he opened the gates to his father, whom he had acquainted with his design, and put him in possession of the city. The *Gabini* sunk into the utmost despair at the sight of the tyrant, who now had their lives, their estates, and their liberty, at his disposal. But *Tarquin* on this occasion, consulting good policy more than revenge, treated them with great humanity, and even entered into an alliance with them, the articles of which were written on a shield made of the hide of an ox sacrificed on that occasion. This treaty was still to be seen at *Rome* in *Augustus's* time, in the temple of *Jupiter Piflius*, or *Sancus*, that is, the god of fidelity¹.

As *Tarquin* was jealous even of his own children, he took care to keep them at a distance from *Rome*. With this view he left *Sextus* at *Gabii*, declaring him king of that city, and sent *Titus* and *Arunx* to found two new colonies, the one at *Signia*, the other at *Circaum*, a promontory on the coast of the *Tyrrhenian* sea. As for his fourth son *Lucius Tarquinius*, he kept him in *Rome*, he not being yet of an age to give him umbrage.

The books of the Sibyl.

THE *Romans*, being now accustomed to the yoke of an imperious master, bore it with great patience, and allowed *Tarquin* to enjoy a profound peace. It was at this time that an unknown woman appeared at court, loaded with nine volumes, which she offered to sell, but demanded a very considerable price. *Tarquin* refusing to purchase them at her rate, she withdrew, and burnt three of them. Some time after she returned, and demanded the same price for the remaining six. She was therefore looked upon as a mad woman, and driven away with scorn. However, having burnt the half of them, she ventured to return a third time, asking as much for the remaining three as she had done for the whole nine. *Tarquin*, surprised at the novelty of this proceeding, caused the books to be put into the hands of the augurs, who, finding them to be the oracles of the Sibyl of *Cuma*, declared them to be an invaluable treasure, and advised the king to buy the three at the same price, which the woman had asked for the nine. *Tarquin* followed their directions, and the woman, having received the sum she demanded, soon after disappeared, having first exhorted the *Romans* to preserve her books with great care. *Tarquin* appointed two persons of distinction, styled *Duumviri*, to be guardians of them (M); and ordered them to

¹ Dio. Hal. p. 255. Liv. l. i. c. 54.

(M) These officers were afterwards increased to ten, and then to fifteen; and, as their numbers increased, were called *Decemviri*, *Quindecemviri*, *sacris faciundis*. It was their business to consult the *Sybilline* books, when the senate thought proper. But recourse was never had to them, unless the republic was under, or threatened with, some great calamity; as when a dangerous sedition was like to break out, when the *Roman* armies had been defeated, or when any of those prodigies appeared, which were thought fatal to *Rome*. Then the *Duumviri* had the care of putting in execution whatever they thought com-

manded by the books of the Sibyls. They also presided over the sacrifices, and public sports, which they appointed to appease the wrath of heaven. And lastly, they ordered every thing that related to the *Ludi Seculares*. Their office was for life, and they were exempted from taxes, and from all civil and military employments. This magistracy continued at *Rome* from the time of *Tarquin the Proud* to the reign of the emperor *Theodosius*, when this and many other ancient superstitions were intirely abolished.

- a be locked up in a vault under the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, as soon as that building was finished ; and there they were kept, till they were burnt with the temple itself ^m.

Rome still continuing to enjoy peace, though the people were as much discontented as ever, *Tarquin*, in order to keep them employed, undertook the finishing of the temple of the capitol, which his grandfather had begun. He hired for this purpose architects and skilful workmen out of *Hebruria*, and obliged his own subjects to perform the laborious part, making them the drudges, as he had done in so many other undertakings. This temple, which was dedicated to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, stood on the top of the hill *Tarpeius*, made sometime since a part of *Rome*. The original of the new name of *Capitol* is by historians said to be this : As the workmen were digging the foundations of the temple of *Jupiter*, they are said to have found very deep in the earth the head of a man, whose features were preserved intire, and the blood as red and fresh as if it had been but newly shed. The *Romans*, looking upon this as a prodigy, consulted the augurs, who declared it to presage, that *Rome* would some time or other become the mistress and head of *Italy* (N). This answer encouraged *Tarquin* to spare no pains nor expence in raising a structure to the honour of those gods, who were the authors of so glorious a destiny. Accordingly the foundations were laid, and the temple built in a most stately manner. It stood upon eight acres of ground, and was two hundred foot broad, and about two hundred and fifteen long. The front of this magnificent structure was to the south, facing the hill *Palatinus*, and the *Forum Romanum*. An hundred steps led up to it from the forum, which were divided at certain distances by large landing-places. This front consisted of three rows of pillars, and the two sides of the temple were adorned with a peristyle, consisting of a double row of pillars. It was in after-ages burnt down more than once (O) ; but the *Romans* always rebuilt it, still preserving the same proportions. The whole arch of this prodigious building was gilt both within and without (P). It contained three chapels, or rather three temples, under the same roof, one dedicated to *Jupiter*, another to *Juno*, and the third to *Minerva* (Q). As this was a religious undertaking, the *Romans* assisted *Tarquin* in carrying it on with more chearfulness than usual ; but the honour of putting the last hand to this stately work, and consecrating it, was reserved for a *Roman* consul in the time of the republic.

While *Tarquin* and the *Romans* were thus employed, a cruel plague breaking out at *Rome*, the king sent his two sons, *Titus* and *Aruns*, to consult the oracle of *Delphos* about the cause and cure of the contagion. The princes prepared magnificent presents for *Apolo*, and *Junius Brutus*, who was to attend them for their amusement, resolved to carry his offering too. He was the son of that venerable patrician, whom *Tarquin* had caused to be murdered in the very beginning of his reign, and had long acted the part of an idiot at court, which procured him the name of *Brutus*. His affected follies had something inexpressibly amusing in them, and he knew how to make use of them at proper times, and suppress them when unseasonable. He had been brought up, ever since his father's death, in the king's palace, with the princes his cousins, who were greatly diverted with his follies. He was therefore appointed to attend them to *Delphos*. The present he chose for the god was an elder-stick ; which was matter of diversion for the whole court. However, as he was well apprised, that the gods of those times, or their ministers, were affected with the value of the presents, he had

^m DIO. HAL. p. 159. VARRO apud Lactant.

(N) *Macrolius* tells us (73), that the name of the man, to whom this head belonged, was *Tolus* ; so that the word *Capitol* is, according to him, compounded of *caput* and *Tolus*. Other writers say, that the hill *Tarpeius* was called *Capitol*, because it was the capital or chief fortress in *Rome*.

(O) It was burnt in *Sylla's* time by the negligence of those who kept it ; but *Sylla* rebuilt it in a more magnificent manner. It was burnt a second time in the reign of *Vitellius*, and repaired by *Vespasian*. It underwent the same misfortune under *Titus*, and was rebuilt by *Dominian* ; but always on the old foundation of *Tarquin*.

(P) The gilding of the whole arch of the temple

of *Jupiter Capitolinus* was a work undertaken by the *Romans*, as *Pliny* informs us (74), after the destruction of *Carthage*. This undertaking, if *Plutarch* is to be credited (75), cost twelve thousand talents, a sum, which seems to exceed all belief. The gates of the temple were of brass, covered with large plates of gold. The inside of the temple, and the columns which supported it, were all of marble.

(Q) The inside of the temple was divided into three parts by two rows of columns, which made the nave and the two isles. The nave formed the chapel of *Jupiter*, and the two isles the chapels of *Juno* and *Minerva*.

(73) *Aruob. contra gentes*, l. vi.

(74) *Plin.* l. xxxiii.

(75) *Plut.* in *Octav.*

the

the precaution to inclose a rod of gold in his stick without any body's knowledge. ^a This was a true symbol of his own mind and conduct; for he concealed the most valuable gifts of nature under a contemptible outside. All things being got ready, they set out for *Delphos*, and the young princes, having executed their father's commands, inquired of the oracle, which of them should be prince of *Rome*? The god answered, that the government of *Rome* was reserved for him who should first kiss his mother; which the princes misunderstanding, agreed to do it both together, and reign jointly. But *Brutus*, knowing the meaning of the oracle, as soon as they arrived in *Italy*, pretended to fall down by chance, and kissed the earth, the common mother of all men ^a.

THE two princes on their return to *Rome* found the city in a great commotion on ^b account of the war, which the king had declared with the *Rutuli*, under pretence that they had entertained some *Roman* exiles. He had already invested *Ardea* their metropolis, which lay sixteen miles south-east of *Rome*. While they lay before this place, the officers, having a good deal of leisure, used to make mutual entertainments for one another in their quarters. One day, when *Sextus Tarquinius* was entertaining his brothers, and his kinsman *Collatinus*, the conversation happened to turn upon the merit of their wives, every one extolling the good qualities of his own. This occasioned a kind of quarrel, and in order to end it, they agreed to mount their horses, as they were heated with wine, and go and surprize their wives. She, whom they should find employed in the manner most agreeable to her sex, was, by common ^c consent, to have the preference. Away therefore they posted first to *Rome*, where they found the king's daughters-in-law spending their time in feasting and diversions. From *Rome* they hastened to *Collatia*, where they found *Lucretia*, the wife of *Collatinus*, in the midst of her maids spinning, and working in wool, though the night was far advanced before their arrival. Hereupon they unanimously gave her the preference, and after a noble entertainment, returned the next day to the camp before *Ardea*. *Sextus*, captivated with her beauty, found a pretence to return very soon to *Collatia*, where he was entertained by *Lucretia*, in her husband's absence, with great civility and respect. At midnight he found means to convey himself into her bed-chamber, approached her bed with his drawn sword, and laying his hand on her breast, ^d threatened her with present death, if she offered to stir or speak. *Lucretia* awaking, and seeing death so near, was in the greatest confusion imaginable, while *Sextus*, declaring his passion, endeavoured by intreaties, mixed with menaces, to make her yield to his desires. But when he found that all was in vain, and that even the fear of death could not prevail upon her to consent, he threatened her with ignominy, telling her, that if she would not yield, he would first kill her, then lay one of her slaves dead by her side, and declare to all the world, that he had only revenged the injured honour of *Collatinus*. The dread of infamy got the better of *Lucretia's* constancy; and *Sextus*, having obtained his wishes, returned early the next morning to the camp. *Lucretia*, not being able to endure the thoughts of life after the violence she had suf- ^e fered, wrote to her husband to meet her at her father's house; and then came to *Rome* in her chariot. *Livy* tells us, that she desired her father and husband to meet her at her own house. With her father *Lucretius* came *Publius Valerius*, afterwards *Poplicola*, and with her husband *Lucius Junius Brutus*, and many other *Romans* of distinction; for *Lucretia* had acquainted them, that she had an affair of the utmost consequence to impart to them. When the assembly was pretty numerous, she disclosed in few words the whole matter, declared her firm resolution not to outlive the loss of her reputation, and conjured them not to let the crime of *Sextus Tarquinius* go unpunished. They all endeavoured to comfort her, telling her, that there could be no guilt where the heart was innocent. But the *Roman* heroine, embracing her father ^f and husband with a flood of tears, plunged a dagger, which she had concealed under her garment, into her breast, and fell dead at their feet. While so tragical a sight filled the spectators with grief and consternation, *Brutus*, throwing off his long disguise, drew near the body of *Lucretia*, and snatching the poniard out of her bosom, told her relations there present, that tears and lamentations could never be heard, whilst vengeance cried so loud. Then shewing the bloody poniard to the assembly, *I swear*, said he, *by this blood, which was once so pure, and which nothing, but the detestable villainy of Tarquin, could have polluted, that I will pursue Lucius Tarquinius the*

The rape of
Lucretia.

^a Idem ibid.

- a proud, his wicked wife, and their children, with fire and sword; nor will ever suffer any of that family, or any other whatsoever, to reign at Rome. Ye gods, I call you to witness this my oath. At these words he presented the dagger to Collatinus, Lucretius, Valerius, and the rest of the company, and engaged them to take the same oath. These noble Romans, surprised at the sudden and unexpected appearance of so much wisdom in an idiot, thought him inspired, and gave themselves intirely up to his counsels. He then let them know, that his folly had been feigned, exhorted them to revenge the death of *Lucretia*, and encouraged them to shake off the shameful yoke, under which they had so long groaned. Finding them all resolved to submit to his conduct, and take what measures he should judge most proper for the execution of the design,
- b he commanded the gates to be shut, that all might be kept secret from *Tarquin*, till such time as the people might be assembled, the dead body exposed, and a public decree passed for the banishing of the king. The senate being assembled, no one opposed the banishment of *Tarquin*; but as they were divided in their opinions with respect to the new form of government, *Brutus* represented to them the absolute necessity of coming to a speedy resolution, shewing them that the regal power was not consistent with the security of the state, and safety of the people, and therefore was not to be trusted with one man; but two were to be chosen, who should govern with equal authority and power. Then, because names alone gave some people offence, he advised them to change the name of kingdom for that of commonwealth, and instead
- c of the title of king and monarch, to give those, who should govern, some more modest and popular name. He added, that the main thing to keep these magistrates in awe was to prevent their perpetual power, and that, if they were annual, after the manner of *Athenians*, they might learn both how to obey, and how to command. Lastly, that the name of king might not be wholly lost, he was for giving it to one, who should be charged with the care of religious matters, and be called *Rex Sacrorum* (R). This employment was to be for life, and attended with immunity from warfare; but the *rex sacrorum* should only concern himself with those religious rites, which the king had charge of before. The particulars of his speech were all approved of by the senate; and a decree was immediately issued out, banishing the king, and all his
- d posterity.

Brutus procures the banishment of the Tarquins.

- Brutus* having thus gained the senate, caused the yet bleeding *Lucretia* to be carried to the place where the comitia were usually held; and placing the dead body where it might be seen by all, he ordered the people to be called together. When the multitude were assembled, he began his speech to them by explaining the mystery of his past conduct, and the necessity he had been under, for more than twenty years together, of counterfeiting folly, as the only means of preserving his life after the murder of his father and elder brother. Then he proceeded to acquaint them with the resolution the patricians had taken to depose the tyrant, and pressed them in the strongest terms to concur in that design. He enumerated the many crimes which had
- e rendered *Tarquin* odious to his subjects; that he had poisoned his own brother and wife, murdered his lawful sovereign, and filled the common-sewers with the bodies of the nobility; that he came to the throne as an usurper, and continued on it as a tyrant; being treacherous to his best friends, and inhuman to all his subjects; that his three sons were of a temper as tyrannical as himself, especially the elder, of which they had a dismal instance before their eyes; that since the king was absent, and the

• Liv. l. i. § 8, 59.

(R) *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* gives us the following account of this institution: Because the kings, says he, had in a great many respects been serviceable to the state, the founders of the commonwealth thought it very proper to keep always up the name of king in the city. Upon this account they ordered the augurs and pontifices to chuse a fit person, who should engage never to meddle with civil affairs, but devote himself wholly to the care of the public worship, and to the ceremonies of religion, with the title of *Rex Sacrorum* (75). *Livy* informs us, that this dignity was inferior to that of *Pontifex Maximus*, the establishers of the commonwealth having made the *Rex Sacrorum* but a subordinate officer

even in affairs of religion, lest the name of king, which had been formerly so odious to the people, should still in some measure prove prejudicial to their liberty (76). His wife was called queen, and was one of the chief priestesses. None but patricians were admitted to this dignity. The *Rex Sacrorum* was always chosen in the comitia of the people assembled in the *campus Martius* by centuries. As he was not allowed to have any hand in civil affairs, when the usual sacrifices before the electing of magistrates or generals were over, he was obliged to withdraw. So jealous were the Romans even of the shadow, we may say, of a king.

patricians resolved to shake off the yoke, neither men, money, nor foreign aid, should be wanting, had they but courage for the enterprize. He urged in the end of his speech, that it was shameful in them to think of commanding the *Volsi*, the *Sabines*, and other nations abroad, while they were slaves at home; and to maintain so many wars in order to gratify the ambition of a tyrant, while they had not courage enough to undertake one for their own liberty. As for the army before *Ardea*, he told them that he did not doubt but they would readily join in whatever should be agreed on in the city *R*.

A common-
wealth estab-
lished at
Rome.
Year after the
flood 2494.
Before Christ
505.
Of Rome 243.

THE multitude, transported with joy at the thoughts of liberty, gave their consent with loud acclamations, and called out for arms. But *Brutus* did not think fit to arm the people, till they had confirmed by their suffrages the decree of the senate banishing *Tarquin*. This decree deprived him of all the prerogatives belonging to the regal authority, condemned him and all his posterity to perpetual banishment, and devoted to the infernal gods every *Roman*, who should by word or deed attempt his restoration. The curiæ being assembled, and the decree proposed, they were all unanimous in confirming it. And now the administration being reduced to an inter-regnum, *Lucretius* was by the suffrages of the people declared inter-*rex*; so that it was his business to prepare every thing for the election of the new magistrates. He therefore called the people together once more, not by curiæ, but by centuries, and directed them to come armed into the *campus Martius*, in order to elect their new governors, who, according to the plan of government proposed by *Brutus*, and approved by the people, were to be called consuls (S). The inter-*rex* proposed to the people *Junius Brutus*, the head of the conspiracy, and *Tarquinius Collatinus*, the husband of *Lucretia*; and they were unanimously elected to the new dignity, and proclaimed consuls. In the mean time *Tarquin*, being informed by some who had got out of the city before the gates were shut, that *Brutus* was raising commotions to his prejudice, hastened to *Rome*, attended only by his sons, and a small number of his most trusty friends; for he was little apprehensive of a conspiracy carried on by one whom he despised as an idiot. But finding, to his great surprize, the gates shut, and the people in arms upon the walls, he returned with all possible expedition to the camp. There the army, during his short absence, had been gained over by the conspirators to their party. *Livy* tells us, that *Brutus* went in person to the camp, and that he arrived before *Ardea* at the same time that *Tarquin* appeared at the gates of *Rome*. Others say, that the new consuls sent letters to the camp, giving an account of the resolutions taken at *Rome*, and exhorting the troops to shake off the tyrannical yoke. However that be, it is certain, that before *Tarquin* returned, the soldiers, being convened by centuries, had unanimously agreed to receive the decree passed in the city; so that when *Tarquin* returned, they refused to admit him. The tyrant being thus driven from his capitol, and abandoned by his troops, was forced, at the age of seventy-six, to fly with his wife and children to *Gabii*, or, as *Livy* will have it, to *Cære* in *Hebruria*. *Tulus*, *Herminius*, and *Marcus Horatius*, who commanded the army under *Tarquin*, made a truce with the *Rutuli* for fifteen years, and having raised the siege of *Ardea*,

* *Law. ibid. Dio. Hal. p. 276.*

(S) *Pomponius* the civilian is of opinion, that the name of consul was taken from the word *considero*, as signifying to watch for the public good. *Varro* derives it from the same word, but in a different signification, viz. as importing to consult or ask counsel; because the intent of those, who first instituted the consuls, was, that they should do nothing without the advice of the people and senate. The law, which placed them at the head of the republic, calls them *prætores* and *judices*. We have this law still remaining, as quoted by *Jully* in the third book of laws. When it was made in the *comitia*, which changed the monarchy into a republic, it was couched in the following words: *Reges imperio duo sumus, iique prætoribus, iudicando, & consulendo, prætores, iudices, consules, appellantur. Militia summum jus habemus. Nummi parvus. Ollis salus populi summa lex esto.* They were indeed allowed the common use of the sceptre, crown, and an habit of distinction. But *Livy* assures us, that on the days of their triumphs, in

the public sports, and at solemn sacrifices, they wore a crown of gold, an ivory staff or scepter, and an habit striped with purple, as the kings did (77) *Valerius Maximus* (78) tells us, that they retained at first as many lictors as the kings, viz. twenty-four; he adds, that the consul *Papirius* reduced them to twelve. But each consul was not attended by twelve lictors, neither did they divide them so as to have six apiece. They were only guarded by twelve lictors alternately, each in his month. This ceremonial began with the two first consuls; the consul who was the eldest, or had most children, or most suffrages for the consulship, had the lictors the first month. *Brutus* was attended with the fasces before his colleague *Collatinus*, as appears from the following verse of *Virgil*:

*Consulis imperium hic primus fascesque secutus
Accipiat* ——— (79).

(77) *Liv. l. xxx.*

(78) *Val. Max. l. xii.*

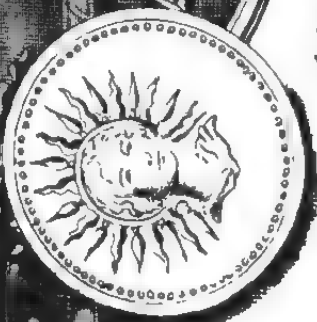
(79) *Virgil, Æneid. l. vi.*

returned

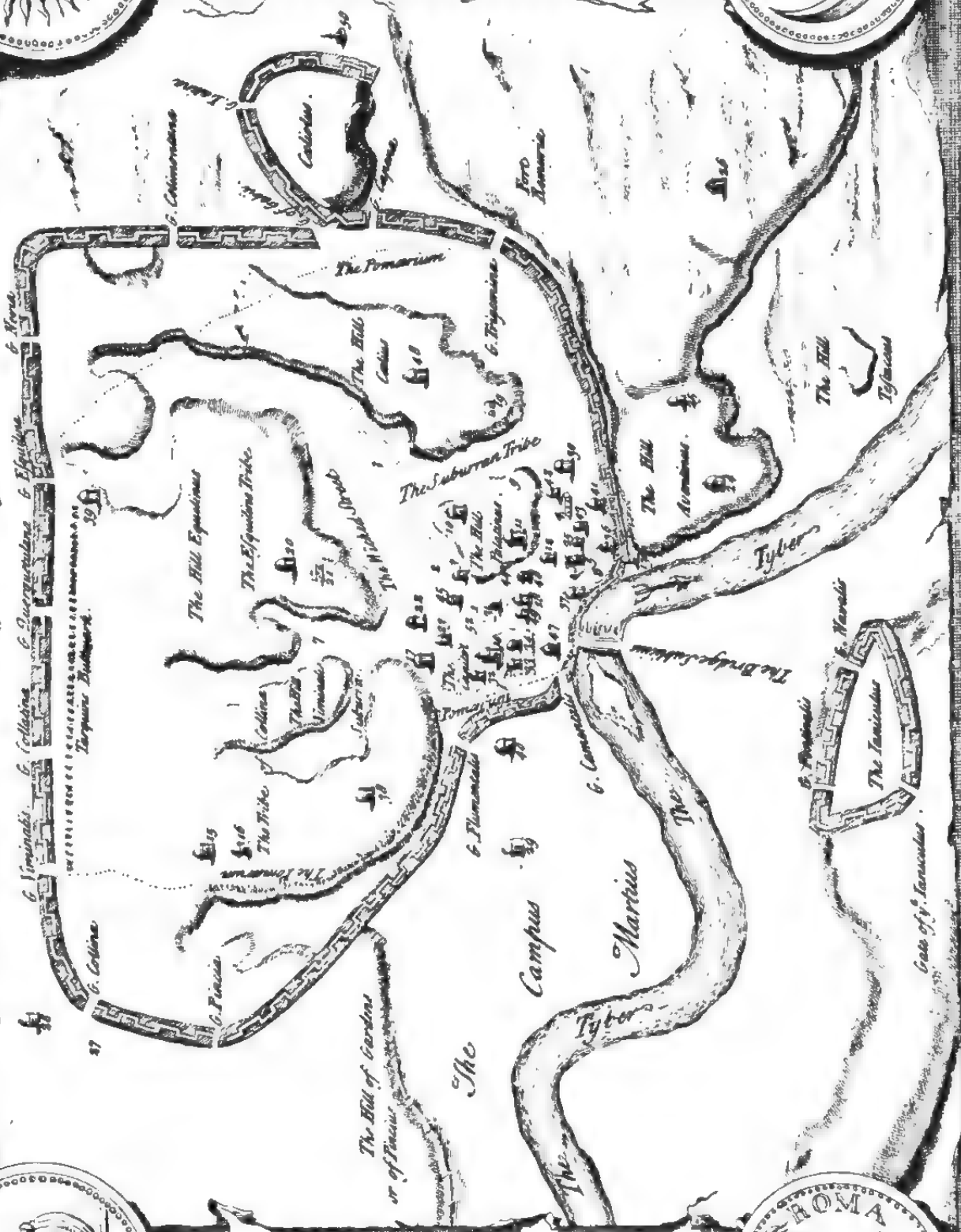
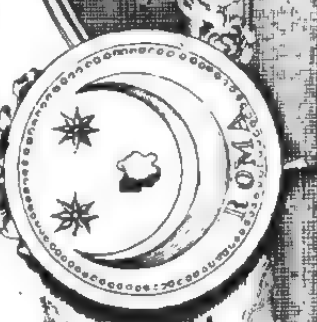
A Plan of Rome containing its Several Additions from the time of Servius Tullius to that of its being taken by the Gauls.



1. The Forum Romanum.
2. The Via Sacra.
3. The Carinae.
4. The Great Circus.
5. The Ox-Market.
6. The Subura-Tuscan Street.
7. The New Street.
8. The Temple of Vesta.
9. The Curia Hostilia.
10. The Temple of Saturn.
11. The Temple of Quirinus.
12. A Temple dedicated to Fortune.
13. The Temple of Fortuna's sister.
14. The Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.
15. The Temple of Vulcan.
16. The Temple of Quirinus.
17. The Temple of Mars.
18. The Temple of Castor.
19. Hostilius' Palace.
20. The Temple of Juno Lucina.
21. Servius Tullius' Palace.
22. The Temple of Peace.
23. The Temple of Jupiter Stator.
24. The Temple of Diana.
25. The Temple of Victory.
26. The Temple of Quirinus.



27. The Campus Martius.
28. The Temple of Venus Erycin.
29. The Temple of Apollo.
30. The Temple of Ceres.
31. The Temple of Proserpine.
32. The Temple of Jupiter & Bellona.
33. The Temple of Earth.
34. The Temple of Good Fortune.
35. The Temple of Elder Fortune.
36. The Temple of Phoebe Fortune.
37. The Temple of Hercules.
38. The Temple of Janus.
39. The Temple of Jupiter's Son.
40. The Temple of Libitina.
41. The Temple of Mars.
42. The Temple of Mercury.
43. The Temple of Minerva.
44. The Temple of Neptune.
45. The Temple of Venus Cloacina.
46. The Temple of Vulcan.
47. The Temple of Carmentis.
48. The Temple of Ceres.
49. The Temple of Concord.
50. The Temple of Mercury.
51. The Temple of Mars.
52. The Temple of Juno.



- 2 returned to *Rome* with all their forces ⁹. Thus ended the regal state of *Rome*, two hundred and forty-three or two hundred and forty-five years, according to the common computation, after the building of the city (T); and a new form of government was introduced, which, without any considerable alteration, subsisted till the times of the emperors.

⁹ DIO. HAL. *ibid.* LIV. l. i. c. 60.

(T) We have followed the common computation with regard both to the seven kings of *Rome*, and to the fourteen kings of *Alba*. But we cannot help thinking Sir *Isaac Newton's* computations to be better grounded, and nearer the truth. We shall deliver his opinion in his own words: When the *Greeks* and *Latins*, says that writer, were forming the technical chronology, there were great disputes about the antiquity of *Rome*. The *Greeks* made it much older than the olympiads; some of them said it was built by *Æneas*; others by *Romus* the son or grandson of *Latinus*, king of the *Aborigines*; others by *Romus* the son of *Ulysses*, or of *Ascanius*, or of *Italus*; and some of the *Latins* fell in at first with the opinion of the *Greeks*, saying, that it was built by *Romulus*, the son or grandson of *Æneas*. *Timæus Siculus* represented it built by *Romulus*, the grandson of *Æneas*, above an hundred years before the olympiads; and so did *Neavius* the poet, who was twenty years older than *Ennius*, and served in the first *Punic* war, and wrote the history of that war. Hitherto nothing certain was agreed on; but about a hundred and forty or a hundred and fifty years after the death of *Alexander the Great*, they began to say that *Rome* was built a second time by *Romulus* in the fifteenth age after the destruction of *Troy*; by ages they meant the reigns of the *Latins* at *Alba*, and reckoned the first fourteen reigns at about four hundred and thirty-two years, and the following reigns of the seven kings of *Rome* at two hundred and forty-four years; both which numbers made up the time of about six hundred and seventy-six years from the taking of *Troy*, according to those chronologers; but are much too long for the course of nature: and by this reckoning they placed the building of *Rome* upon the sixth or the seventh olympiad. *Varrø* placed it on the first year of the seventh olympiad, and was therein generally followed by the *Romans*. But this can scarce be reconciled to the course of nature; for I do not

meet with any instance in all history, since chronology was certain, wherein seven kings, most of whom were slain, reigned two hundred and forty-four years in continual succession. The fourteen reigns of the kings of the *Latins* at twenty years apiece, one with another, amount to two hundred and eighty years; and these, counted from the taking of *Troy*, and in the thirty-eighth olympiad: and the seven reigns of the kings of *Rome*, four or five of them being slain, and one deposed, may, at a moderate reckoning, amount to fifteen or sixteen years apiece, one with another. Let them be reckoned at seventeen years apiece, and they will amount to a hundred and nineteen years; which, being counted backwards from the regituge, and also in the thirty-eighth olympiad: and by these two reckonings *Rome* was built in the thirty-eighth olympiad, or thereabout. The two hundred and eighty years, and the hundred and nineteen years together make up three hundred and ninety-nine years; and the same number of years arises by counting the twenty and one reigns at nineteen years apiece: and this being the whole time between the taking of *Troy*, and the regituge, let these years be counted backward from the regituge, An. 1. olymp. 68, and they will place the taking of *Troy* about seventy-four years after the death of *Solomon* (80). The death of *Solomon* Sir *Isaac* places nine hundred and seventy-nine years before Christ: so that the taking of *Troy* by the *Greeks*, after which *Æneas* began his voyages, will be about nine hundred and five years before Christ: and as he makes the building of *Carthage* by *Dido* to be eight hundred and eighty-three before the christian era, there are, according to him, little more than twenty years between these two last-mentioned events. This computation clears *Virgil* from that monstrous anachronism of near three hundred years, with which he has been so often reproached.

(80) Sir *Isaac Newton's chron.* p. 128.

CHAP. III.

The consular state of Rome from the beginning of that government to the burning of the city by the Gauls.

- 1 **R**OME enjoyed a profound peace in the beginning of the new government. The army, which had served under *Tarquinius* before *Ardea*, being returned to the city, the consuls, suspecting they might preserve some inclination for their general, called them together in the *campus Martius*, and after having exhorted them to concord, they caused the decree, which was passed against the *Tarquins*, to be renewed in their presence.

The consuls and people swear that they will never suffer the Tarquins or any other to reign as Rome.

sence. After this, the consuls, standing before the altars, on which the intrails of a the victims had been offered, took an oath in the name of their children, and all their posterity, that they would never replace either *Tarquin* or his sons, or any of his family, on the throne, nor create any other king of *Rome*, nor suffer any to be elected. Then the consuls made the people take the same oath, and proceeded, after that solemn ceremony was over, to the election of a *Rex Sacrorum*, when *Manius Papirius*, a man of patrician extraction, was by the suffrages of the people raised the first to that dignity. The consuls having now nothing to fear from the people, who were restored to all their ancient rights, employed their thoughts about securing the senators, among whom *Valerius* had great interest. He had expected to be named consul at the first election; and the preference, which the people gave to *Collatinus*, had b displeased him to such a degree, that he had absented himself from the senate, and public affairs; insomuch that he began to be suspected of favouring the banished king. But the public apprehension ceased, when he appeared in the senate on the day appointed for the senators to take the same oath which the people had taken. He then signalized anew his love for liberty, and swore the first, that he would never favour the pretensions of the *Tarquins*, nor suffer them, or any other, ever to reign at *Rome* ^r.

The inhabitants of *Tarquini* send an embassy to *Rome* in favour of the *Tarquins*.

Thus *Rome* was in tranquillity at home, but *Tarquin* was raising her many enemies abroad. He had made *Tarquini* in *Ettruria* his place of residence, and prevailed upon the inhabitants to send an embassy to *Rome* with a letter from him to the *Roman* people. The ambassadors delivered the letter to the senate, demanding that it might c be read to the people assembled in the comitia. But *Valerius* strenuously opposed so dangerous a proceeding, and by his interest in the senate, defeated the first attempt of the artful *Tarquin*. As this body of the new commonwealth was above all others concerned to exclude kings, by whom they had been kept in a state of dependence, the consuls thought it necessary to restore the senate to its ancient majesty, and to gain the respect of the people, as well by the number of the senators, as by their dignity. With this view the ancient number of three hundred was once more completed, the vacant places being filled up by men of prudence and interest, chosen from among the *Roman* knights. These new senators were called *Conscripti*, that is, d persons written or inrolled on the same list, for they were added to the old senators.

But though *Tarquin* himself was hated both by the people and patricians, yet his sons had a great number of young debauchees in their interest. The *Tarquins* building their hopes on these young noblemen, who regretted the loss of their companions, and the supporters of their extravagance, prevailed with the *Tarquinienses* to send a second embassy to *Rome*, under pretence of demanding the estates of the exiles; but in reality to stir up a faction against the consuls. The ambassadors being admitted into the senate, spoke with great modesty and reserve; they only desired that the king might have his paternal estate restored to him, that at least, which had been transmitted to him by his grandfather *Tarquinius Priscus*, who had deserved no ill treatment at their hands. *Collatinus* was for complying with the demand, since the e king promised, in case it was complied with, never to attempt the recovery of the kingdom by force of arms. But *Brutus* opposed the demand, thinking it no good policy to furnish an enemy with money, which, without all doubt, would be employed against themselves. The affair being at last referred to the people, it was carried by one vote in the comitia, that the *Tarquins* should be put in possession of their paternal estates ^s.

The ambassadors engage some of the young patricians in a plot.

While the people were employed in loading carriages with the effects of the exiles, and selling what could not be carried off, the ambassadors laid hold of that opportunity to engage some young noblemen in a plot against the consuls. Among these were three of the *Aquilian* family, the sons of *Collatinus*'s sister, and two *Vitellii*, whose sister f *Brutus* had married. The latter engaged in the same conspiracy *Titus* and *Tiberius*, the two sons of *Brutus*. The conspirators met at the house of the *Aquili*, and there the resolution of putting the consuls to death, and letting the *Tarquins* into the city by night, was taken in the presence of the ambassadors. They all bound themselves by solemn oaths, with the detestable ceremony of drinking the blood of a murdered man, and swearing over his trembling bowels, that they would do all that lay in their power to destroy the consuls, and restore the king. After the ceremony was over, each of them wrote a letter to the king, as an authentic proof of their zeal for

^r DIO. HAL. l. v. p. 279.

^s DIO. HAL. *ibid.* p. 281, 282: LIV. l. ii. c. 3. PLUT. in Poplic.

his

- a his interest, and put them into the hands of the ambassadors. But in spite of all the precaution used by the conspirators to keep the secret from their servants, *Vindicius*, or, as *Plutarch* calls him, *Vindex*, a slave of the *Aquilii*; suspecting his master's design, staid at the door of the apartment, and through a crevice saw all the mysteries of the conspiracy. However, he was afraid to disclose the secret to either of the consuls, apprehending that *Brutus*, to save his sons, and *Collatinus*, to secure the lives of his nephews, might think fit to destroy the single evidence of their crime. He went therefore straight to *P. Valerius*, whose house was always open to the meanest of the people, and unburdened his mind to him. *Valerius* took the slave under his protection, and having shut him up in a room under the care of his wife, he went out
- b attended by his friends, clients, and domestics, whom he divided into two bands; one he posted under the conduct of his brother *M. Valerius* at the entrance of the house of the *Aquilii*, while he himself with a strong guard entered the apartment of the ambassadors, who lodged in the same house, and there found and seized the letters, which the conspirators had writ the night before. As he was coming out, he met the *Aquilii*, who being surprized to see him, and suspecting that their letters were seized, endeavoured to force them from him. But all their endeavours were in vain; for *Valerius* not only kept them, but with the assistance of his attendants took all the heads of the conspiracy prisoners. *M. Valerius*, his brother, had also the good luck to intercept other letters, concealed among some cloaths, which the domestics of the *Aquilii* were carrying away.
- c EARLY the next morning the people were summoned to the *Comitia*, where *Brutus* and his colleague sat on the tribunal of justice. The prisoners being brought before their judges, were, one after another, tied to stakes with their hands bound behind them. This was so melancholly a sight, that the people could scarce refrain from tears, when they beheld in that condition the sons of *Brutus*, whom they looked upon as their deliverer. The minds of the multitude were in suspense about the sentence, which the consuls were to pronounce, the one against his sons, the other against his nephews. But *Brutus*, without betraying the least concern, began the trial with the examination of his sons. *Vindicius* appeared against them; and his testimony was found unanswerable.
- d Then *Brutus* ordered the letters to be read, which his sons had wrote to the *Tarquins*. The proof being clear, the prisoners made no defence but with their tears. *Tutus*, said he, speaking coldly to the two prisoners without calling them sons, And you, *Tiberius*, what have you to offer in your defence? They were thrice called upon to make their defence; but tears were still their only answer. Upon which the greater part of the senators were moved with compassion, and a confused murmur was heard among them, banish them; banish them. *Collatinus* wept, and *Valerius*, severe as he was, did not utter a single word. This favourable disposition gave the two guilty youths some hopes. But the whole assembly trembled, and expected the decision with horror. As the two criminals offered nothing in their defence, *Brutus* at length rose up to give sentence. Upon which ensued a profound silence, every one present being concerned for the young men as for their own children. But *Brutus* with a steady voice, not interrupted by a single sigh, turning to the lictors, who were the executioners, To you, lictors, said he, I deliver them, execute the law upon them. At these words a loud shriek was heard in the assembly, distress shewed itself in every face, and the mournful looks of the people pleaded for pity. But the consul shewing no regard to their tears, the whole assembly cried out, with one voice, We give them back to their country, and to their family. But neither these intercessions, nor the bitter lamentations of the young men, who called upon their father with the most endearing names, could soften the inflexible judge. He would not even abate of the punishment which was in such cases inflicted on the greatest criminals. The lictors seized
- f them, and having stripped them naked, and tied their hands behind them, they first beat them with rods, and then struck off their heads, *Brutus* all the time gazing on the cruel spectacle with a steady look, and an unaltered countenance. When this execution was over, *Brutus* came down from the tribunal, quitted the *comitia*, and left the rest of the criminals to the discretion of his colleague. *Collatinus*, inclined to spare his nephews, allowed them one day to clear themselves, and even ordered that *Vindicius* should be taken out of the hands of the accusers, and delivered up to his masters. This roused the zeal of *Valerius*, who had promised to protect the

The plot is discovered.

Brutus condemns his own sons to death.

Collatinus is inclined to spare his nephews.

¹ DIO. HAL. p. 183. PLUT. in Poplic.

² DIO. HAL. & PLUT. ibid.

evidence. The lictors attempted in vain to force the important witnesses from him, and the people called for *Brutus*, insisting upon his coming back to the comitia. The unfortunate father had had but a few minutes to recollect himself, and secretly bewail the misfortunes of his family. However, he appeared again with the same firmness of mind he had shewn before, and ascending the tribunal, told the multitude that what he had done was by virtue of his paternal authority over his children; but that for the rest of the delinquents, it belonged to them to determine their fate, and either condemn his severity by instances of lenity, or approve his firmness by examples of justice.

But they are
executed.

THUS three articles of great importance to the rising commonwealth were left to the decision of the curiæ, viz. 1. What punishment should be inflicted on the rest of the conspirators; 2. What punishment the ambassadors of the *Tarquinienses* had deserved; 3. What reward should be given to the discoverer of the conspiracy. As to the first, they determined, that the conspirators should, without exception, suffer as rebels; which decree was accordingly executed. As to the second, the ambassadors were spared out of respect to the law of nations. In the third place, it was decreed, that *Vindicius* should enjoy that liberty which he had secured to the *Romans* (U), and besides, that he should be rewarded with all the privileges of a *Roman* citizen, and with twenty-five thousand asses of brass, to be paid him out of the public treasury. And now, though the people had formerly decreed, that the estates of the *Tarquins* should be restored to them, the senate refused to the declared enemies of *Rome* those means which they designed to make use of for its destruction; so that their palace, with its beautiful portico, was destroyed, and their lands distributed among those indigent citizens, who had none of their own. The public kept only a piece of ground, lying between the city and the *Tiber*, and bordering on the *campus Martius*, which the king had, by an incroachment on the city, added to his demesnes, and cultivated for his own profit. This piece of ground was consecrated to *Mars*, and became afterwards a common field, where the *Roman* youth exercised themselves in running and wrestling. After the field was consecrated, the *Romans* scrupled making any advantage of the corn, which they found ready reaped to their hands, and therefore threw it together with the trees which encompassed the field, into the *Tiber*. The water being at that time very low, the trees and sheaves of corn, stopping in a muddy place, began to form that island, which from the many temples built on it was afterwards called the *holy island* (W).

IN the mean time the weakness which *Collatinus* had betrayed at the trial of the conspirators, had turned the suspicions, which the people entertained of him, into

W DIO. HAL. & PLUT. *ibid.*

(U) It is commonly believed, that the *Latin* phrase, *vindicare in libertatem*, that is, *to set free*, had its rise from the name of *Vindicius*. Some indeed derive it from the word *vindicta*, which signifies a wand, with which the prætor used to strike the slave, whose master had a mind to let him at liberty. But in all likelihood the *vindicta*, or wand itself, took its name from *Vindicius*. The ceremony of granting freedoms publicly was thus performed: the slave was brought before the consul, and in after-ages before the prætor, by his master, who laying his hand upon his slave's head, said to the prætor, *hunc hominem liberum esse volo*, and with that took him by the hand, and immediately let go his hold; whence came the *Latin* word *manumissio*, and the phrase *è manu emittere*. Then he gave him a blow on the cheek, and presented him to the consul or prætor, who, striking him gently with his *vindicta* or wand, pronounced these words, *nunc te liberum esse prope Quiritium*. Hence *Persius*,

Vindicta postquam meus à prætoris recessi.

This ceremony being ended, the slave was registered upon the roll of freed-men. Then he was shaved, and received a cap in token of his liberty. But this ceremony of taking the cap was performed

in the temple of *Feronia*, the goddess of freed-men. In this temple there was a seat of stone with this inscription, *Benemeriti servus fedaant, surgant liberi*. The *pileus* or cap was among the *Romans*, as is well known, a symbol of liberty. Another way of conferring freedom was by testament. A slave was said to be free by testament, when his master, in consideration of his faithful service, had left him free by his last will. This kind of *liberti* or freed-men were styled *Orcini*, because their masters were gone to *Orcus*, or the infernal regions. In allusion to this custom, those senators were merrily distinguished by the name of *Senatores Orcini*, who, upon the death of *Julius Cæsar*, thrust themselves into the senate without any just claim to the senatorial dignity (81). From these two manners of conferring freedom came the *Latin* expressions, *liber manumissione*, *liber testamento*.

(W) The *Romans* built several temples on the island, particularly three frequently spoke of by the ancients, viz. one dedicated to *Faunus*, another to *Jupiter*, and the third to *Æsculapius*, which was a very magnificent structure. From these temples it was called the *holy island*. It was joined to the city, and to the *Janiculum* by two bridges, whence it took the name of the island of the two bridges.

(81) *Suet. in Oclav. c. 35.*

hatred.

- a hatred. *Brutus* observing this, took advantage of the disposition of the multitude to get him deposed. In a numerous assembly of the people he made a speech, in which he bitterly inveighed against him, as if he had attempted the destruction of that liberty, which his honour obliged him to defend. He ended his harangue with these words; His soliciting you to restore to the enemies of *Rome* their estates, and to grant impunity to cruel conspirators, have unmasked a partisan of the *Tarquins* concealed under the appearance of a consul. Let us prevent, O *Romans*, the evils, which a domestic enemy is preparing for us. Let us deprive him of that authority which he abuses, and wrest that sword out of his hand, with which he threatens us. In my judgment he ought to be deposed. I therefore order you to assemble by *curiæ*, to determine by your suffrages, whether *Collatinus* or *Brutus* is to be your consul, you cannot have both; for I from this moment renounce the consulship, if *Collatinus* is to share the government with me. These words made so deep an impression on the minds of the multitude, that they would not hear *Collatinus*, when he began to speak in his own defence. His only resource was to forbid the people, by virtue of his authority as consul, to hold the assembly, which his colleague had appointed; but this prohibition was a new provocation, which raised the indignation of the people to such a height, that they cried out to have their votes instantly taken, and were going to depose *Collatinus* with ignominy, and banish him by a public decree. But *Spurius Lucretius*, his father-in-law, having obtained leave of the consuls to speak to the assembly, advised *Collatinus* voluntarily to resign into the hands of the people that authority, which he had received from them. Then he exhorted *Brutus* not to insist on the disgraceful banishment of a colleague, who, jointly with him, had been one of the principal authors of the common liberty, adding, that if *Collatinus* should, of his own accord, divest himself of the consulship, it would be but reasonable, that the *Romans* should mitigate the uneasiness of his voluntary retirement by their liberality, so as to enable him to support the dignity of a *Roman* consul in his retirement. This advice was received with universal applause. *Collatinus* resigned the consulship; and *Brutus*, after having commended his wisdom, to shew that he had no personal enmity to him, procured him a present of twenty talents out of the public treasury, to which he added five talents of his own. *Collatinus* retired to *Lavinium*, where he led a quiet life, and died in a very advanced age * (X).

Collatinus forced to abdicate the consulship.

Brutus, that the people might have no room to suspect that he intended to govern singly, immediately assembled the people by centuries in the *campus martius*, for the election of a new consul, when *Publius Valerius* was chosen, a man remarkable for his eloquence, for the talent of reconciling differences, an excessive abstemiousness, severity to himself, and compassion for the miseries of other men (Y). As the two

P. Valerius is chosen to succeed him.

* DIO. HAL. p. 287. PLUT. *ibid*.

(X) *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* differs in his account of this whole matter from *Plutarch*, whom we have followed, thinking his relation of these transactions more agreeable to the temper of *Brutus*. The former writer tells us, that *Brutus*, immediately after the execution of his children, caused the *Aquilii* to be brought before him, and gave them leave to make their defence; and that they, after their letters were read aloud, having recourse to tears and entreaties, only owned the crimes that were laid to their charge. Whereupon the inflexible *Brutus* ordered the lictors to seize them, and execute the law upon them. *Collatinus* suspended the execution, and made the warmest remonstrances in favour of the conspirators; but being piqued at the obstinacy of *Brutus*, he had recourse to his authority, and pardoned the criminals. This so exasperated *Brutus*, that he committed the *Aquilii* to prison, in spite of the opposition of his colleague, and accused him before the people of treason and perfidiousness. *Collatinus* finding the people obstinately bent against him, and those whose defence he had undertaken, thought he could no longer exercise the office of consul with dignity, and therefore abdicated. *Brutus*, upon his abdication, put all those to death, who had been any ways concerned in the conspiracy. *Livy* says, that *Collatinus* was obliged to lay down the consulship, for no other reason, but because he had the misfortune to

be descended from the *Tarquins*. The same author places the conspiracy of the *Vucllii* and *Aquilii* in the consulship of *Brutus* and *Valerius*, after *Collatinus* was deposed; but therein he is contradicted both by *Plutarch* and *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, who place the circumstances of the conspiracy in the order we have related them.

(Y) *Valerius* was originally a *Sabine*, and still preserved that austerity of manners, which was professed in the country of his ancestors. The first of his family who settled at *Rome*, was *Valerius Volesus*, or, as *Festus* and the *Festii Capitolini* call him, *Velusius*. *Plutarch* gives him the honour of negotiating the peace between *Romulus* and *Tatius*. *Valerius Volesus*, the father of *P. Valerius*, left him a great estate, the best part of which he applied to the relief of the indigent in the time of the kings, when his liberality could not proceed from any hopes of preferment. He was a man of great eloquence, considering the rusticity of the *Romans* in those days; but is said never to have made use of the art of persuasion but to defend the oppressed, as he made no other use of his great wealth, but to relieve the miserable. However, he was not free from ambition, and had taken it very much amiss, that the people, in the former election, had preferred to him one of the blood of the *Tarquins*.

consuls

The Tarquin-
ities and Ve-
ientes declare
for Tarquin.

Brutus slain, in
the engage-
ment.

consuls were equally eminent for their love of virtue, and of the public good, there a was a perfect harmony between them. They began their administration by passing a law, which granted a general amnesty to all those who had followed the fortune of the *Tarquins*, provided they returned to the city within twenty days. This wise precaution deprived the banished king of a great number of friends and soldiers, and brought back to *Rome* many persons of eminent parts. However, *Tarquin* was not so discouraged by the desertion of the *Romans*, as to lose all hopes of recovering the kingdom, and getting by force what he could not carry by stratagem. He had recourse to the *Veientes*, the old enemies of *Rome*, and having engaged them and the *Tarquinienſes* to unite their forces in the support of his cause, he advanced towards *Rome*. The consuls, without delay, marched out to meet him. *Brutus* commanded the horse, and *Valerius* the foot, drawn up in a square battalion. When the two armies were in sight of one another, a motion was made on both sides to begin the onset. *Brutus* advanced with his cavalry, and *Aruns*, one of *Tarquin's* sons, at the same time came forward at the head of the enemy's horse. *Aruns* no sooner discovered *Brutus*, attended with lictors, but inflamed with rage, he cried out, *There he is, the enemy of my family, the usurper of my father's throne*. This said, he pushed on his horse, and *Brutus* flew to meet him. As the two champions were hurried on more by hatred and rage than the love of glory, passion left no room on either side for skill or precaution. They rushed on to the encounter with such fury, that they were both run through the body. Their horses, meeting each other with a violent shock, threw their dying riders; and the death of these generals was the prelude to the battle, which continued till night with dubious success, it not being known in either camp which side had gained the victory, or which had lost the greater number of men; but in the night the *Hetrurians* being terrified by a voice, which was heard out of the neighbouring wood of *Arſia*, declaring the *Romans* conquerors, without doubt a stratagem of *Valerius*, abandoned their camp in great confusion, disbanded, and returned into their own country. Hereupon *Valerius* remaining master of the field, plundered the enemy's camp; and having caused the slain to be numbered, found, that the *Hetrurians* had lost eleven thousand three hundred men, and the *Romans* but one man short of that number. For this victory *Valerius* triumphed on his return to the city, after a more magnificent manner than any before him. Soon after he buried his colleague *Brutus* with great pomp, and gave *Rome* the first example of those funeral orations, which were ever after made in commendation of great men. The women distinguished themselves on this occasion; for looking upon *Brutus* as the avenger of the honour of their sex, they mourned for him a whole year (Z). As *Valerius* deferred some time convening the centuries for the election of a new consul, the *Romans*, who carried their love of liberty to an excess, began to put a bad construction upon his delays; and their jealousy was in some measure countenanced by his building at that time a fine house on a steep part of the hill *Palatinus*, which commanded the forum. But *Valerius*, being informed of their uneasiness, caused the house to be levelled with the ground the very next night; and having called the people together as soon as it was day, he expostulated with them about their groundless suspicions, bid them go see the ruins of that building which had given them umbrage, and told them, that he designed to fix his habitation in the valley, that they might, from the top of the hill, crush him with stones, if he was still the object of their jealousy. When he had ended his speech, he ordered the comitia to assemble for the election of a new consul. On this occasion *Rome* gave a fresh proof of her gratitude to the first authors of her liberty; for *Sp. Lucretius*, the father of *Lucretia*, was unanimously chosen to succeed *Brutus*. He was the only person who remained unrewarded of the four patricians, who had bound themselves by oath to deliver

7 DION. HALICAR. p. 288.

(Z.) *Brutus* is deservedly counted by all the ancients among the most illustrious heroes we find mentioned in history. He restored liberty to his country, secured it with the blood of his own sons, and died in defending it against an usurper. The *Romans* looked upon him as a second founder of their city, and owned, that he had undergone more hardships and dangers in establishing the commonwealth, than *Romulus* had done in founding the kingdom.

The *Romans* afterwards erected his statue in the capitol, where he was placed in the midst of the kings of *Rome*, with a naked sword in his hand. It plainly appears that he left no issue; and yet *Tully* mentions *Lucius Brutus*, one of the chief conspirators against *Caesar*, as lineally descended from the first consul; but herein he is contradicted by most of the ancients, who tell us, that *Junius Brutus* left no children behind him.

their

- a their country from slavery. He was therefore pitched upon for the consular dignity; but the new consul died a few days after his election; so that *Valerius* was once more sole governor. And now the many proofs which he gave the people of his zeal for their interest, gained him the name of *Poplicola*, or *Popular*, which he ever after retained. He began his administration by ordering the axes, which were so apt to strike terror, to be taken out of the fasces, which he obliged the lictors to lower in the assemblies of the people. He made several laws in favour of the people, which greatly retrenched the consular power. By one he allowed an appeal from the consuls to the people. By another he exempted artificers, widows, and old men, who had no children to relieve them, from paying tribute. A third law prescribed an absolute submission to the orders of the consuls; but limited the fine laid upon those who disobeyed them, to the value of five oxen and two rams. He also published a fourth, making it lawful to kill, without waiting for a legal condemnation, any person who should aspire to the sovereign power. Impunity was promised to the murderer, provided he could prove the ill designs of the person he had killed. The last law he enacted was with relation to the public money, which he ordered to be removed from his own house to the temple of *Saturn*, where it was committed to the care of two senators of probity, chosen by the people, and afterwards called *questors* (A) ².

Valerius gets the name of Poplicola or Popular.

His laws in favour of the people.

^a Liv. l. ii. c. 7.

(A) According to *Plutarch*, there were no questors in *Rome* till *Poplicola's* time; and this office was originally annexed to that of the consuls, or rather a branch of it. But *Ulpian*, on the contrary, pretends, and quotes several authors to support his opinion, that there were questors even in *Tullus Hostilius's* reign. To reconcile these two opinions, it is to be observed, that the name of questors among the *Romans* had two different significations; sometimes it signified commissioners, by whom capital crimes were cognizable, and sometimes magistrates, who were put in commission for managing the public money. *Ulpian* might speak of the former sort of questors, as being in the time of the kings; and *Plutarch* of the other, which was introduced by *Poplicola* in the time of the commonwealth. The office of the questors was to take care of the public treasure, for which they were accountable when their year was out; for their office lasted no longer; to furnish the necessary sums for the service of the public; and to receive ambassadors, attend them, and provide them with lodgings and other necessities. When the army returned from any war, the military ensigns were put into their hands, to be deposited by them in the temple of *Saturn*. A general could not obtain the honours of a triumph, till he had given them a faithful account of the spoils taken from the enemy, and sworn to it. Tho' the questors had no jurisdiction, that is, could not cite any person to appear before them, or imprison a man; *Neque vocationem, neque prehensionem habebant, neque ad pratorum in jus vocari poterant*, says *Aulus Gellius* (82); yet the most illustrious patricians, and even those who had been consuls, did not think this office beneath them. We find in the ancient annals, that *Titus Quinctius Capitolinus*, and *M. Valerius*, were questors, after they had enjoyed the honour of the consulship three times. *Cato* the elder accepted the questorship after he had triumphed, and discharged the first and most honourable employments of the republic. There were at first two questors only, and those of the patrician order; but as their business increased, it was thought advisable to create two more, whose province was confined to the paying of the armies abroad, and the selling of the plunder and booty. When this regulation came to be passed into a law by the people, the tribunes insisted that it should not pass, but upon condition that two of the four questors should be ple-

beians. This the senate and consuls opposed at first, but were at length obliged to yield to the demands of the tribunes. These new questors were called *questores consulares, militares, and peregrini*. They attended the *Roman* armies, paid the troops, and sold the spoils and prisoners taken from the enemy. The other questors were called *questores aerarii and urbani*, because they were questors of the treasury, and resided at *Rome*. In the last consulship of *Fabius Gurgus*, that is, about the year of *Rome* 488, the great increase of the republic caused the number of the questors to be doubled. The four new ones were called *provincial questors*; and each of them had his province, where he resided, those parts of *Italy*, which were subject to *Rome*, being divided into four large provinces or districts. The provincial questors were afterwards multiplied, in proportion as the republic enlarged her conquests. The *military questors*, and the *urbani*, or those who resided in *Rome*, had neither curule chairs, nor lictors, nor *apparitores*, nor any other marks of distinction annexed to their office; nay, they were obliged to appear before the prætor, when summoned by the meanest of the citizens; but the provincial questors, to increase the state of the *Roman* people, were allowed to appear in their provinces with the *pretoria*, and guarded by lictors with their fasces. This is plain from several passages in *Tully*. In his third oration against *Verres*, *The two Sicilian questors*, says he, *came before me with their fasces*; and in his oration for *Plancius*, he acknowledges it as a favour, that *Plancius*, tho' then questor, came to receive him at *Dyrrachium* without his lictors, and the usual marks of his dignity. The office of the provincial questors was to take the same care of the revenues of the provinces, which the *questores aerarii* had of the revenues at *Rome*. They were particularly concerned in all cases relating to provisions; and no contract for corn could be made without them. The four provincial questorships were sought for by the most ambitious, before *Rome* had extended her conquests beyond *Italy*; but when she had brought the east and west under subjection, and great kingdoms were become so many provinces, the four *Italian* ones began to be despised. The proconsuls and proprætors, that is, the governors of those provinces and kingdoms, had each his questor to take care of the revenues; and then the questorships of the large and distant provinces were most greedily sought

(82) *Aul. Gell. l. xiii. c. 13.*

Poplicola had no sooner enacted these laws, and made several other regulations very ^a advantageous for the people, but he assembled the comitia for the election of a new consul, which he had deferred, only because he apprehended, that a colleague might possibly oppose his design of diminishing the consular power. The choice fell upon *Horatius Pulvillus*; and a few months after his election, the first year of the consular power being expired, *Poplicola* was chosen again, and with him was joined *T. Lucretius*, the brother of the famous *Lucretia*. The new consuls revived the census and the lustrum, and on that occasion found one hundred and thirty thousand men in *Rome*, who were at, or past the age of puberty ^a.

In the mean time *Poplicola's* second consulship being expired, he was chosen a third time, and with him *Horatius Pulvillus*, who had before been consul for a few months. ^b During their consulship, *Porfena*, king of the *Clusini*, one of the twelve nations of *Hebruria*, being gained by the great promises of *Tarquin*, espoused his cause, and at the head of a prodigious, but somewhat confused multitude of *Hebrurians*, advanced to the banks of the *Tiber*. The first post he attacked was the fort of the *Janiculum*, which he made himself master of, obliging the *Romans* to retire over the bridge into the city. This first shock put them into confusion; but the consuls, encouraging their men, made them pass the river with the utmost expedition, and drew them up in order of battle beyond the bridge, to secure the pass. Hereupon *Porfena* advanced to engage them. The victory was long doubtful; but *M. Valerius*, *Poplicola's* brother, and *T. Lucretius*, who were at the head of the left wing, being both ^c wounded, and carried out of the field, a general terror seized the *Roman* army. *Horatius Cocles*, a brave *Roman*, having endeavoured in vain to rally the terrified legions, resolved rather to die than abandon his post; and being joined by *Sp. Lartius*, and *T. Herminius*, these three heroes placed themselves in the narrow pass, which led to the bridge, and there calling out to the *Romans* to break it down, valiantly opposed the enemy, till the demolition of the bridge was near completed. Then *Horatius*, having prevailed upon his companions to cross the river on a few planks which remained, sustained for some time alone the attack of the enemy. At length, being wounded in the thigh, upon a signal given him that the bridge was quite demolished, he leaped into the river, and gained the opposite bank, through a shower ^d of darts. Thus, by the wonderful bravery of one man, was the city and republic saved from impending ruin. The whole city was so sensible of this, that they all hastened to pay their acknowledgments to their deliverer. They crowned him at his arrival, carried him on their arms from the place where he landed into the city, and erected a statue of brass to him in the temple of *Vulcan*. The senate gave him as much land as one plough could inclose within a circular furrow in one day; and tho' there was a great scarcity in *Rome*, yet the inhabitants, to the number of three hundred thousand, assessed themselves to make him a present of as much provisions as each of them consumed in a day. However, as *Horatius* had but one eye, whence he was surnamed *Cocles*, and continued lame the remaining part of his life, these ^e defects prevented his ever being elected consul.

Porfena king of Clusium espouses the cause of the Tarquins.

The remarkable bravery of Horatius Cocles.

^a DIO. HAL. l. v. p. 293.

sought for by those, who were qualified to stand candidates for them. They were there out of the sight of the senate, and sometimes in rich governments, where they could raise more money, and were more honoured and respected; for this reason, when the quaestors drew lots in the presence of the *Roman* tribes for the quaestorships, the person, to whom any of the *Italian* ones fell, became the jest of the people. He goes to the waters, said the people, meaning, that he was going to live quietly near *Rome*, as those *Romans* did, who went to *Bain* or *Puteoli* for the waters. Some think, that this proverb alludes to the office of the *Italian* quaestors, who were often obliged to go to the sea-ports to collect the imposts the republic had laid on exported goods. The quaestors were first chosen by the people, and afterwards by the consuls, the quaestorship being originally a branch of their office. In *Tully's* time they were again chosen by the people in the

comitia by tribes; of which more hereafter. The office of quaestor, tho' often discharged by persons who had been consuls, was the first step to great employments. None could stand for the quaestorship till they attained to a certain age; but to determine the exact age the laws required, is no easy matter. Some pretend, that none could undertake this office till they were twenty-seven, and quote *Polybius* in favour of their opinion; for that author writes (83), that the quaestorship was not to be obtained till after ten years service in the army; and the *Romans* usually entered into the army at the age of seventeen. Others think, that the age fixed by the law was twenty-four or twenty-five. In process of time, when honours were obtained by intrigues and favour, these laws were neglected; for *Caesar* and *Pollio* were quaestors, as *Quintilian* informs us (84), long before they were of the age the law required.

(83) *Polyb.* l. vi,

(84) *Quintil.* l. xii.

- a As *Porfena* was master of the country on both sides the river, it was very difficult to find provisions for so great a number of inhabitants. A famine therefore began to be felt, and many of the indigent populace, who, in such cases, are the first sufferers, went to seek bread in the enemy's camp; but the consuls kept up the courage of the best citizens, by assuring them, that a convoy of corn would soon arrive in the camp from *Pometia*: and their expectations were not disappointed; many boats loaded with corn safely entered the port of *Rome* in the night. But in a short time the city was again reduced to great straits; which *Porfena* having notice of, sent the *Romans* word, that he would deliver them from the hunger they suffered, if they would receive their old masters; but they, notwithstanding their present distress, returned this answer, That hunger was a less evil than slavery and oppression.

b IN the mean time the consuls formed a scheme for drawing the enemy into an ambuscade; and for that purpose spread at *Rome* a report, which was soon carried into the *Hetrurian* camp by the slaves who deserted, that the next day all the cattle brought thither from the country, would be sent to graze in the fields under a guard. This bait drew the enemy into an ambush, in which five thousand of them were cut in pieces; but, notwithstanding this, and some other small advantages, *Rome* was almost wearied out with so long a siege, when *Mucius Cordus*, a young *Roman*, of an

The desperate enterprise, and wonderful resolution of Mucius Scævola.

c illustrious birth, formed a design, which raised the courage of the people. He prevailed upon the consuls to consent to it, and imparted it to the senators, lest his leaving *Rome* should be looked upon as a desertion; but all he told them was, that he intended to cross the *Tiber*, enter the enemy's camp, and there execute some great exploit. The consuls and senate having encouraged him to undertake any thing in the present deplorable state of *Rome*, he went out of the city with a poniard under his garment, and being dressed in an *Hetrurian* habit, entered the enemy's camp undiscovered, mixed with the *Hetrurian* soldiers, whose language he had learned from his infancy, and made his way quite to the king's tent. It happened to be the day on which the troops were all reviewed and paid, and *Porfena's* secretary, magnificently dressed, was sitting on the same tribunal with the king, giving audience, and receiving petitions. *Mucius*, mistaking him for the king, leaped upon the tribunal, and,

d with one stroke of his poniard, laid him dead at the king's feet. He then attempted to make his escape through the multitude that stood amazed at so bold and unexpected an attempt; but being seized and brought back to the tribunal, which he had just stained with blood, *Thou execrable assassin*, said the king, *who art thou? whence comest thou? who are thy accomplices?* To which words, *Mucius*, less terrified than his judge, made this reply; *I am a Roman, and my name is Mucius Cordus. My design was to deliver Rome from her most cruel enemy; discharge therefore all thy fury upon me. Thou hast been an eye-witness of my courage, now try my constancy with tortures; and then thou wilt be forced to confess, that Roman bravery has made me capable both of attempting whatever man can do, and suffering what human nature can endure.* This discourse filled

e *Porfena* with amazement; but he was still more surprized when he saw the *Roman*, with a steady countenance, and a look, which testified his inward rage at having missed his blow, thrust his right hand into a pan of burning coals, and there held it a great while without shewing any signs of pain. So surprising a sight changed the king's resentment into admiration. *Porfena* granted him his life and liberty, and even restored him the dagger, which he had made use of with a design to stab him. *Mucius*, who had now lost the use of his right hand, took it with his left; and thence had the surname of *Scævola*, that is, *Left-handed* b.

f *Mucius* was in his turn charmed with the generosity of his enemy; but had the presence of mind to invent a story for the service of his country. He pretended to discover to the king a plot, which, he said, was formed at *Rome* against his life by three hundred young *Romans*, all as resolute as himself, who were dispersed in the *Hetrurian* camp, and had bound themselves, by the most sacred oaths, to attempt his life, one after another, at the same hazard as he had done. *Porfena*, struck with terror at this pretended discovery, as soon as *Mucius* was retired, called a council to deliberate about the means of preserving himself from the dangers which threatened him. His friends and counsellors suggested various precautions; but none of them seeming sufficient to remove his uneasiness, his son *Aruns*, a great admirer of the *Roman* virtue, advised him to render all precautions needless, by abandoning the

b LIV. L. II. c. 12. PLUT. in Poplic.

Porfena desists
from his de-
mand of having
Tarquin re-
stored.

The adventure
of Clælia.

Porfena re-
nounces his al-
liance with the
Tarquins.

cause of a few exiles, and concluding a peace with the *Romans*. His advice made an impression on *Porfena*; and as the *Hetrurians* had already begun to complain of the length of the siege, he sent deputies to *Rome*, whose demands shewed, that their matter had much abated of his former pretensions; for they did not insist on the restoration of the *Tarquins*, but only on the restitution of their estates, or an equivalent. And in regard of their own nation, they required the *Romans* to re-instate the *Veientes* in the possession of seven villages, which they had taken from them in former wars. The ambassadors were received at *Rome* with joy; and their demands being heard in the senate, *Poplicola* prevailed upon the senators to comply with them; but the people would not consent to the first article, till *Porfena* had heard the strong reasons they had to offer against it; after which they were willing to leave it to his arbitration. As to the other article, they readily agreed to it, and offered hostages to secure the performance of it. A truce being agreed on, the *Romans* sent their deputies to *Porfena's* camp, to plead their cause against the *Tarquins*, and with them the hostages they had promised, ten young men, and as many virgins, of the most illustrious families in *Rome*. Among these were the son of *Horatius* the consul, *Valeria* the daughter of *Poplicola*, and the famous *Clælia*. The reception *Porfena* gave the *Roman* envoys, raised the jealousy of the *Tarquins*, who, still retaining their ancient pride, refused to admit *Porfena* for a judge between them and the *Romans*. But the king, without any regard to their opposition, resolved to satisfy himself, by an exact enquiry, whether the protection he had given the *Tarquins* was just? But while the cause was ready to be opened before the *Roman* deputies, news was brought, that the young women, whom the *Romans* had sent as hostages, had ventured to swim cross the *Tiber*, and were returned to *Rome*. They had gone to bathe in the river, and *Clælia* happening to turn her eyes towards her native city, that sight raised in her a desire of returning to it. She therefore ventured to swim cross the river; and having encouraged her companions to follow her, they all got safe to the opposite shore, and returned to their fathers houses (B). The return of the hostages gave the consul *Poplicola* great uneasiness; he was afraid lest this rash action might be imputed to want of fidelity in the *Romans*. To remove therefore all suspicions, he sent a deputation to the *Hetrurian* camp, assuring the king, that *Rome* had no share in the foolish attempt of the young women, and promising to send them immediately back to the camp from whence they had fled. *Porfena* was easily appeased; but the news of the speedy return of the hostages being known in the camp, the *Tarquins*, without any regard to the truce, or respect to the king their protector, lay in ambush on the road to surprize them. *Poplicola* having put himself at the head of the *Roman* troops who escorted them, sustained the attack of the *Tarquins*, tho' sudden and unexpected, till his daughter *Valeria* rode full speed to the *Hetrurian* camp, and gave notice of the danger her father and companions were in; and then *Aruns*, the king's son, flying with a great body of cavalry to their relief, put the aggressors to the rout. This notorious piece of treachery in the *Tarquins*, gave *Porfena* strong suspicions of the badness of their cause. He therefore assembled the chief commanders of the *Hetrurians*, and having heard in their presence the complaints of the *Romans*, and the justification of their proceedings against the *Tarquins*, he was so struck with horror at the recital of the crimes the *Tarquins* were charged with, that he immediately ordered them to leave his camp, declaring, that he renounced his alliance with them, and would no longer continue the hospitality he had shewn them. He then commanded the ten young virgins to be brought before him, and inquired, who was the first author, and chief manager of the enterprize? They all kept silence, till *Clælia* herself, with an air of intrepidity, confessed, that she alone was guilty, and that she had encouraged the others by her advice. Upon this, the king, extolling her resolution above the bravery of *Horatius*, and the intrepidity of *Mucius*, made her a present of a fine horse, with sumptuous furniture. After this he concluded a peace with the

(B) Authors vary as to the circumstances of this fact; for *Livy* says, that the young women crossed the river in sight of the *Hetrurians*, who lined the shore, and in the midst of the darts, which were discharged at them from all parts. *Aurelius Victor* and *Florus* tell us, that *Clælia*, having accidentally found a horse, crossed the river on horse-back. *Por-*

fena, as we have said, presented her with a fine horse; which might give rise to this fable. An equestrian statue was erected to her memory in the *via sacra*, which, according to *Plutarch*, was to be seen in his time (85). *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* says it was consumed by fire.

(85) *Plut. in Poplicol.*

Romans,

- a *Romans*, and restored to them all their hostages, declaring, that their bare word was to him sufficient security for the performance of the articles ^c.

AND now *Porfena* being to return to *Clusium*, gave, before his departure, a further testimony of his respect and friendship for the *Romans*. He knew that *Rome* was greatly distressed for want of provisions; but being afraid to offend the inhabitants by relieving them in a direct manner, he ordered his soldiers to leave behind them their tents and provisions, and to carry nothing with them but their arms. As his camp abounded with all sorts of provisions, *Rome* was hereby much relieved in her wants. The moveables and corn of the *Hetrurians* were sold by auction to private persons; and on this occasion the *Romans* took up the custom of making a proclamation by a herald, whenever any effects belonging to the public were to be sold, in the following words, *These are Porfena's goods*. The design of this was to preserve the memory of that prince's kindness. The senate, not satisfied with this, erected a statue of the king near the comitium, and sent an embassy to him with a present of a throne adorned with ivory, a sceptre, a crown of gold, and a triumphal robe ^d.

- b AFTER the departure of *Porfena*, the *Romans* first rewarded those, who had distinguished themselves during the siege, especially *Mucius Scævola*, to whom they gave a large piece of ground belonging to the public. Their next care was to shew their gratitude to the gods, by some public act of religion; and as the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* had not yet been consecrated, the senate ordered the consecration of it. It naturally belonged to one of the consuls to perform the ceremony; but it was the right of the senate to appoint which of the consuls they pleased. The patricians had been long jealous of the glory, which *Poplicola* had acquired in his three consulships; and therefore, in order to rob him of this mark of distinction, ordered him to march out against some *Latin* troops, that committed ravages in the *Roman* territory, and, in his absence, appointed his colleague *Horatius Pulvillus* to perform the ceremony. As he was beginning the consecration, *Poplicola's* brother, *Marcus*, cried out, *I give you notice, that your son has lost his life in a battle*. This was false; but he hoped by these words to interrupt the ceremony. But *Horatius*, without shewing the least concern, coldly replied, *Then let him be buried*, and finished the consecration. Thus *Poplicola* ended the glorious year of his third consulship with receiving a mortification, which could not but sensibly affect him. *Spurius Lartius* and *T. Herminius*, who had so valiantly defended the bridge, were chosen consuls for the next year; which proved a year of peace.

- c IN the consulship of *M. Valerius*, brother to *Poplicola*, and *P. Posthumius*, who succeeded the above-mentioned consuls, the *Sabines* invading the *Roman* territories, committed great devastations. Whereupon the two consuls took the field; and having divided their forces into two bodies, *Posthumius* with one of them encamped at a small distance from *Rome*, to prevent a surprize from the *Tarquins*; while *Valerius* posted himself at *Tibur* upon the *Anio*. As the *Sabines* were encamped on the opposite bank, *Valerius*, by the advice of his brother *Poplicola*, crossing the river, offered them battle; which they not declining, a bloody engagement ensued, wherein *Valerius* gained some advantage with his right; but his left being almost pushed into the river, he was very near losing the day, when his colleague, who had notice of the action, coming seasonably to his relief, attacked the enemy in flank, and put them to flight. The *Sabine* troops would have been intirely cut off, if night coming on, had not given them an opportunity to escape. For this victory the consuls were decreed a triumph, and they both entered *Rome* in the same chariot. *Valerius* is said to have gained the same year a second victory over the *Sabines*, and to have killed thirteen thousand of them, without the loss of one *Roman*. The republic therefore, to reward him according to his merit, built him a house, and, to distinguish it from all others, ordered the door to be so hung, as to open outwards to the street; whereas the doors of all other houses opened inwards. As for *Posthumius*, he was allowed to have a burial-place for himself and his family within the walls of *Rome*; a privilege never before granted to any ^e.

- f THE next year, when *Poplicola* was consul the fourth time, the *Sabines* renewed the war. *Aelius Clausus*, the most eminent man in *Sabinia*, for riches, valour and eloquence, first retarded their preparations, by speaking in all their diets against a war with *Rome*, and then came over to the *Romans*, with five thousand families of his

His generosity towards the Romans.

The Sabines twice defeated.

Appius Claudius settles at Rome.

^c DIO. HAL. p. 302. LIV. l. ii. c. 4. PLUT. *ibid*.
^e PLUT. *ibid*. PLIN. l. xxxvii. c. 15.

^d DIO. HAL. p. 303. LIV. & PLUT. *ibid*.

The Sabines
defeated again.

Poplicola dies.

friends and dependents. On his arrival at *Rome*, he changed his name to *Appius Claudius*, was immediately declared a patrician, and took his place in the senate. Twenty-five acres of land were given him in fee, and a quarter in the city assigned for his friends and followers, to each of which were granted two acres of ground, with all the rights and privileges of *Roman* citizens. These donations were made irrevocable by a decree of the senate, confirmed by the suffrages of the people. The family of the *Claudii* became afterwards one of the most illustrious families of *Rome*. The *Sabines*, enraged at the departure of *Clausus*, took the field with a very considerable army; and it was very lucky for *Rome* that they determined to come to a battle before the year of *Poplicola's* consulship was out. The *Sabine* army was divided into two bodies, one of which encamped in the open field near *Fidenæ*; the other kept within the walls of that city, to guard it, and secure a retreat to the other body, in case they were defeated. On the other hand, the consuls having likewise divided their army into two bodies, marched out against the enemy. *Poplicola* took his post over-against the *Sabines*, while *Lucretius*, the other consul, encamped on an eminence within reach of his colleague. The *Romans* were eager to engage immediately, and end the dispute at once by a decisive battle; but the *Sabines*, not daring to venture an engagement in the day-time, resolved to make a sudden attack on the enemy's camp in the dead of the night. With this view they prepared great quantities of fascines to fill up the ditch, and scaling ladders to mount the ramparts. That body of *Sabines*, which guarded *Fidenæ*, was ordered to march out of the town on the first signal, and fetching a large compass, to lie in ambush behind *Lucretius's* camp, in order to surprize it, when *Lucretius* should march to the assistance of his colleague, and then charge him in the rear. But the wise *Poplicola*, receiving timely intelligence of the enemy's designs, instantly dispatched his brother *Marcus* to the other camp, to acquaint *Lucretius* with the night-expedition resolved upon by the *Sabines*. Both consuls, having taken the necessary precautions, waited for the enemy, without suffering their troops to shew any marks of suspecting their intention. The *Sabines* marched silently out of their camp before mid-night, and drawing near the *Roman* entrenchments, filled up the ditch with fascines, and passed over to scale the rampart; but, as fast as they advanced to it, they were, without any noise, stabbed by the *Romans*, who were drawn up in the space between the ditch and the rampart. The slaughter continued till the moon rose, when the *Sabines* discovering the dead bodies of their companions, and the *Roman* troops, who had strewed the ground with them without being perceived, betook themselves to a confused flight. The *Romans* pursued them with loud shouts; which being heard by *Lucretius*, he, in his turn, went to attack the body that lay in ambush, and gained a complete victory over them. In this action thirteen thousand *Sabines* were killed on the spot, and four thousand two hundred taken prisoners^f. *Poplicola* taking advantage of the enemy's consternation, advanced with all his forces to *Fidenæ*; and having taken the place by assault, put to death the heads of the revolt; but spared the other inhabitants, obliging them only to surrender part of their lands for the support of the garrison he left in the city. *Poplicola*, on his return to *Rome*, was honoured with a triumph; but soon after died, and was buried at the expence of the public, there not being found money enough in his house to defray the charges of his funeral. He was the most virtuous citizen, the greatest general, and the best affected consul to the people *Rome* had ever had. He had always led a frugal life, and taken more care to transmit his virtues to his children, than to enrich them with the goods of fortune. The *Romans* thought they could not refuse him a burial-place in the city, and therefore erected a tomb for him near the forum, and gave his family a right of interment in the same place. But as the *Valerii* always affected popularity, they never made use of this privilege, but contented themselves with carrying the bodies of those who died in *Rome*, to the sepulchre of the founder of their family, and conveying them from thence out of the city, where the ashes were deposited in a tomb near the walls. As *Poplicola* had been one of those, who stood up in defence of the chastity of the *Roman* women, they mourned a whole year for him, as they had done before for *Brutus*. But his greatest glory was comprised under the name of *Poplicola* (C), which the *Romans* gave him, and his tender regard for the people had deserved^g.

^f DIO. HAL. l. v. p. 308.

^g Idem, p. 314. LIV. l. ii. c. 16. PLUT. in Poplic.

(C) In some editions of the *Latin* historians we read *Publicola* instead of *Poplicola*; but the *Fassi Capitoli*, *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, *Plutarch*, and *Dio*, call him constantly *Poplicola*, which is an abbreviation of *Populicola*, a word denoting his regard for the people.

- a** THE *Sabines* were no sooner informed of *Poplicola's* death, but they raised a more numerous army than they had done the preceding years; and having made a sudden incursion into the *Roman* territory, advanced to the very gates of *Rome*. *P. Posthumius*, one of the consuls, being provoked at the insolence of the *Sabines*, sallied out against them with a good body of men, drawn together in a tumultuous manner. The *Sabines*, as soon as he appeared, fled to a neighbouring forest, where the main body of their army lay concealed. *Posthumius* followed them; but, as he drew near the forest, the *Sabines* rallying, faced about, and, with loud shouts, gave the signal to the whole army to fall upon the consul's troops. *Posthumius* made what resistance he could with men out of breath, and in disorder; but was obliged to retire with great loss. To complete his misfortune, he was intercepted in his retreat by a body of *Sabines* posted on a hill between him and the city; so that he was forced to pass the night in the open field, surrounded on all sides by the enemy's squadrons. As soon as the defeat of *Posthumius* was known at *Rome*, *Menenius Agrippa*, the other consul, marched at the head of the bravest youth in the city, to the relief of his colleague. But the *Sabines*, at his approach, retired into their own country, whence, elated with their late success, they sent a proud message to the *Romans*, requiring them to receive the king they had banished; to submit to the *Sabines*, by whom they had been conquered, and to receive their laws. To this demand the *Romans* returned a suitable answer, commanding the *Sabines* to return to their former duty, and to come in a suppliant manner to beg pardon for their attempts against the authority of their masters. After these mutual bravadoes, the consuls on one side, and the *Sabines* on the other, took the field again with all the forces of their respective states. Both armies encamped near *Eretum*, about ten miles from *Rome*, where they soon came to a general engagement, in which *Posthumius*, desirous to redeem his credit, behaved with extraordinary valour, and, together with his colleague, obtained a complete victory. No sooner did the news of this glorious day reach the senate, but they decreed a full triumph for *Menenius*, and an inferior one, which they called *ovation* (D), for *Posthumius*, whose gallant behaviour, in the late action, had not, in the opinion of the fathers, sufficiently atoned for his miscarriage in the beginning of the war.
- d** THE *Sabine* war continued under the new consuls *Sp. Cassius Uscellinus* and *Opiter Virginus Tricostus*. The former, entering the enemy's country, defeated them in a pitched battle near *Cures*, ten thousand three hundred of them being killed, and four thousand taken prisoners. This defeat obliged them to sue for peace, which, after many submissions, they purchased with corn, money, and ten thousand acres of arable land. While *Cassius* was thus employed against the *Sabines*, his colleague *Virginus* reduced *Cameria*, a city in the neighbourhood of *Alba*, which had revolted from the *Romans*; and having beheaded the most guilty of the inhabitants, sold the rest for slaves, and razed the city ^b.
- e** *Tarquin*, still restless, and not despairing to recover his kingdom, by means of his son-in-law *Mamilius Octavius*, prevailed upon the *Latins*, who had hitherto stood neuter, to espouse his cause. During the alarm which this resolution occasioned at *Rome*, the *Tarquins*, in concert with some of the inhabitants of *Fidenæ*, made themselves masters of that city. Hereupon the consul *Manius*, marching against the rebels, closely invested the place, and reduced it to great straits. The besieged, in that extremity, implored the assistance of the *Latins*; which occasioned a general meeting of the deputies from the several cities of *Latium*. In this assembly it was

The Sabines
renew the war.

The Romans
gain a complete
victory over
them.

They submit at
last.

The Latins de-
clare for king
Tarquin.

^b Idem, p. 315.

(D) Authors differ in their opinions as to the derivation of this word; some derive it from *obè*, denoting the adoration of the people in these ceremonies; others from the words *exan* or *evoe*, with which the Greek bacchanals rung. *Plutarch* refers the origin of this word to the kind of victim, which was offered to the gods in the ceremony of the *ovation* (86); for in the triumph a bull was sacrificed in the capitol, but in the *ovation* only a sheep; so that, according to this writer, *ovatio* comes from the word *ovis*, signifying a sheep. The person, who was honoured with an *ovation*, entered *Rome* on foot, or, at most, on horse-back, and was

attended by the senate only: his crown was of myrtle, not of laurel; and his robe only the *prætecta*, the common habit of magistrates. The *ovation* of *Posthumius*, the first that had ever been seen in *Rome*, is marked in the *Fasti Capitolini* on the third of the nones of *April*. Two days after, *Menenius Agrippa* appeared with all the magnificence of a triumph; being mounted on a chariot, seated in a curule chair, clothed with a robe embroidered with palm branches, he was conducted to the capitol with the sound of trumpets, and the acclamations of the army and people.

(86) *Plut. in Marcel.*

debated

But, before
they take the
field, they send
an embassy to
Rome.

A conspiracy
formed by some
of Tarquin's
emissaries.

The plot disco-
vered.

debated, whether the *Latins* should declare in favour of the *Tarquins* and the *Fidenates*, or adhere to the ancient treaties between the two nations. After long debates, it was resolved, that an embassy should be sent to the *Romans* with proposals, which were ; That they should receive the *Tarquins*, after they had engaged by oath to grant a general amnesty ; and that they should raise the siege of *Fidenæ*. The ambassadors were to allow the *Romans* a whole year to consider on these overtures, and to threaten them with a war, in case they refused to comply with them. The chief view of *Tarquin* and his partizans in promoting this embassy, was to lay hold of that opportunity to raise a sedition in the city. To the ambassadors therefore of the *Latins* he joined some of his own emissaries, who, on their arrival in the city, found two sorts of people disposed to enter into their measures, viz. the slaves, and the meaner citizens. The slaves had formed a conspiracy the year before to seize the capitol, and set fire to the city in several quarters at the same time. But the plot being discovered, those, who were concerned in it, had been all crucified ; and this execution had highly provoked the whole body of slaves. As to the meaner citizens, who were for the most part overwhelmed with debt, and cruelly used by their creditors, they were well apprised, that there could happen no change in the government but to their advantage. These were the conspirators pitched upon ; and to them were given the following parts to act : the citizens were to make themselves masters of the ramparts and gates of the city at an appointed hour of the night, and then to raise a great shout as a signal to the slaves, who had engaged to massacre their masters at the same instant. The gates of the city were then to be opened to the *Tarquins*, who were to enter *Rome* while it was yet reeking with the blood of the senators. The conspiracy was ripe for execution, when *Tarquin's* principal agents, *Publius* and *Marcus*, both of his own name and family, being terrified with frightful dreams, had not courage enough to proceed in their design, till they had consulted a diviner. However, they did not discover to him the conspiracy ; but only asked him in general terms, What success they might expect in a project they had formed ? The soothsayer, without the least hesitation, returned the following answer, *Your project will end in your ruin ; disburden yourselves of so heavy a load.* Hereupon the *Tarquins*, fearing left some of the other conspirators should be before-hand with them in informing, went immediately to *S. Sulpicius*, the only consul then at *Rome*, and discovered the whole matter to him. The consul greatly commended them, and detained them in his house, till, by private inquiries, he was assured of the truth of their depositions. Then he assembled the senate, and gave the *Latin* ambassadors their audience of leave, with an answer to their proposals ; which was, that the *Romans* would neither receive the *Tarquins*, nor raise the siege of *Fidenæ*, being all to a man ready to sacrifice their lives in defence of their liberty, and willing to undergo any dangers, rather than submit to the government of a tyrant. The ambassadors being dismissed with this answer, and conducted out of the city, *Sulpicius* laid open to the fathers the dreadful conspiracy, which struck them with horror ; but they were all at a loss in what manner they should apprehend and punish the guilty, since, by the law of *Poplicola*, there was an appeal to the people in all capital cases, and the two witnesses, who were strangers, might be excepted against by *Roman* citizens. In this perplexity they left the whole conduct of this critical affair to *Sulpitius*, who took a method, which, he thought, would equally serve to prove the guilt, and punish the guilty. He engaged the two informers to assemble the conspirators, and to appoint a rendezvous at mid-night in the forum, as if they designed to take the last measures for the execution of the enterprise. In the mean time he took all proper measures to secure the city, and ordered the *Roman* knights to hold themselves ready, in the houses adjoining to the forum, to execute the orders they should receive. The conspirators met at the time and place appointed by the two *Tarquins* ; and the knights, upon a signal agreed on before-hand, invested the forum, and blocked up all the avenues to it so closely, that it was impossible for any of the conspirators to make their escape. As soon as it was light, the two consuls appeared with a strong guard on the tribunal ; for *Sulpicius* had sent to his colleague *Manius*, who was besieging *Fidenæ*, desiring him to hasten to the city with a chosen body of troops. The people were convened by curiæ, and acquainted with the conspiracy, which had been formed against the common liberty. The accused were allowed to make their defence, if they had any thing to offer against the evidence ; but not one of them denying the fact, the consuls repaired to the senate, where sentence of death was pronounced against the conspirators,

- a spirators, in case the people approved it. This decree of the senate being read to, and approved by the assembly, the people were ordered to retire, and the conspirators were delivered up to the soldiers, who put them all to the sword. The peace of *Rome* was thought sufficiently secured by this stroke of severity; and therefore, tho' all the conspirators were not punished with death, it was judged proper not to make any further inquiries. The two informers were rewarded with all the privileges of *Roman* citizens, a hundred thousand asses, and twenty acres of land. Three festival days were appointed for expiations, sacrifices, and public games, by way of thanksgiving to the gods. But the general joy was disturbed by a melancholy accident: as the people were conducting *Tullius Manius* the consul from the circus to his house, he fell from his chariot, and died three days after¹.

The conspirators put to death.

- b THE city of *Fidenæ* was not yet reduced; it held out during the following consulship of *T. Æbutius* and *P. Velurius*; but was taken the next year by *T. Lartius*, who, together with *Q. Clælius*, was raised to the consular dignity. The *Latins*, enraged at the loss of this town, began to complain of their leading men; which opportunity *Tarquin* and *Mamilius* improved so far, as to make all the *Latin* cities, twenty-four in number, enter into an alliance against *Rome*, and to bind themselves by oath never to violate their engagements. The *Latins* made vast preparations, as did likewise the *Romans*; but the latter could procure no assistance from their neighbours. As the *Latin* nation was much superior to them in strength, they sent deputies to solicit succours from the several states with which they were surrounded; but their negotiations proved every-where unsuccessful: and, what was worse than all, the republic had rebellious sons in her own bosom, who refused to lend their aid in defence of their country. The poorer sort of people, and the debtors, refused to take the military oaths, or to serve, alledging their poverty, and the fruitless hazards they ran in fighting for the defence of a city, where they were oppressed and enslaved by their creditors. This spirit of mutiny spread among the inferior classes, most of them refusing to lift themselves, unless their debts were all remitted by a decree of the senate; nay, they began to talk of leaving the city, and settling elsewhere. The senate, apprehending a general insurrection, assembled to deliberate on the means of quieting these domestic troubles. Some were for a free remission of all debts, as the safest expedient at that juncture; others urged the dangerous consequences of such a condescension, advising them to lift such only as were willing to serve, not doubting but those, who refused their assistance, would offer it of their own accord, when it was no longer desired. Several other expedients were offered; but at length this prevailed, viz. that all actions for debts should be suspended till the conclusion of the war with the *Latins*. But this the indigent debtors thought only a suspension of their misery; and therefore it had not the intended effect on the minds of the unruly multitude. The senate might indeed have prosecuted the ringleaders of the sedition; but the law of *Poplicola*, called the *Valerian* law, which allowed appeals to the assembly of the people, was a protection for the seditious, who were sure of being acquitted by the accomplices of their rebellion. The senate therefore, to elude the effect of a privilege that put such a restraint upon their power, resolved to create one supreme magistrate, who, with the title of *dictator*, should have an absolute power for a time; but as this could not be done without striking at the law of *Poplicola*, and transferring the power of the people in criminal cases to a magistrate superior to all laws, it was necessary to use artifice, in order to obtain the consent of the curiæ. They therefore represented to them in a public assembly, that, in so difficult a conjuncture, when they had their domestic quarrels to decide, and at the same time a powerful enemy to repulse, it would be expedient to put the commonwealth under a single governor, who, superior to the consuls themselves, should be the arbiter of the laws, and, as it were, the father of his country; that his power should have no limits; but however, lest he should abuse it, they ought not to trust him with it above six months. The people, not foreseeing the consequences of this change, agreed to it; but the greatest difficulty was to find a man duly qualified in all respects for so great a trust. *T. Lartius*, one of the consuls, seemed to be of all men the most unexceptionable; but the senate, fearing to offend his colleague by an invidious preference, gave the consuls the power of chusing a dictator, and obliged them to name one of themselves, not doubting but *Clælius* would yield to the superior talents

The Latin cities enter into an alliance against Rome.

The poorer citizens in Rome, and debtors, refuse to serve.

¹ Idem, p. 320.

The first dicta-
tor.
Year after the
flood 2506.
Before Christ
493.
Of Rome 255.

of his colleague; nor were they disappointed in their expectation. But *Lartius*, with the same readiness, named *Clatius*; and the only contest was, which of the two should raise the other to the supreme authority. Each persisted obstinately in remitting the dignity to his colleague, till *Clatius*, starting up on a sudden, abdicated the consulship, and, after the manner of an *inter-rex*, proclaimed *Titus Lartius* dictator (E), who thereupon was obliged to take upon him the government of the republic ^k.

Lartius indeed took as much state upon him, after he had entered upon his office, as he had shewn modesty in refusing it. He began by creating, without the participation either of the senate or people, a general of the *Roman* horse (F), an office which lasted only during the dictatorship, and which all subsequent dictators revived ^b immediately after their election. *Sp. Cassius*, formerly consul, and honoured with a triumph, was the person he advanced to this second station in the republic. *Lartius*, having by this means secured the *Roman* knights, resolved, in the next place, to make the people respect and fear him. With this view he never appeared in public, but attended by twenty-four lictors, to whose fasces he added again the axes, which *Poplicola* had caused to be taken from them. The novelty of this sight was alone sufficient to awe the seditious, and, without executions, to spread consternation throughout *Rome*. The murmurs of the inferior classes being by this means silenced, the dictator commanded a census to be taken, according to the institution of king *Servius*. Every one, without exception, brought in his name, age, the particulars of his estate, &c. and there appeared to be in *Rome* one hundred and fifty thousand seven hundred men, who were past the age of puberty. Out of these the dictator formed four armies; the first he commanded himself; the second he gave to *Clatius* his late colleague; the third to *Sp. Cassius* his general of the horse; and the fourth he left in *Rome*, under the command of his brother *Sp. Lartius*, who was to guard the city. The *Latins* not being so forward in their preparations as was expected, all their hostilities against *Rome* this campaign amounted to no more than the sending a detachment into the *Roman* territory to lay it waste. The dictator gained some advantage over that party; and the great humanity with which he treated the prisoners and wounded, disposed the *Latins* to listen the more readily to the overtures, which he at the same time made them for a suspension of hostilities. At length a truce was agreed on for a year; and then *Lartius*, seeing the republic restored to its former tranquillity, resigned the dictatorship, tho' the time appointed for its duration was not yet expired ^l.

A truce is
made with the
Latins for a
year.

THE year of the truce with the *Latins* expired, when *Aulus Posthumius*, and *T. Virginus* took possession of the consulship. Both *Romans* and *Latins* were busied in

^k Idem, p. 333.

^l Idem, p. 335.

(E) This supreme officer was called *dictator*, either because he was *dictus*, that is, named by the consul, or from his dictating and commanding what should be done. No one could be created dictator till he had been consul. The time assigned for the duration of the office was the space of six months. As to the perpetual dictatorships of *Sylla* and *Julius Caesar*, they were notorious usurpations, and violations of the laws of their country. The dictator was not allowed to march out of *Italy*, lest he should take advantage of the distance of the place, to attempt something against the common liberty. He was always to march on foot, except in case of a tedious or sudden expedition, and then he formally asked leave of the people to ride (87). In all other things his power was absolute and uncontrouled. He might proclaim war, levy forces, lead them out, disband them, &c. without consulting the senate. He could punish as he pleased; and from his judgment lay no appeal. To make his authority more awful, he had always twenty-four fasces with axes carried before him, if we believe *Plutarch* (88), and *Polybius* (89). *Livy* ascribes the first rise of this custom to *Sylla* (89). The authority of all other ma-

gistrates ceased, or were subordinate to him. He had the naming of the general of the horse, who was wholly at his command. When his authority was expired, he was not obliged to give an account of any thing he had done during his administration. In short, the dictatorship was a kind of absolute monarchy, tho' not durable, and was looked upon as the only refuge of the commonwealth in time of danger, till *Sylla* and *Caesar*, converting it into a tyranny, rendered the name of dictator odious; in-somuch, that upon the murder of the latter, a decree passed in the senate, forbidding the use of that dignity upon any account whatsoever for the future (91).

(F) As the regal power was revived in the dictator, he was allowed to create a chief officer in the army, under the name of *magister equitum*, that is, master or general of the horse; which answered to the office of the *tribunus celerum* in the time of the kings. It was the second dignity in the *Roman* state, but, like the dictatorship, temporary. The *magister equitum* served as the dictator's lieutenant-general; but could act nothing without his express order.

(87) *Dio*, l. xliv. *Appian*, l. iii.
l. lxxix. (91) *Dio*, *Cass.* l. xlv.

(88) *Plut.* in *Fab. Max.*

(89) *Polyb.* l. iii.

(90) *Liv.* epiz.

making

- a making the necessary preparations for war. The nobility of *Latium*, who were for the most part in the interest of the *Tarquins*, having found means to exclude the citizens from the *Latin* diets, carried all before them in those assemblies; whereupon many of the citizens removed with their families to *Rome*, where they were well received. The *Latins* being bent upon war, the senate, notwithstanding the perfect harmony that reigned between them and the people, thought it expedient to create a dictator. The two consuls were therefore impowered to name one of themselves to that dignity; whereupon *Virginus* readily yielded it to his colleague *Posthumus*, as the more able commander. The new dictator, having created *Æbutius Elva*, formerly consul, his general of the horse, and divided his army into four bodies, left
- b one of them, under the command of *Sempronius*, to guard the city, and with the other three, commanded by himself, *Virginus*, and *Æbutius*, marched out against the *Latins*, who, with an army of forty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, under the command of *Sextus Tarquinius*, *Titus Tarquinius*, and *Mamilius*, had already made themselves masters of *Corbio*, a strong-hold belonging to the republic, and put the garrison to the sword. *Posthumus* encamped in the night on a steep hill near the lake *Regillus*; and *Virgilius* on another hill over-against him. *Æbutius* was ordered to march silently in the night, with the cavalry and light-armed infantry, to take possession of a third hill upon the road, by which provisions must be brought to the *Latins*. Before *Æbutius* had fortified his new camp, he was vigorously attacked by *Lucius Tarquinius*, whom he repulsed three times with great loss, the dictator having sent him a timely reinforcement. After this, *Æbutius* intercepted two couriers sent by the *Volsci* to the *Latin* generals, and, by letters found upon them, discovered, that a considerable army of the *Volsci* and *Hernici* were to join the *Latin* forces in three days. Upon this intelligence, *Posthumus* drew his three bodies of troops together, which amounted in all to no more than twenty-four thousand foot, and one thousand horse, with a design to engage the enemy before the arrival of the succours they expected. Accordingly he encouraged his men, and, with his army in battle array, advanced to the place where the enemy was encamped. The *Latins*, who were much superior to the *Romans* in numbers, and besides began to want provisions, did not decline the
- d engagement. *Titus Tarquinius*, at the head of the *Roman* exiles and deserters, was in the centre, *Mamilius* in the right wing, and *Sextus Tarquinius* in the left. In the *Roman* army the dictator commanded in the centre, *Æbutius* in the left wing, and *Virginus* in the right. The first body that advanced was that of the dictator, and, as soon as it began to march, *T. Tarquinius* singling out the dictator, ran full speed against him. The dictator did not decline the encounter, but flying at his adversary, wounded him with a javelin in the right side. Upon this, the first line of the *Latins* advanced to cover their general; but he being carried out of the field, they made but a faint resistance when charged by the troops of the dictator. They were destitute of a leader, and therefore began to retire, when *Sextus Tarquinius*, taking the place of his brother, brought them back to the charge, and renewed the fight with such vigour, that the victory in the centre was still doubtful. On the side of *Mamilius* and *Æbutius*, both parties, encouraged by the example of their leaders, fought with incredible bravery and resolution. After a long and bloody contest, the two generals agreed to determine the doubtful victory by a single combat. Accordingly the two champions pushed on their horses against each other. *Æbutius* with his lance wounded *Mamilius* in the breast; and *Mamilius* with his sword *Æbutius* in the right arm. Neither of the wounds were mortal; but both generals falling from their horses, put an end to the combat. *Marcus Valerius*, the brother of *Poplicola*, supplying the place of *Æbutius*, endeavoured, at the head of the *Roman* horse, to break the enemy's battalions; but was repulsed by the cavalry of the *Roman* royalists. At the same time *Mamilius* appeared again in the van with a considerable body of horse and light-armed infantry. *Valerius*, with the assistance of his two nephews, the sons of *Poplicola*, and a chosen troop of volunteers, attempted to break through the *Latin* battalions, in order to engage *Mamilius*; but being surrounded by the *Roman* exiles, he received a mortal wound in his side, fell from his horse, and died. The dead body was carried off by the two sons of *Poplicola*, in spite of the utmost efforts of the exiles, and delivered to *Valerius's* servants, who conveyed it to the *Roman* camp; but the young heroes being afterwards invested on all sides, and overpowered by numbers, were both killed on the spot. Upon their death, the left wing of the
- g *Romans* began to give ground; but were soon brought back by *Posthumus*, who,

A new dictator created.

The battle of Regillus.

with a body of *Roman* knights, flying to their assistance, charged the royalists with such fury, that they were, after an obstinate resistance, obliged to give way, and retire in the utmost confusion. In the mean time *Titus Horminius*, one of the dictator's lieutenants, having rallied those who had fled, fell upon some close battalions of the enemy's right wing, which still kept their ground under the command of *Mamilius*, killed him with his own hand, and put that body to flight. But while he was busy in stripping the body of his enemy, he received himself a wound, of which he died soon after. *Sextus Tarquinius* in the mean time maintained the fight with great bravery, at the head of the left wing, against the consul *Virginus*, and had even broke through the right wing of the *Roman* army, when the dictator attacked him unexpectedly with his victorious squadrons. Then *Sextus*, having lost at once all hopes of victory, threw himself, like one in despair, into the midst of the *Roman* knights, and there sunk under a multitude of wounds, after he had distinguished himself in a most eminent manner. The death of the three generals was followed by the intire defeat of the *Latin* army. Their camp was taken and plundered, and most of their troops cut in pieces; for of the forty-three thousand men who came into the field, scarce ten thousand returned home. The next morning the *Volsci* and *Hernici* came, according to their agreement, to assist the *Latins*; but finding, upon their arrival, how matters had gone, some of them were for falling upon the *Romans* before they could recover from the fatigue of the preceding day; but others thought it more safe to send ambassadors to the dictator, to congratulate him on his victory, and assure him, that they had left their own country with no other design than to assist *Rome* in so dangerous a war. *Posthumus*, by producing their couriers and letters, gave them to understand, that he was well apprised of their designs and treacherous proceedings. However, out of a regard to the law of nations, he sent them back unhurt, with a challenge to their generals to fight the next day; but the *Volsci* and their confederates, not caring to engage a victorious army, decamped in the night, and returned to their respective countries before break of day.

The *Latins*
defeated.

The whole *Latin*
nation sub-
mits.

THE *Latins*, having now no remedy but an intire submission, sent ambassadors to solicit a peace at *Rome*, yielding themselves intirely to the judgment of the senate. As *Rome* had long since made it a maxim to spare the nations which submitted, the motion of *Titus Lartius*, the late dictator, prevailed, and the ancient treaties with the *Latins* were renewed, on condition however, that they restored the prisoners they had taken, delivered up the deserters, and drove the *Roman* exiles out of *Latium*. Thus ended the last war, which the *Romans* waged with their neighbours on account of their banished king; who, being now abandoned by the *Latins*, *Hetrurians*, and *Sabines*, retired into *Campania* to *Aristodemus*, tyrant of *Cumæ*, and there died in the ninetieth year of his age, and fourteenth of his exile.

Tarquinius dies.

THE freedom, which the *Romans* recovered by the expulsion of *Tarquinius*, being now secured to them by the death of that prince, who was the last of his family, and the *Latin* war ended greatly to the advantage of the republic, *Posthumus* laid down his office, the courts of justice were again opened, and the creditors began to prosecute their debtors (G) with more rigour than ever, which revived the complaints

² DIO. HAL. l. vi. p. 345—350. PLIN. l. xxxiii. L. l. l. c. 4.

(G) When the debtor was insolvent, the creditor had a right to put him in irons, or to sell him as a slave. After a certain number of summonses, the law granted to the debtor thirty days of grace, to raise the sum for which he was accountable. The words of the law are; *Æris confessi, rebusque jure judicatis, triginti dies iusti sunt. Post dein manum endo jactis—Vincito aut nervo, aut compedibus.* After the thirty days were expired, if the debtor had not discharged the debt, he was led to the prætor, who delivered him over to the mercy of his creditors. These bound him, and kept him in chains for the space of sixty days. Afterwards, for three market-days successively, the debtor was brought to the tribunal of the prætor; then a public crier proclaimed in the forum the debt, for which the prisoner was detained. It often happened, that rich persons redeemed the prisoner, by paying his debts; but if no-body appeared in behalf of the debtor, after the third market-day, the creditor had a right to inflict the punishments appointed by the law;

Tertio mundinis capite pœnas dato, aut trans Tiberim peregre venundato, that is, Let him on the third market-day be punished with death, or sold beyond the *Tiber* as a slave. If there were several creditors, they were allowed, in consequence of this severe law, to divide the body of the prisoner into several parts, and share it among them, in proportion to the sum they demanded; But, according to *Quintilian* and *Cæcilius*, humanity and custom had given prescription against so barbarous a law, which was never put in execution. This punishment was changed to coercion; that is, the creditors had a right to imprison their debtors in their own houses, and make them slaves. These were called *nexi*, and not *servi*, because their slavery lasted no longer than till their debts were paid. This coercion was afterwards changed into public imprisonment, which was a less rigorous punishment than the slavery the debtors underwent in the creditors houses, where they were often cruelly treated, and whipped unmercifully.

and

- a and murmurs among the inferior classes. To prevent the disturbances, which this affair might occasion, the senate procured the consulship for *Appius Claudius*, who had ever opposed, with great warmth, the pretensions of the people; but, lest he should exert too great severity, they gave him for his colleague *P. Servilius*, a man of a gentle and humane temper, and greatly beloved by the people. The latter exhorted the senate, as soon as he entered upon his office, to ease the people, and restrain the severity of the creditors; but *Appius* maintained, with his usual constancy, that it was a manifest injustice to relieve the debtors at the expence of the creditors. The senate assembled daily, in order to settle the tranquillity of the city upon a lasting foundation; but met with so many difficulties, the consuls being of different opinions, that they could never come to any conclusion. In the mean time the oppressed populace held secret assemblies in the night, and seemed disposed to rise up in arms; so that the senate began to apprehend nothing less than a civil war. In the midst of these disturbances, the *Volsci*, who were well acquainted with the present state of the city, having drawn together what forces they could, advanced towards *Rome*, promising themselves great advantages from the domestic disorders, and universal confusion, which reigned in the city. It was therefore necessary for the consuls to raise an army; but the *Roman* youth absolutely refused to serve. This disobedience occasioned new disputes between the consuls, *Claudius* being for severity, and *Servilius* for moderation. As the time drew near to take the field against the *Volsci*, the senate decreed, that *Servilius* should command the army, and *Claudius* govern the city. But tho' *Servilius* was looked upon as a friend to the people, yet they refused to lift themselves, unless the senate came first to some determination about the important affair of debts. *Servilius* was therefore obliged to march against the enemy with such only as offered to serve out of a personal affection to him. The *Volsci*, depending on the civil broils at *Rome*, had not been so expeditious in their preparations for the war, as to be in a condition to face a *Roman* army in the field; and therefore they had recourse to entreaties, by which they prevailed upon the good-natured consul to favour them, and grant them a peace, upon condition that they supplied his troops with cloaths and provisions, and delivered to him three hundred hostages of the best families^a.
- b
- c
- d
- e
- f

Domestic broils
at Rome.

The plebeians
refuse to lift
themselves.

An insurrection
at Rome.

- Not long after the return of *Servilius*, the senate was informed from *Latium*, that the *Volsci* were making new preparations for war; that they had engaged the *Hernici* and *Sabines* to join them against *Rome*, and sent deputies to their nation for the same purpose. These deputies the *Latin* ambassadors brought with them, and delivered them up to the senate. Such a treacherous proceeding in the *Volsci*, after they had been so kindly treated by the consul *Servilius*, fired the senate, and war was immediately declared; but while the senators were yet sitting, a plebeian, loaded with chains, appeared in the forum. He was advanced in years, tall of stature, lean, pale, with his eyes sunk into his head, a long beard, and his hair in disorder. At his clamours and gestures the people crowded about him, and all looked on him with great attention, till at length several knew him, and remembered to have served with him in the wars, and to have seen him fight in the first ranks of the legions with great valour. The bare sight of him raised the compassion of the multitude; but when they had heard him give an account of his misfortunes, they were all filled with rage and indignation. He told them, that he was born free; that he had, in eight-and-twenty battles, exposed his life for the good of his country; that, in the last war with the *Sabines*, he not only had been hindered from cultivating his little inheritance, but that the enemy, in an incursion, after having plundered his house, had set it on fire; that the necessities of life, and the tributes, which, notwithstanding his misfortunes, he was obliged to pay, had forced him to contract debts; that the interest being grown, by degrees, to an excessive sum, he was reduced to the melancholy expedient of yielding up his inheritance to discharge part of it; but that the merciless creditor, not being yet quite paid, had dragged him to prison, with two of his children; that, to oblige him to hasten the payment of the residue, he had delivered him over to his slaves, who, by his order, had tore his body with whips. At the same time he flung off his garment, and discovered his back still bloody; and on his breast the scars of the honourable wounds, which he had received in fighting for his country. At this sight, the people, already ripe for sedition, uttered a thou-

^a Idem ibid. p. 361. Liv. l. ii. c. 22.

land curses against the patricians, and made such outcries, as terrified the senate, a which was then sitting. The people flocked from all quarters of the city into the forum; the artificers left their shops; and those, who were confined for debt, having found means to escape from their creditors, with the frightful figure they made, with their ragged clothes, and the noise of their chains, raised both pity and indignation. These unhappy wretches spread themselves all over the city; and if any one offered to stop them, he was immediately massacred by the enraged multitude. The consul Appius, seeing that the fury of the mutineers was like to fall upon him, left the senate, and, by favour of the tumult, got safe to his own house. Servilius, having pulled off his robe, that he might be thereby more agreeable to the people, ran into the thickest of the croud; and tho' he embraced some, threw himself at the feet of others, b and shewed great compassion for all, yet he could not prevail upon them to suspend all acts of violence to the next day, till he had promised, that the senate should have regard to their complaints; nay, he went further, and proclaimed by a herald, that no one should molest any Roman citizen for debt, till the senate had decreed otherwise.

THE next day the forum was soon filled, both with citizens and country-people, brought thither by their common interest. The senate assembled, and Servilius laid before them the necessity, in such a conjuncture, of abating somewhat of the severity of the laws. On the other hand, Appius pretended, that this project tended to the ruin of the subordination necessary in a well-governed state; and that c the condescension, which Servilius was for shewing to the necessities of the people, would be looked upon by the seditious, only as a disguised weakness, and so breed new pretensions. As Appius could not bear contradiction, his speech was tinged with the harshness of his manners; he even came to personal reflections, and represented his colleague as a vile flatterer of the plebeians, and a favourer of the revolt. Servilius, in his turn, reproached him with the obstinacy of his temper, his pride, and the animosity he shewed against the people. The senators were divided between these two great men; so that there was no end of their disputes. In the mean time the people expected with impatience a decree in their favour, and there not being a sufficient number of senators assembled for that purpose, they imputed their absence d to the consuls management, in order to frustrate their hopes. While the people were yet in the forum, they saw some horsemen come full speed to acquaint the Romans, that the Volsci were advancing with a design to besiege Rome. The plebeians were overjoyed to see their own country in danger; and when the debtors were invited to take up arms in defence of the common liberty, they shewed the chains, with which their creditors had loaded them. *Is it not the same thing to us,* said they, *whether these chains are put upon us by the enemy, or by our own countrymen? Let the patricians expose their lives, since they alone reap advantage from our victories. Shall we make a rampart with our bodies, only to hinder the enemy from pulling down our prisons, and carrying away our chains?* It was necessary, in this extremity, that something should be done to e quell the tumult, and induce the people to lend their assistance against an insulting enemy. Appius was obstinate and inflexible; but Servilius was prevailed upon by his friends to make the people such promises in the name of the senate, as the senators were firmly resolved never to perform. He told them, that it was not consistent with the dignity of the senate to comply with their demands, as it were out of fear; but that, when the war should be ended, the senate would in gratitude remit all their debts. This discourse abated the fury of the populace; and the reading a decree, which passed the same day, intirely quelled it. All creditors were thereby forbidden to prosecute any Roman citizen for debt, who was willing to serve, or to seize his children or his goods; but the creditors were commanded to prosecute all such debtors with the utmost severity, as either should refuse to serve, or desert after they f were inrolled. To this wise law Rome owed her preservation; for it was no sooner published, than multitudes crouded to the capitol, and even made interest to be admitted into the legions. When the levies were completed, Servilius marched to meet the enemy, and encamped near the Pontine lake (H); where the Volsci, attempting

The consul Servilius, by fair promises, engages the people to assist themselves.

(H) The Pontine lake took its name from the city of Pometia, formerly one of the most considerable cities of Latium. This part of Latium, before it was

laid under water by the overflowing of the Nymphæus, the Amajens, the Asura, and the Ufens, was thought the garden of Italy. There were, according

a attempting to surprize his camp, were intirely defeated. The consul, to reward his soldiers, gave them all the spoil, that they might have wherewithal to pay their debts (1). He then marched to *Suessa Pomertia*, the capital of the *Volsci*, took it by assault, and put all to the sword who were able to bear arms. He gave likewise this wealthy city up to be plundered by the soldiers, without reserving any part of the spoil for the public treasury. In the mean time *Appius*, who had been left in *Rome*, beheaded the three hundred hostages, which the *Volsci* had given to the *Romans* upon *Servilius's* first expedition ^a.

So glorious a campaign had merited the honours of a triumph for the consul, who returned to the city with hopes of obtaining it; but, on his arrival, he was informed, that his colleague *Appius* had persuaded the senate to refuse him it, under pretence, that b he was a seditious man, who aimed at popularity, by an excessive indulgence and profuseness to his soldiers. *Servilius*, being sensibly affected with the unjust proceedings of the senate, took a bold step, which afterwards proved a fatal precedent to his country. He no sooner came before *Rome*, which none were allowed to enter who demanded a triumph, but he caused the people to be called together in a field without the walls, and there complained to them, both of the jealousy of his colleague, and the injustice of the senate; upon which the people encouraged him by their acclamations to attempt whatever he pleased. Without regard therefore to the decision of the senate, he decreed himself a triumph, and marched, with the usual pomp, c to the capitol, followed by his army, and attended by all the people ^a.

WHILE the people were taken up with public games and rejoicings, on account of the victory over the *Volsci*, ambassadors arrived from the *Aurunci*, demanding, that the *Roman* garison in *Ecetra*, a *Volscian* town, which had lately submitted to *Rome*, should be removed from thence, and adding threatnings, in case of refusal. As *Ecetra* stood on the confines of the country of the *Aurunci*, they had taken umbrage at the neighbourhood of that garison. The senate therefore sent the envoys back with this answer, Go, tell your masters, that it is a dangerous thing to attack those, whose very neighbourhood is formidable to them. The *Aurunci*, provoked at this answer, entered *Latium*, and advanced as far as *Aricia*, where they were met by the *Roman* army, under the command of *Servilius*, and the famous *Posthumius*, surnamed *Regillensis*, from the victory he had gained over the *Latins* at the lake *Regillus*. The battle which ensued was very bloody; but the *Romans*, tho' at first greatly disheartened at the gigantic stature, fierce looks, and martial air of the enemy, gained at length a d complete victory, and made themselves masters of the camp of the *Aurunci*, who retired into their own country. Of all the plebeians, who served in this, and in the late war with the *Volsci*, none behaved with more gallantry than those who were most in debt. The people therefore thought, that, after so many victories, they might demand of the senate the performance of *Servilius's* promise. But the inflexible *Appius* even doubled the severity of the judgments he gave against such debtors as were brought before his tribunal; he ordered all those, who had been set at liberty during the war, to be brought back to their creditors prisons by force. Those who e were arrested, appealed to *Servilius*, urging the promises he had made before the campaign, and the services they had done in the war; but *Appius* having got the ascendant in the senate, *Servilius* had not interest enough to prevail upon them to make good his word given in their name, or to protect the unhappy

^a DIO. HAL. p. 362.—365. LIV. l. ii. c. 23.—25. ^a DIO. HAL. & LIV. *ibid.*

ing to *Pliny* (1), twenty-three cities in it, which are supposed to have been drowned by inundations, or overturned by earthquakes; for there were no remains of them to be seen in the time of *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*.

(1) It was customary, in the beginning of the commonwealth, to divide the spoils between the victorious army and the public treasury. The product of these spoils was generally applied to the building of temples, the celebrating of public games, or the adorning of the city. *Servius* tells us (3), that the generals thought themselves obliged to appropriate part of the fruit of their victories to the god, whose protection they had invoked. Agreeable

to this custom, adds the same writer, there was a temple in *Rome*, consecrated to *Jupiter the plunderer*, *Jovis predatori*. *Servilius* was accused by his colleague of having acted contrary to the law, which ordained, that the general, who returned from any military expedition, should not dispose of the spoil as he pleased. This law made him accountable for it; but nevertheless the republic often dispensed with it, and left it to the discretion of the general to distribute such military rewards among his soldiers, as he thought fit; provided he gave an account of his administration to the people, and did not appropriate to his own use the fruits of the conquests he had made in the name of the republic.

(2) *Plin. l. iii. c. 5.*

(3) *Servius in l. iii. Æneid.*

wretches;

wretches; so that he became as much despised, as *Appius* was hated. This appeared a very remarkably when the time came to consecrate a temple, which had been erected to *Mercury*. The consecrator was to enjoy considerable powers and privileges; and on this account the senate, unwilling to disgust either *Appius* or *Servilius*, referred the whole matter to the people. The curiæ were therefore assembled, with full power to chuse whom they pleased; and they, to shew how much they were displeased with both the consuls, bestowed the honour of consecrating the temple on one *Latiarius*, who was only a centurion. Hereupon *Appius* and *Servilius*, equally enraged, joined with the senate in putting in execution the laws against debtors with the utmost severity; but the people, paying no regard to their authority, when any plebeian was prosecuted for debt, crowded into the forum, and made such a noise, that the sentence pronounced by the judges could not be heard. They no longer endeavoured to appease their creditors, or mollify the senate by entreaties, but insulted both; so that the patricians, and not the plebeians, were now in danger of imprisonment and slavery.

The Sabines
revolt; but the
people refuse to
serve.

In the mean time the *Sabines*, encouraged by these intestine broils, revolted, and engaged the Roman colony of *Medulia* to enter into an alliance with them; which was confirmed by mutual oaths. The new consuls, *A. Virginus* and *T. Valerius*, both men of little note, summoned the tribes, in order to raise an army for the war, which threatened them; but the people obstinately refused to list themselves, till such time as all debts should be cancelled. Hereupon the consuls, ascending their tribunal, called upon one of the most factious by name to come and be enrolled. As the man did not answer the summons, he was instantly seized; but the populace tore him out of the lictors hands, and insulted both the consuls, and patricians who attended them. While the city was thus rent into factions, and all things seemed to tend to a civil war, envoys arrived from the *Latins* and *Crustumini*, complaining of the hostilities of the *Æqui* and *Sabines*, and at the same time ambassadors from the *Volsci*, demanding restitution of the lands, which had been taken from them in the late war. These embassies filled the Romans with consternation or joy, according to the party each had embraced. As it was necessary to give all these depuxies proper answers, the senate assembled, and, after long debates, returned the following answer to the ambassadors of the *Volsci*, viz. That it was not consistent with the honour of the republic to comply with their demands. As to the *Latins* and *Crustumini*, who were in alliance with *Rome*, they were assured, that the republic would not leave them exposed to the insults of their enemies, without sending them succours. With these answers the ambassadors were dismissed; but as *Rome* could neither protect her allies, nor repulse her enemies, unless peace were first established at home, the senate met again the next day, to deliberate about the methods necessary to procure that happiness. The consul *Virginus* was for protecting those debtors, who had fought so successfully the last year, and for leaving the others to the severity of the law. *Titus Lanius*, that venerable senator, who had been formerly dictator, pleaded in behalf of all debtors. *Appius*, when it came to his turn to speak, enumerated all the motives, which had engaged him to side with the patricians; declared, that he could not change his opinion; urged the dangerous consequences of violating contracts between debtors and creditors; and, in the close of his speech, proposed the naming a dictator in the present extremity. This expedient was thought dangerous by some of the oldest senators; but the motion was carried by a majority, and *Manius Valerius*, a man of seventy years of age, brother to the famous *Poplicola*, was nominated by one of the consuls, contrary to the law, which required, that the dictator should be chosen out of such as had been, or were actually consuls; but as no man was judged more proper for that station at this time, the necessity of the case made the senate overlook its rules. *Valerius*, as soon as he was proclaimed dictator, named for his general of the horse *Quintus Servilius*, brother to the last year's consul; and finding the minds of the people well inclined to his government, he ascended the tribunal, and harangued the multitude, putting them in mind of the great zeal his family had always shewed for their interest, and desiring, in return, their confidence. He promised, that, if they would lend their assistance, and serve their country at this time, he would procure for them from the senate, all the reasonable condescensions they could expect. And in the mean time, said he, I command, that no mention be made of confiscations or imprisonment.

Manius Valerius, a brother
of Poplicola,
created dictator

- a *sonments, during my administration.* The people, depending on the promises of the dictator, took arms with pleasure, and ten legions were soon raised; three of which were given to each consul, and four reserved for the dictator. *Veturius* was ordered to march against the *Æqui*, *Virginus* against the *Volsci*, and the dictator himself led his legions against the *Sabines*. The three generals were all attended with good success, and it proved a glorious campaign for the republic. *Valerius* on his return was honoured with a triumph, and as a further mark of distinction, both the senate and people agreed in allotting him an honourable place in the circus, at the celebration of the public games, and appointed that a curule chair should be always placed there for him; an honour which they made hereditary in his family ^a.
- b BUT now *Valerius* remembering his promises to the people, demanded of the senate the performance of them. But the patrician usurers had made such a party in the senate during his absence, that the senators not only refused to comply with his demands, but reproached him with the affliction of his family for the plebeians, and taxed him with betraying the interests of the senate. The prudent dictator, to prevent, in some degree, the misfortunes which threatened the republic, sent a colony of poor debtors to *Velitra*, which had been just taken from the *Volsci*. But as there still remained a great number of those unhappy wretches; he solicited anew the senate in their favour. But his motion being rejected, he told the senators in great anger, that perhaps in a short time they would wish for such an intercessor with the people, and leaving the senate abruptly, summoned the people. When the assembly was formed, he appeared in it with all the ensigns of his dignity; and in the first place acknowledged his obligations to them; then he made great complaints of the unfincere conduct of the senate with regard both to them and him; and lastly declared his resolution to retire, or to surrender himself up to their resentments, if they suspected that he had betrayed their interest. Having ended his speech, he laid down his employment, and stripped himself of the badges of the dictatorship. The people, who had heard him with sentiments of respect and veneration, conducted him quite home to his house with loud acclamations, as if he had procured the abolition of their debts. The senate, to prevent the disorders which they foresaw must attend the abdication of an injured dictator, ordered the two consuls, who still held the soldiers engaged by their oath (K), to lead the army into the field, under pretence that the *Æqui* and *Sabines* were making fresh preparations for war. The soldiery, who were well apprised of the artifice, went out of *Rome* with the utmost rage; and therefore, as soon as they were in the field, some of the most seditious proposed the assassinating of the consuls, not out of any personal hatred, but merely to free themselves from the oath which bound them to their command. Others thought it would be monstrous to put an end to the religious engagements they had entered into with the consuls, by criminal means, and on that account rejected the motion. After the leaders of the mutiny had considered of various projects, they concluded at last to carry away the military ensigns and standards, and engage all the troops to follow them without the privity of their officers (L). This

The *Æqui*, *Volsci*, and *Sabines*, defeated.

The senate refuses to comply with the demands of the dictator in favour of the people.

He resigns his dignity.

^a DION. HAL. p. 373. LIV. *ibid*.

(K) The giving the military oath, called *sacramentum*, was, properly speaking, the legal method of forming the Roman armies. After the soldiers had been chosen out of each tribe, this oath was administered to them in the following manner: The tribunes of each legion assembled the bodies they commanded. Then one soldier in a legion swore, in the name of all the rest, to obey the commander of the Roman army. After this, every soldier came and singly engaged to perform what had been sworn. In process of time another oath, called by *Livy* (4) *jusiurandum*, was added to this, by virtue of which rebels and deserters were punished with death, and no appeal admitted. There was likewise another way of inlisting men, called *conjuratio*, which took place in unforeseen commotions and sudden irruptions of an enemy. Then, that no time might be lost in raising the necessary forces, the soldiers were excused the formalities usually observed in inrolling them. The general only went up to the *capitol*,

and there erected two standards, one red for the foot, and the other blue for the horse. After this, he pronounced these words: *Let those, who love the safety of the republic, make haste and follow me.* A third way of inrolling men was this: the consuls committed to the care of persons appointed for that purpose the raising of troops in different places, as the republic had occasion for them; and this was called *evocatio*. The military oath was so essential in inlisting men, that no Roman could serve in the army, even as a volunteer, or kill an enemy, till he had bound himself by a solemn promise to obey his general. In consequence of this custom, which was authorized by law, *Tully* tells us (5), that *Cato* wrote to *Pomilius* to inform him, that his son could not continue in the army without taking the military oath again, the time of his former engagement being expired.

(L) *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* gives us the reason why the legions so readily followed their ensigns.

The

The soldiers desert their generals and retire.

The senate dispatched pious missions to the malecontents.

Warm debates in the senate.

design was executed under the conduct of a plebeian, named *Sicinnius Bellatus*. The troops marched away, and encamped beyond the *Anio*, three miles from *Rome*, on a hill called afterwards the *sacred mount*, as their retreat was styled *the secession*.

THE first thing the rebellious army did, was to chuse themselves a general, and *Sicinnius* was the man they pitched upon. Then they secured themselves within strong intrenchments, where they lay quiet without committing any hostilities. The consuls and officers, seeing themselves thus deserted by their troops, dispatched a messenger to *Sicinnius*, exhorting him to return to the camp, and bring back the troops to their duty. But he returned such an answer, as shewed that he was determined to keep no measures with the patricians. A desertion so general, and which looked like the beginning of a civil war, gave great uneasiness to the senate, and occasioned a general consternation in the city. The patricians were forced to guard the gates themselves, in order to prevent the citizens from going out to join the malecontents. But notwithstanding this precaution, those who were burdened with debts, and such as loved novelty, escaped, and flocked to the camp of *Sicinnius*. In this general confusion the senate met daily, and after warm debates, in which they mutually accused each other of indulgence and severity, they at length agreed to send a deputation to the malecontents, offering them a general pardon, and exhorting them to return to the city. But this step only served to increase the insolence of the soldiers. The deputies were therefore sent back contemptuously with no other answer, but that the patricians should quickly find what enemies they had to deal with. This answer occasioned new alarms in the city. In the mean time, the two consuls, whose magistracy was expiring, assembled the centuries, which were left in *Rome*, for the election of their successors, and as no body at so dangerous a conjuncture stood candidate for that dignity, they obliged *Posthumus Cominius*, and *Spurius Cassius Viscellinus*, both consular men, and equally agreeable to the plebeians and patricians, to accept the consulship. Their first care was to convene the senate to deliberate upon the most speedy and easy methods of restoring peace and union. *Menenius Agrippa*, a man of great integrity, and who had stood neuter in the divisions of the people and senate, being the first called upon to give his opinion, declared warmly for a reconciliation with the people, and proposed the sending of such deputies, as were agreeable to them, with full power to make up matters upon whatever conditions they should think necessary for the good of the republic. *M. Valerius*, the late dictator, being desired next to give his opinion, upbraided the senate with neglecting his former counsels; accused their indiscretion in not offering the people an abolition of their debts by the first deputation, foretold, that the mutineers would, besides their first demands, insist upon lasting securities for their future preservation from oppression; lastly, he declared for the opinion of *Menenius*, advising the senate not to delay one moment giving the people satisfaction, let their demands be what they would. *Appius*, when it was his turn to speak, opposed, in a very plausible harangue, the opinion of *Menenius* and *Valerius*, and declared intirely against treating with the rebels, till they had laid down their arms; but on that condition was for shewing them mercy and indulgence. Hereupon the senate was divided; the old men were for *Menenius Agrippa*, and *Valerius*; the young senators, jealous of the prerogatives of their rank, declared all for *Appius*, and the uproar was so great, that they almost came to blows. The two consuls, who were disposed to favour the people, having conferred together in private, determined to give time to those hot spirits to cool, and with that view put off the decision of this great affair to another day. But before the assembly broke up, in order to intimidate

* DION. HAL. p. 375. LIV. l. ii. c. 30.

The Romans, says he, when they are in the field, respect nothing more than their ensigns and standards. They swear by their military ensigns, and pay them a sort of religious worship. On certain festivals they crown them with flowers, and perfume them. Animated by this superstitious prejudice, they exposed themselves to the greatest dangers, and despised death itself to secure those precious pledges, and prevent their being taken by the enemy. Those, to whose care they were committed, were either put to death, or whipped, if they suffered the enemy to take them. The Romans in the times of their first simplicity had no other ensigns or colours, but a bundle of hay or

grass fastened to the top of a long pole, as we have observed above. In succeeding ages they made use of the figures of monsters and animals, viz. of eagles, dragons, boars, wolves, &c. Each manipulus had its own ensign. The horse made use of a standard, called *vexillum*, which was made of a piece of rich stuff, about a foot square. It was fastened to a cross piece of wood, which was fixed to the top of a pike. But the form of the ensigns and standards varied according to the times, and the temper of the Romans, as we shall have occasion to observe in the sequel of this history.

the

- a the young senators, who had behaved in a very audacious manner, they threatened to exclude them from the senate, by fixing the age (M) necessary for a senator, unless they brought a more peaceable disposition of mind along with them. Some days after the senate met anew, when every thing was transacted with great tranquillity, *Menenius* being desired again to declare his sentiments, still continued to think it necessary that plenipotentiaries should be sent to the malecontents, with full power to grant them whatever they should think consistent with the good of the republic. All the senators, who had been consuls, agreed with *Menenius*, except *Appius*, who, when it came to his turn to speak, continued to protest against treating with rebels, till they had laid down their arms, and prayed *Jupiter*, and the tutelar gods of *Rome*, that he might be
- b deceived in his apprehensions of the evil consequences of such a stop.

HOWEVER, the senate determined by all means to divert the present evil, continued in their former resolution of sending commissioners to treat with the malecontents, and accordingly ten were named, and among them *T. Lartius*, *Menenius Agrippa*, and *M. Valerius*, all three in great esteem, and of whom two had governed the republic, and commanded her armies in quality of dictators. These with their colleagues set out for the camp, where they were received with all the respect due to their character. The presence of the deputies had been sufficient to bring back the mutineers to their duty, had not some turbulent spirits taken care to keep up the fire of discord. These were *Sennius Bellutus*, and another plebeian much of the same character, named

c *Lucius Junius*, like the founder of the republic; nay, he affected the surname of *Brutus*, thinking himself destined to deliver the people from the tyranny of the senate, as the famous *Brutus* had freed *Rome* from the oppressions of the kings. These two being appointed by the malecontents to treat with the deputies from the senate, effaced with their crafty and artful speeches the impression, which the presence of the deputies and their harangues had made on the minds of the multitude. But *Menenius Agrippa*, after having assured them that the senate had, with unanimous consent, determined to annul all bonds and obligations at present subsisting, so softened the populace by this promise, and the famous apologue of a conspiracy of all the members of the human body against the stomach, which he applied to the people and the senate, that they

d all cried out that they were satisfied, and that he might lead them back to *Rome*. This sudden motion alarmed the pretended *Brutus*, who represented to the people, that they ought indeed to be very thankful for the favour shewed them at present in the abolition of their debts; but that he could not forbear letting them know that he was very apprehensive about the future, and therefore was of opinion that means should be found to secure the liberties of the people against the attempts of the ambitious patricians.

The artful management of Junius Brutus, one of the heads of the sedition.

What other security can you ask, replied *Menenius*, besides what our laws, and the constitution of the republic already afford? Give us leave, answered *Brutus*, to chuse annually out of the body of the plebeians a certain number of magistrates, who without having any other authority in *Rome* but that of protecting them, may oppose or

e disannul any edicts or judgments which shall be burdensome to the people. If you come hither with a sincere intention of peace, you cannot reject so equitable a proposal. The deputies, greatly surprised at such a demand, told them that they asked a very extraordinary thing, which absolutely exceeded the bounds of their instructions and powers; but that *M. Valerius*, and some others of the deputies would go and make their report of it to the senate, and return with an answer. Accordingly, they repaired with all speed to *Rome*, where *M. Valerius* gave his opinion in favour of the people, while *Appius*, burning with indignation, exclaimed against the dreadful consequences which would attend *Valerius's* condescension. But his remonstrances were neglected, and

(M) It is manifest from hence, that the laws had not yet determined at what age one might be admitted into the senate; and yet that there was a fixed age afterwards required is very certain; for *Tully*, in speaking of *Pompey* (6), says, that he commanded armies before he had attained to the age that was required in a senator; the same is affirmed by *Plutarch*; and no expression is more frequently made use of by the ancient historians in the lives of great men, than that of *etate senatoria*. But what age the laws fixed is uncertain. *Dio Cassius* limits it to five and twenty, which was the age required for the

questorship, the first office of any considerable note. However, we read of many persons promoted to this dignity without any regard had to their years. *Pompey* established among the *Bithynians* a law, by which no one could become a member of their senate till he was thirty complete. It is probable, he followed the custom of the *Roman* republic in this regulation; and the more so, because *Pliny* the younger, in one of his letters to the emperor *Trajan*, says, that the *Bithynians* made the *Romans* their patterns, especially in what related to their magistracy and senate.

(6) *Cic. pro lege Manil.*

Tribunes of the
people created.
Year of the
flood 2911.
Before Christ
488.
Of Rome 160.

The people re-
turn to Rome.

The tribunes
enlarge their
authority.

The Volsci and
Antiates de-
feated.

the other side prevailed, most of the senators being weary of these divisions, and a desirous to have peace at any rate; so that with almost an universal consent, a *senatus-consultum* or decree of the senate was passed, permitting the creation of these new magistrates, who were called *Tribunes of the people*. This decree, which included also the abolition of debts, was carried by the deputies of the senate to the camp as a seal of peace. The people were now for returning to Rome, but the leaders of the sedition would not allow them to separate before they had elected the new magistrates. The assembly was held in the very camp, and the auspices being taken, the suffrages were gathered by curiæ, when *L. Junius Brutus*, and *C. Sicinnius Bellutus* were, according to *Dionysius*, chosen for the first tribunes. These immediately named the two *Licini*, *Publius*, and *Caius*, with *Sp. Icilius Ruge* to be their colleagues. *Livy* says, that *C. b* *Licinius*, and *Lucius Albinus*, were the first tribunes, and that they afterwards chose themselves three colleagues, among whom was *Sicinnius Bellutus*. Before they left the camp a law was passed, whereby the persons of the tribunes were made sacred. The words of the law were, *Let the tribune of the people be exempt from all the servile offices imposed on the citizens. Let none of these offices be laid upon him, but by his own consent. Let no one strike him, or cause another to strike him. If any offend in this, let him be execrable, and his goods appropriated to the worship of Ceres. If any one kills him, any person may kill the murderer with impunity.* To make this law perpetual, all the Romans were obliged to swear, for themselves and their posterity, that they would inviolably observe it. After these regulations the people erected an altar to *Jupiter c* the terrible on the top of the hill, where they had incamped, and having consecrated the place of their retreat, which from this time was called the *sacred mount*, they followed the deputies of the senate, and returned to the city.

THE tribunes were at first five in number, but a few years after five more were added. They were always chosen by the plebeians, and out of their body. Their sole function was to defend the liberties of the plebeians, and so interpose in all grievances offered them by their superiors. This interposing in matters determined by the senate, or other magistrates, was called *intercessio*, and was performed by standing up, and pronouncing only one word, *Veto, I forbid it*. They had their seats placed at the door of the senate, and were never admitted into it, but when the consuls called them d to ask their opinion upon some affair that concerned the interests of the people. As for the ensigns of their office, they had no *toga prætexta*, lictors, or curule chair; but were habited like private men, and attended only by one servant, called *Viator*. Their power was confined within the walls of Rome, or extended at most to a mile round the city. They were not allowed to be absent from the city a day, *Dion* says an hour, except in the *feriæ Latinæ*. To shew their readiness to protect the people, they were obliged to keep their doors open night and day. Their authority was very great; for though at first they pretended only to prevent oppression, yet afterwards they usurped the power of doing almost whatever they pleased, having the populace to back them. They assembled the people, enacted laws, made decrees, and executed them upon the magistrates themselves, commanding sometimes the very consuls to be carried to prison. In short, they occasioned far greater disturbances in the state than those which they were first created to appease, whence they are styled by some of the ancients, *the bane of the public tranquillity*.

ONE of the first steps of the tribunes towards an increase of power was to ask permission of the senate to chuse two assistants in the execution of their office. This new demand was also complied with, and two men were chosen out of the plebeians to be the tribunes, assistants, or agents. These afterwards had the cognizance of a great many affairs, which before belonged to the consuls, and the inspection of all buildings both public and private; from which last branch of their office they took the name of *Ædiles*, with the epithet of *Plebeian*, to distinguish them from the *Ædiles curules*, of whom we shall speak hereafter.

Rome being now in a profound peace at home, troops were easily raised to march against the *Volsci*, whom the consul *Cominius* defeated in a pitched battle, and took from them *Langula* and *Polusca*. He marched next to besiege *Corioli*, the metropolis of the *Volsci*, and strongly fortified; which he likewise made himself master of, and gained a victory over the *Antiates* the same day. But *Caius Marcius*, a young patrician, had all the glory of both actions. For the besieged having made a vigorous sally,

* DIO. HAL. p. 386—410. LIV. l. iii. c. 30—33.

a and driven the *Romans* back quite to their intrenchments, *Marcus* by his words and example rallied the fugitives, brought them back to the charge, and having obliged the enemy to retire into the city, followed them so close, that he went in with them, and made himself master of the place. He then hastened, without suffering his soldiers to stay for plunder, to join the consul's army, which was upon the point of engaging with the *Antiates*, who were come to assist their allies. In the engagement which ensued, he behaved with equal bravery, and was attended with equal success, the victory, which was gained, being intirely owing to his courage and prudent conduct. The next day the consul, having caused his tribunal to be erected before his tent, and called his soldiers together, made an harangue to them, which was little more than a panegyric on the brave *Marcus*. He put a crown of gold upon his head, assigned him a tenth part of all the spoil, gave him a fine horse with stately furniture in the name of the republic, allotted him as much money as he could carry away, and lastly, allowed him to chuse out any ten of the prisoners. But of all these presents the young hero accepted only the horse, and demanded but one captive of the ten, an old friend of his family, with a design to give him his liberty. This generous and disinterested conduct silenced even jealousy itself. All respected an hero, whose sentiments were as noble as his valour signal. But the consul, to add to the glory of the brave warrior, bestowed on him the surname of *Coriolanus*, transferring thereby from himself to *Marcus* all the honour of the conquest of *Corioli* ^{The gallant behaviour of Caius Marcus Coriolanus.}.

c THE enemies of *Rome* being terrified by the reduction of the *Volsci*, kept quiet at home; so that the consul disbanded his army, and war was succeeded by works of religion, public games, and treaties of peace. The ancient alliance was renewed with the *Latins*, and a third day added to the *feria Latina*. In the mean time *Menenius Agrippa* died in as great poverty as *Poplicola*. His relations resolved to bury him without ceremony. But the people, at the motion of their new tribunes, agreed to pay a *sextans*, or two ounces of brass, a head, towards the expences of a magnificent funeral. Upon this the senate, thinking it would reflect no small dishonour upon them to suffer an illustrious patrician to be buried at the expence of the people, allotted a sum out of the public treasury for his funeral, and committed the care of it to the *quæstors*. Nevertheless the people refused to receive back their money, ordering it to be given to the children of the deceased *Menenius*. This memorable consulship ended with a *census* and *lustrum*, and there appeared to be but a hundred thousand men in *Rome* fit to bear arms.

UNDER the new administration of *T. Geganus* and *P. Minucius*, *Rome* suffered greatly by a famine, and this calamity revived the civil dissensions. The senate, to disburden the city, sent away great numbers of the people to plant colonies at *Velitra* and *Norba*, in spite of the opposition of the tribunes. In the mean time the *Antiates*, taking advantage of the famine, with which *Rome* was afflicted, and of the discord between the people and the senate, made incursions to the very gates of the city. *Coriolanus* could not bear this insult, and therefore, as the tribunes still opposed any regular levies being made, he put himself at the head of a band of volunteers, advanced into the enemy's country, defeated them in several engagements, and returned loaded with a rich booty, consisting of corn, cattle, and slaves. At this the patricians triumphed, and the plebeians, who had remained behind, complained of their tribunes for having diverted them from following so successful a leader. On the other hand, the tribunes, whose credit subsisted only by the misunderstanding they fomented between the two orders in the commonwealth, endeavoured to stir up the populace to a general revolt, openly accusing the patricians of being the cause of the scarcity, while their own families, they said, were plentifully supplied with provisions. The senate, alarmed at the storm that threatened them, met daily to deliberate on the means to avert it. Some of the senators were for employing soft words and fair promises to gain over the most mutinous. But the opinion of *Appius* prevailed, which was, that the tribunes should be threatened with the severest punishments, as disturbers of the public peace, if they did not amend their behaviour. But when the consuls came to declare to the *curiæ* the resolution of the senate, the tribunes interrupted them, and even disputed with them the right of speaking in the *comitia*, contending that their province was confined to the senate. The contest growing very warm, and the hottest in each party being ready to come to blows, *Brutus*, who was now but *ædile*, desired leave of ^{Rome suffers greatly by a famine. The civil dissensions revived.}

^a DIO. HAL. p. 412—414. LIV. l. ii. PLUT. in Coriol. ^b DIO. HAL. p. 415. LIV. ubi supra.

the consuls to speak to the people, promising to quiet the dispute. *Geganius* and *Minucius*, pleased with the deference paid them, readily consented to let him say what he thought fit. But he, instead of addressing himself either to the tribunes, or the people, turned to the consul *Geganius*, who had been one of the commissioners sent to the malecontents on the sacred mount, and asked him, whether he remembered, that one of the articles of the late reconciliation was, that no patrician should interrupt those who were appointed to take care of the interests of the people? *I remember it very well*, replied the consul. *Why then*, added *Brutus*, *do you now come hither to disturb the conference between the people and their tribunes? Because*, said *Geganius*, *this assembly was summoned by us, and not by you*. The consul added too rashly, that if the tribunes had convened the assembly, he would not even have come to hear what they said. At these words *Brutus* cried out aloud, *that's enough; you grant all we ask; speak to day as much as you please; to morrow I will tell you how far our power extends, and how far yours*. The next morning, before it was light, the tribunes and *ædiles* went to the temple of *Vulcan*, which stood near the comitium, and there assembled the people, complaining to them of the attempt that had been made the day before, to impose silence upon them in the assembly of the people, whom it was their duty to defend. They then proposed to the curiæ the following law, empowering the tribunes to

harangue the people. *Let no man presume to interrupt a tribune who is speaking in the assembly of the Roman people. If any one break this law, he shall presently give bail to pay the fine, to which he shall be condemned: if he refuses to give this security, he shall be put to death, and his goods confiscated: the difficulties, which may arise about these securities, shall be referred to the people, and determined by them*. This law was confirmed by the suffrages of the people, before the consuls could make any opposition to it. The senate indeed refused to confirm it; but then the people in their turn would not accept the decrees of the senate. Thus these two tribunals were ever opposing one another; but the people always gained their point by their numbers and the unanimity of their leaders.

Fresh disputes about the division of corn.

THE people, satisfied with having enlarged the power of their tribunes, bore the famine patiently, and continued quiet till plenty of corn arriving from *Sicily* furnished the tribunes with a new occasion of rekindling sedition. The senators, who favoured the people, were for distributing gratis among the poor the corn, which had been bought with the public money. But the opposite faction was for holding up the price of bread, in order to keep the populace in dependence and subjection. The famous *Coriolanus*, at the head of the severe party, spoke loudly against shewing any indulgence to the people, proposed the abolishing of the tribuneship, and taking vengeance of the mad rabble for their past insolence. The senators were divided in their opinions, but the major part were for re-establishing the government upon its ancient foundations, and annulling the treaty concluded on the sacred mount. These proceedings enraged the tribunes, who left the assembly in the greatest fury, calling out aloud on the gods, the avengers of perjury, to witness the solemn oaths by which the senate had authorized the establishment of their dignity. The people, fired by their factious tribunes, were ready to break into the senate, and there sacrifice *Coriolanus* to their hatred and revenge. But the tribunes, that their proceedings might be regular, stopt them, and having assembled the curiæ, summoned *Coriolanus* to appear before them. But he despised a summons brought him from a tribunal, which he did not acknowledge. Hereupon the tribunes, with a gang of the most mutinous among the plebeians, waited for him at the door of the senate, with a design to seize him when he came out. But as he had a stronger guard with him than they, composed of young senators, who had a great respect for his person, the tribunes and their officers were beat back. Upon this the uproar was increased on the one hand by the crouds of people, who flocked together from all parts of the city, and on the other by the patricians, who hastened to the assistance of *Coriolanus*. But in the mean time the consuls coming up, dispersed the croud, and partly by intreaties, partly by their authority prevailed upon the people to retire. The next day the tribunes, having assembled the people early in the morning, inveighed, as usual, against the whole order of the patricians, but in particular against *Coriolanus*, repeating the very words he had uttered in the senate relating to the distribution of corn. Then they exaggerated the violence he had used against them the day before, the ill usage their officers had met

Coriolanus summoned to appear before the tribunes.

- a with from him and his company, the great number of men he had always about him, whom they called the tyrant's guards, &c. After they had with long and bitter invectives made *Coriolanus* odious to the people, they added, that if there was any patrician, who would undertake his defence, he might mount the tribunal, and speak to the people. Then *Minucius*, the eldest consul, presenting himself, in a long speech cleared the senate from being the cause of the famine, excused the imprudent warmth of *Coriolanus*, desired them to remember his virtues as well as his faults, and intreated them, in the name of the senate, to forgive him. The gentle words of *Minucius*, joined with promises of sudden plenty, softened and calmed the people. But the artful *Sicinnius*, now tribune of the people a second time, effaced all impressions made on their minds
- b in favour of *Coriolanus*. After having thanked the consuls and patricians for their favourable disposition, he exhorted *Coriolanus* to have recourse to the clemency of the people, and to make an apology for his conduct. The tribune well knew that *Coriolanus* was a man of too lofty a spirit to stoop to supplications, and therefore did not doubt but he would provoke the people afresh with the haughtiness of his answers. Accordingly, the young patrician, instead of appearing as a criminal, assumed the air of a judge, and by an ill-timed resoluteness destroyed the effect of the consul's speech. For he not only owned what he had said in the senate, but gloried in it, and refused to submit to any tribunal, but that of the consuls, protesting with a loud voice, and a threatening look, that he would not have vouchsafed to appear in a tumultuous assembly of seditious men, had it not been to reproach them with their crimes, and put some check to their boundless desires. Lastly, he declared his hatred to the tribunes, whom he called the bane of the public happiness.
- c
- It is easy to imagine that such a speech must greatly offend the plebeians. Some of them were for massacring him on the spot. But *Sicinnius*, thinking it necessary to observe, at least, some appearance of justice, put a stop to the fury of the enraged multitude, and having consulted a part with his colleague, without so much as giving himself the trouble to collect the voices of the assembly, pronounced sentence of death upon him, and ordered him to be thrown down headlong from the top of the *Tarpeian* rock, a punishment inflicted upon such as were enemies to their country. The
- d ædiles instantly advanced with their officers to put the sentence in execution. But the senate, and all the patricians in the assembly, hastening to his assistance, placed him in the midst of them, determined to oppose force with force. And now the people, either thinking their tribunes had carried their animosity too far, or awed by the presence of the consuls, refused to give assistance to their ædiles; *Sicinnius* therefore, by the advice of *Brutus*, resolved to prosecute *Coriolanus* in a legal way, and to convene the people by tribes for his trial. Of this resolution he gave *Coriolanus* notice with the following words: *We cite thee, Coriolanus, to appear before the people in seven and twenty days. He then added, as for the distribution of corn, if the senate does not take due care of that matter, the tribunes will give directions about it themselves.* Having thus
- e spoke, he adjourned the assembly. In the mean time the senate, in order to soothe the people, fixed the price of corn at the lowest rate it ever had been at even before the sedition. The consuls likewise, fearing lest the prosecution of *Coriolanus* should deter others from speaking their mind freely in the senate, did all that lay in their power to appease the tribunes. *Minucius* represented to them, that by an immemorial custom, all proceedings in capital cases were to begin in the senate, and that it belonged to the senators to declare whether it was proper to refer them to the people; he added, that the kings themselves had paid this deference to so august a body, and that he hoped the tribunes would not violate the ancient rules of the government, but apply to the senate, if they had any grievances to lay to the charge of *Coriolanus*; he concluded
- f by assuring them, that according to the nature of the crime, and the solidity of the proofs, the senate would refer the whole matter to the judgment of the people. *Sicinnius* exclaimed against this proposal, pretending that the affair naturally devolved upon the people, as the supreme court of judicature. But the other tribunes, plainly perceiving that they should make themselves odious even to the plebeians, if they so manifestly deviated from the usual forms of justice, agreed to let the senate decide, as usual, whether the people should take cognizance of the matter depending. However, they insisted upon two conditions, which were; 1st, that the tribunes might be heard in the senate, with relation to the grievances which they pretended they had to lay to the charge of the person accused; 2dly, that the senators, after having been sworn, should deliver their opinions regularly, and the consuls pronounce sentence according

Coriolanus provokes the people with the haughtiness of his answers.

Coriolanus condemned to death by the tribunes, but is rescued by the patricians.

to the plurality of voices. These preliminaries being agreed on, the tribunes were introduced into the senate. *Decius*, the youngest of them, but a man of great eloquence, undertook to shew that it belonged to the people to hear and determine the present cause. He cited a law of *Poplicola*, by which the plebeians, when ill treated by the patricians, were allowed to bring their complaints before the assembly of the people; he urged, that *Coriolanus*, having been guilty of a notorious insult on the authority of the people, and the dignity of their tribunes, the people were therefore his legal judges; he exaggerated the heinousness of *Coriolanus's* offence, and advised the senate to withdraw their protection from so proud and insolent a patrician.

WHEN the tribune had ended his speech, the consuls asked the opinion of the assembly, beginning with the oldest, and most venerable senators; for in those days, says *Dionysius*, the young senators were not so presumptuous as to make speeches, or to think themselves capable of instructing their elders. They only gave their opinion by some sign, or by walking over to that side which they thought to be most in the right; whence they were called *Senatores Pedarii*, from the Latin word *pes*, a foot. *Appius Claudius*, when it came to his turn to speak, appeared to be still the same man, an irreconcilable enemy to the people; he enumerated with great warmth all the incroachments of the plebeians. At first, said he, they pleaded poverty, and only demanded an abolition of debts. In the beginning of their seditious separation, they seemed to be content with impunity, and leave to return home. After this they thought fit to demand a college of tribunes to protect them against our decrees. The authority of these officers they would have to be sacred, and their persons inviolable. Then, by the help of these new magistrates, they made laws without our privity, despised the authority of the senate and consuls, and disannulled our decrees. And now, by an unheard-of usurpation, they summon a most illustrious patrician to appear at their tribunal, where he is to be tried as a criminal only for delivering his opinion freely. After this he exclaimed against submitting *Coriolanus* to be tried by the people, or making any concessions to them, and exhorted the senators not to fear a civil war, telling them that both gods and men would join in their defence. But the popular *Valerius* was of a contrary opinion. He exaggerated the horrible consequences of a civil war, and endeavoured to shew, that their paying some deference to the people and their tribunes was the only means to quiet their fury both against their threatened country and the offender. His opinion prevailed, and it was carried by a majority that *Coriolanus* should be tried by the people. When the decree was ready to be drawn up, *Coriolanus*, finding the senate was deserting him, desired to know what crime in particular he was to be accused of; the tribunes answered, that they would confine their whole accusation to the single crime of usurping tyrannical power. Upon that foot, replied *Coriolanus*, I have nothing to object to the decree of the senate; let it be put in writing; I will appear before the people, and answer that frivolous charge. Thus with the consent of all parties the decree was drawn up, and put into the hands of the tribunes, who immediately assembled the people, read it to them, and exhorted all the citizens of the republic, as well those who dwelt in the country, as the inhabitants of Rome, to be in the forum on the day appointed for the decision of this affair. The decree of the senate allowed the accused seven and twenty days to prepare his defence; during which time the tribunes frequently conferred among themselves, and with the leading men among the plebeians, as if the preservation of the republic had depended on the destruction of *Coriolanus*.

The senate consents that *Coriolanus* shall be tried by the people.

WHEN the appointed day came, new disputes arose about the form of the comitia, by which the accused was to be tried. The tribunes had separated the people by tribes before the senators came; whereas from the reign of *Servius Tullius* the voices had always been gathered by centuries. The consuls were for keeping up the ancient custom, being well apprised that they could save *Coriolanus*, if the voices were reckoned by centuries, of which the patricians themselves, and the richest citizens made the majority. But the artful tribunes, alledging that in an affair relating to the rights of the people every citizen's vote should have its due weight, would not by any means consent to let the voices be collected otherwise than by tribes. The people being assembled, *Minutius* the consul spoke first, and endeavoured to persuade the people to be satisfied with *Coriolanus's* submission in being brought to a trial before them, and not suffer it to be said that so illustrious a citizen underwent the forms of justice like a

* DIO. HAL. p. 446, 447. PLUT. *ibid.*

- a criminal. But if you persist, said he, and are determined to vote, remember that the whole senate is come hither to sue for his pardon. Will you refuse it to three hundred of the most venerable men in the republic? No; the most bitter enemy can never hold out against such powerful intercessors. *Sicinnius* answered with a haughty air, that he was not so cowardly as to betray the interests of the people, and that the assembly should not be dismissed till the affair was determined by a majority of voices. Well then, replied *Minucius*, since you obstinately insist that *Coriolanus* shall be tried by this assembly, notwithstanding our intreaties, I demand that, pursuant to your agreement with the senate, you confine your accusation to the single article of tyranny, and bring proofs and witnesses of this crime. *Sicinnius* then began the accusation, and running over the whole life of *Coriolanus*, represented him as aiming, in every part of it, at regal power.

Coriolanus is tried in an assembly of the people by tribes.

- As soon as the tribune had done speaking, *Coriolanus* presented himself in the assembly, and answered the calumnies thrown upon his conduct by a bare recital of his services. He first enumerated the many campaigns he had made in the service of the republic. Then he exposed to the view of the people many crowns, with which he had been rewarded by the *Roman* generals; and every time he shewed the people any of those proofs of his valour, he called upon the commanders, who had honoured him with them, to testify the truth of what he said. He likewise named the many citizens he had saved in battle, and desired them to stand up and witness what he advanced. These men immediately appeared in the midst of the assembly, and stretching out their hands as suppliants, conjured the assembly not to destroy a man, to whom they were indebted for their lives: they offered to take the place of the accused, and to secure his life at the expence of their own. As these were mostly plebeians, their sighs and pressing solicitations made such an impression on the multitude, that they could not refrain from tears. Then *Coriolanus*, tearing away his robe, shewed his breast all covered with the scars of the many wounds he had received, and at the same time, with an air of confidence mixed with modesty, It was to save these worthy men, said he, that I have received the wounds you see; let the tribunes shew, if they can, how such actions are consistent with the treacherous designs they lay to my charge. Is it easy to believe, that a man, who has done nothing to gain the favour of the people, but hazard his life for them, could have a design of usurping the throne? He had scarce done speaking, when the most worthy men among the plebeians cried out, that so good a citizen ought to be acquitted, and that a man of his birth and merit ought not to have been brought to a trial upon such slight presumptions. Even the most mutinous thought that the accusers had not given sufficient proofs of the crime laid to his charge. So that the assembly was just ready to break up much to the reputation of *Coriolanus*, when the tribune *Decius*, alarmed at this change, brought in a new charge against him, viz. that contrary to the *Roman* laws he had disposed of the spoils taken from the *Antiates* in his late expedition, during the famine, among his soldiers, instead of delivering them to the quæstor. This, said *Decius*, is a plain proof of his evil designs: with the public money he secured to himself creatures, and guards, and supporters of his intended usurpation. Let him make it appear that he had power to dispose of the booty without violating the laws: let him answer directly to this one article, without dazzling us with the splendid shew of his crowns and scars, or using any other arts to blind the assembly. Neither *Coriolanus* nor his friends were prepared for this chicane; so that the tribunes, taking advantage of their surprize, exaggerated this breach of the law: *Sicinnius* insolently asked him, whether he was king of *Rome*, and by what authority he had disposed of what belonged to the republic, and the *Roman* people? All *Coriolanus* could say was, that those of the people, who had attended him in that expedition, had received the whole benefit of that pillage. But the tribunes, urging he had by that distribution violated a law which was as ancient as *Rome* itself, rekindled the former animosity of the people against him, especially of those who had not been sharers in the booty. Of this animosity they laid hold as the most favourable opportunity to collect the suffrages, and get *Coriolanus* condemned to perpetual banishment. Of the twenty-one tribes, but nine voted for him, and the rest against him. The joy of the people upon this great event is not to be imagined: they never expressed more, even after the greatest victories. And indeed not without reason; for by the advantage they had gained over the senate and the nobility, the form of government was absolutely changed, and the plebeians, who had been hitherto dependent on the patricians, were become their

Coriolanus is condemned to banishment.

judges, and possessed of a right to call before their tribunal the greatest men in the commonwealth, and to decide their fate. As the assembly was dispersing, it was easy to distinguish the patricians from the plebeians by the sorrow or joy which appeared in their countenances. *Coriolanus* was the only person among the former, who seemed unconcerned. He neither said nor did any thing unworthy of his usual magnanimity. He repaired immediately to his own house, where he found his mother *Veturia* and *Volumnia* his wife, drowned in tears, and in the first transports of their grief. He exhorted them in a few words, to behave with constancy and fortitude under the various events of life; and having recommended to them the care of his children, who were yet but infants, he took his leave, not suffering any body to attend him in his exile, except three or four of his clients. A great number of the senators and other patricians attended him to the gate of the city; but he, justly offended at the weakness of their conduct, said not one word to them by the way, and parted from them with the same reproachful silence.

THE illustrious exile spent the first days of his banishment at a country seat of his own in the neighbourhood of *Rome*. There being left wholly to himself, he could not resist the strong motions of his resentment, but resolved to revenge the affront which the senate had suffered the people to put upon him. Having taken this resolution, he cast his eyes upon the several nations that were neighbours and enemies to *Rome*, and finding none more exasperated against the *Romans*, or in a better condition to undertake a war, than the *Volsci*, he determined to seek a retreat among them, not doubting but he should prevail upon them to espouse his quarrel, and join with him in pursuing their common revenge. The *Volsci* were at that time a republic consisting of several small cantons united by a league, and governed by an assembly of deputies from each of them. One *Attius Tullus*, or, as *Plutarch* calls him, *Tullus Amphidius*, a man of great experience in war, and who had a considerable interest throughout the whole nation, was then their general. In the late wars between the *Romans* and the *Volsci* he had been often encountered, and always conquered in battle by *Coriolanus*. However the *Roman* thought he could disclose his resentments, and intrust his life with no body more safely than with a brave man, who perhaps might entertain as great an esteem for him as he had for *Attius*. He therefore came to a resolution to apply himself directly to him. Accordingly, he left his retreat in disguise, and in the evening entering *Anonium*, one of the chief cities of the *Volsci*, where *Tullus* resided, he went straight to his house with his face covered, and sat down by the hearth of the domestic gods, a place sacred in all the houses of the ancient *Pagans*. *Attius* was at supper in an inner apartment, when news was brought him, that a stranger, of a very majestic air, was, without speaking to any body, come into his house, and had placed himself by the hearth of his lares. *Attius* immediately came out, and asked him who he was, and what he required? *Coriolanus* then discovered his face; but the other not recognising him, he told him his name, acquainted him with his case, and offered to assist the *Volsci* against *Rome* with his counsels, and all his experience in war. *Attius* immediately gave him his hand, received him with great kindness, and assured him of the friendship of the *Volsci*. He then led him into his apartment, where they spent the following days in private conferences about the means of punishing *Rome* for the mischiefs she had done to the *Volsci*, and the hard usage *Coriolanus* had received from her. But the great point was how to bring the whole nation to a declaration of war with *Rome*. The *Volsci* had suffered greatly in the last war, and had, by yielding some of their towns, and part of their territory, obtained of the republic a truce for two years. As this truce was not yet expired, *Tullus*, though he had a great interest in the diets of the cantons of his country, could not promise that he should be able to persuade the whole nation to take up arms. However, the two generals found means at last to compass what they desired. The *Romans* were making great preparations for public sports, which drew crowds of strangers from all parts. The *Volsci* especially went thither in great numbers, which gave no small uneasiness to the consuls, whose apprehensions were increased by an artifice which the two generals had concerted together. This was to suborn one of the *Volsci* to go to the consuls, and pretend to make a discovery of a design his countrymen had to set fire to *Rome*, while the *Romans* were taken up with the games and public sports in the circus. *Livy* seems to insinuate, that this scheme was laid without the knowledge of *Coriolanus*; but *Plutarch* and *Dionysius* tell

He retires to
Anonium, the
chief city of
the Volsci.

- a us, that the whole was an artifice of his. The consuls immediately made the report of the pretended plot to the senate, and the senate caused the same day a decree to be published throughout the city, ordering all the *Volsci* to leave it before sun-set on pain of death. The consuls being ordered to see this decree put in execution, caused all the gates of the city to be shut except the gate *Capena*, through which all the *Volsci* were drove out with shame and ignominy. *Tullus* met them as by chance, and hearing how they had been treated, exaggerated the affront they had received. *We alone*, said he, *of all the different nations now in Rome are not thought worthy to see the games. We alone, like the profane wretches and outlaws, are driven from a public festival. Go and tell in all your cities and villages the distinguishing mark the Romans have put upon us.* He
- b found no difficulty in exasperating minds already prejudiced; a general diet was tumultuously assembled, when all the deputies were of opinion, that they were at liberty The *Volsci* resolve upon a war with Rome. to begin the war without waiting till the truce was expired. When *Tullus*, who conducted the affair, saw his countrymen ready to carry fire and sword into the territory of *Rome*, he advised them, before they broke up, to send for *Coriolanus* into their assembly; telling them, that he now bore more enmity to the *Romans* than they themselves, and was capable of doing them more hurt than they had received from them. The *Roman* was accordingly sent for, and being introduced into the assembly, he related his misfortunes, made a merit of choosing a retreat among the *Volsci*, rather than among the *Latins*, *Hetrurians*, *Sabines*, &c. persuaded them to demand
- c back all the cities the *Romans* had taken from them; and lastly, offered to assist their generals with his counsels and sword, without aspiring to any command in their armies. His speech was received with great applause, and ambassadors were dispatched to *Rome* to demand the restoration of the lands and cities which had been taken in the late war. But the only answer they brought back was this; that the *Romans* would not give up what they had conquered, and that if the *Volsci* were the first to take arms, the *Romans* would be the last to lay them down. Upon this the *Volsci* unanimously appointed *Tullus* and *Coriolanus* to command their troops, and to bind the latter more strictly to them, conferred on him the dignity of senator. The two generals immediately raised a numerous army, which they divided into two bodies; *Tullus* with one Coriolanus appointed to command their troops.
- d staid in the country to cover it on the side of *Latium*, while *Coriolanus* with the other, consisting of the flower of the *Volscian* troops, entered the territory of *Rome*, before the consuls had taken any measures to oppose him, and there made himself master of *Giræum*, *Corbis*, *Vitellium*, and *Trebia*. *Toleria*, *Bola*, *Labitum*, and *Pedum*, all in *Latium*, or on the confines of that country, were taken sword in hand, and the inhabitants given up to the fury of an enemy victorious and enraged. As this irruption was not expected, *Coriolanus* found many *Roman* citizens dispersed about the country, and these he made slaves. He burnt their farms, carried away their cattle, broke in pieces all their instruments of husbandry, and in short carried fire and sword into all parts. However, in that general devastation, either out of regard to his old friends, or to keep up a reciprocal animosity between the two parties, he spared the houses and lands of the patricians. This conduct had the desired effect. The plebeians complained of the patricians, as if they had brought so formidable an enemy upon them. The patricians on the other hand upbraided the people with having forced so great a captain to throw himself in despair into the party of the enemy. As mutual distrust, suspicion and hatred reigned in both parties, they were not so eager to repulse the *Volsci*, as to decry and ruin each other: so that *Coriolanus* finding no army in the field to oppose his designs, carried on his conquests, took *Lavinium*, and at length came and incamped at the *Fossa Cluilia* within five miles of *Rome*. The consternation in the city was then general. The people, terrified at the approach of so formidable an
- e enemy, hastened into the forum, and there with loud cries demanded peace, and the abolition of the decree of *Coriolanus*'s banishment. But the senate, who had formerly protected the exile, now refused to comply with the demands of the people, either to clear themselves from the suspicion of maintaining a correspondence with *Coriolanus*, or perhaps out of that spirit of generosity, which made the *Romans* averse from peace, when they were attended with bad success in war. However that be, the *Roman* general no sooner understood the opposition the senate made to his return, but he advanced to *Rome*, and invested the place, as if he designed to besiege it. As he continued there that evening, and a good part of the next day, without making any motion, the *Romans* imagined he only waited for an opportunity of reconciling himself with his country. The senate therefore resolved to send a deputation to him, consisting of The people are for recalling him from banishment. five

The senate send
a deputation to
him.

His answer to
the deputies.

Another depu-
tation sent to
him consisting
of the priests,
augurs, &c.

five senators, who had been his most zealous friends. These were *M. Minucius*, *Post-
humus Cominius*, *Sp. Lartius*, *P. Pinarius*, and *Q. Sulpicius*, who had all been consuls. When *Coriolanus* understood that the deputies were coming, he pleased himself with the thought of humbling those proud republicans. He made them pass through two ranks of soldiers standing to their arms, and gave them audience sitting, and surrounded by the most considerable men among the *Volsci*. *Minucius*, who had been his chief advocate, put him in mind of the regard the patricians had always shewn him, and endeavoured to excuse, in some measure, the people, of whom nine tribes had voted for him. He expostulated with him for carrying his resentment to such an excess, reminded him of the instability of fortune, and lastly, invited him to throw himself into the arms of his native city, which stretched them out, like a tender mother, to receive him into her bosom. *Coriolanus* answered with a haughty air, that as general of the *Volsci* he must advise them to apply to the nation he served, and in a suppliant manner sue to them for peace, which he engaged to procure for them, upon condition that *Rome* restored to the *Volsci* the country she had taken from them, granted them the same rights of citizenship which she had granted to the *Latins*, and recalled the *Roman* colonies from those towns, of which she had got possession unjustly. As to the liberty offered him of going back to *Rome*, he said it was not worth his acceptance. *Is a bare re-establishment in Rome*, said he, *a sufficient satisfaction for the affronts I have received? Can there be any safety for me, while a Sicinnius or a Decius is able to arm the populace against my life? No; Rome is an unnatural mother, who has cast off a son that was useful to her, and zealous for her glory. She shall soon know by the effects of my resentment, whose cause it is that the gods espouse.* Having thus spoke in a haughty strain what concerned the interests of the *Volsci*, and his own injuries, he assumed a more gentle air towards the deputies, assured them, that he remembered with pleasure his obligations to them, returned them thanks for the generous protection they granted to his wife and children, and told them, that to shew his gratitude, he would even allow the *Romans* a truce for thirty days with respect to the proper territory of *Rome*; but that after the expiration of that time, he should expect from them a decisive answer^a.

Coriolanus employed the thirty days in making new conquests in *Latium*, and then returned and incamped before *Rome* with all his forces. The senate had spent the thirty days in deliberations, and the result of their debates may give us a true notion of the temper of those haughty republicans. They resolved never to receive law from their enemy, nor treat of peace with him, till he had laid down his arms, and retired from the territory of *Rome*, and from those of her allies. Their pride did not abate, notwithstanding the present calamity. They chose ten new deputies to carry this message to *Coriolanus*, who returned them this short answer, that the *Romans* had no choice but compliance with the articles, or war; and that he allowed them three days more to come to a final determination. He even refused to hear their reply, threatening to treat them as spies, if they did not quit his camp immediately. The report of the deputies threw the city into the utmost consternation. All that could be done in this universal dejection, was to appoint every one his post, either on the ramparts, the capitol, or in the towers. The tribunes were not now so much as heard of; the consuls, being at a loss what to do, assembled the senate; expedient upon expedient was proposed, and at last they all agreed to send a new deputation to the enemy's camp, consisting of all the ministers of the gods, with which they thought *Coriolanus* could not but be affected. Accordingly, all the priests, augurs, sacrificers, and guardians of the sacred things, were ordered to march out of the city in their pompous habits, and to conjure *Coriolanus*, by the respect he owed to the gods, to grant peace to his country. But this deputation was as fruitless as the former. *Coriolanus* sent them back to the city with orders to acquaint the senate, that the attack would immediately begin, if they did not submit to the conditions which he had proposed in the name of the *Volscian* nation.

Upon the return of the priests, they all looked upon the republic as lost; the men ran in disorder to the walls, and the women in despair to the temples, especially to that of *Jupiter* in the capitol, where, with tears in their eyes, they implored of the tutelar gods of *Rome* the preservation of their country, then on the brink of ruin. Such was the face of affairs in the city, when a *Roman* matron, named *Valeria*, sister of the

^a DIO. HAL. l. viii. p. 492—509. LIV. l. ii. c. 39. PLUT. in *Coriol.*

- a famous *Valerius Poplicola*, as if she had been moved by a kind of divine inspiration, turned to the other matrons, who were come in crowds to the temple of *Jupiter*, and suggested to them a resolution which saved *Rome*. *Let us not suffer ourselves, said she to them, to sink under our present afflictions. What men could not do, women may perhaps accomplish. We may perhaps soften the heart of a conqueror hitherto inflexible. Let us go in this mournful dress to the house of Veturia, the mother of Coriolanus, and agree with her to repair to the camp of her son. Coriolanus will never be able to hold out against the tears of his mother, his wife, and his children, when attended with all the women of distinction in Rome.* This motion being approved of by all who were present, they went straight to the house of *Veturia*, whom they found with *Volumnia*, her daughter-in-law, deploring their own misfortunes, and those of *Rome*. *Volumnia*, surprised to see so many women of distinction crowd to her, asked what had brought them to a house overwhelmed with sorrow? *You*, replied *Valeria*, *are the only refuge we have left in our misfortunes. We come to intreat you to preserve our estates, our honour and our liberty from the Volsci. Repair then with us to the camp of Coriolanus, and bring with you Volumnia, and these tender children, who may soften the heart of their beloved father. Your presence will persuade him to prefer the preservation of his destitute family to the pursuit of his resentment, and the honours he may expect from the Volsci. Nothing can be more glorious for you, Veturia, than to recover your son, deliver your country, and save the lives of your fellow-citizens. Make no delay, since the danger is great, and requires a speedy remedy.* At these words *Veturia* burst out into tears, recollected herself a moment, and then replied; *Alas! my interest in Coriolanus is but a poor refuge. What impressions can women make on a warrior spirited by revenge? I am not wanting in affection to my country; but what am I now in my son's eyes more than other Roman women, who share the aversion he has for Rome? This he sufficiently shewed at his departure into banishment. Coriolanus, said he to us, is now lost to you for ever. I have no longer either mother, wife, or children. I renounce all, even my domestic gods. Can we then hope to soften so hard a heart? What shall we persuade him to do? To love a country, which has treated him so injuriously? To betray a nation, which has received him in its bosom? Shall we desire him to shew compassion for a people, who had none for him? Let me spend my days, Valeria, in grief and sorrow, and don't force me to suffer the mortification of a refusal, which will be equally dishonourable to Coriolanus and his mother.* But *Valeria* renewing her intreaties, and with her all the Roman matrons embracing her knees, and conjuring her not to refuse her country this last assistance, *Veturia*, at length overcome, promised to comply with their request, if the senate agreed to it. *Valeria* immediately gave advice of this design to the consuls, who proposed it in the senate, where, after long debates, it was approved of by the fathers. Then *Veturia*, and the most illustrious of the Roman matrons, in a great many chariots, which the consuls had ordered to be got ready for them, took their way to the enemy's camp. *Coriolanus* being informed by his scouts, that his mother, his wife, and a great number of other women were coming to his camp, determined to receive them with the same respect that he had paid to the ministers of religion, but in the main to grant them nothing; for he was well apprised of the views the Romans had in so unheard-of a deputation. But notwithstanding his resolution, he no sooner saw his mother and wife at the head of this troop of women, than he began to relent. He walked out of his tent, and ordering his lictors to lower their fasces before persons so dear to him, he ran hastily to embrace them. They expressed their joy upon seeing each other again chiefly by tears; and when they had given some time to the first emotions of nature, *Veturia* began to enter upon the subject, for which she came. *Coriolanus*, that he might not give any umbrage to the *Volsci*, called the chief officers of his army to be witnesses of what passed in this interview. They were no sooner come, than *Veturia* told him, that the Roman matrons, who attended her, had omitted nothing, during his absence, that could comfort her and his wife *Volumnia* in their affliction; that they were come to beg peace of him once more, and to conjure him, by all that was dear to him, to turn his arms against other enemies, &c. *Coriolanus* replied, that he could not think of betraying the interests of a nation that had trusted him with the command of their army, and honoured him with a place in their senate; that he had found more honours at *Antium*, than he had lost at *Rome*, and that nothing would be wanting to his happiness, if she and *Volumnia* would leave the ungrateful city, and come and enjoy among the *Volsci* the honours which they would pay to the mother and wife of their general. The *Volscian* officers seemed very much pleased with this answer; but *Veturia*, without

The Roman
matrons re-
solve to inter-
cede with him
in behalf of
their country.

The interview
between Cori-
olanus and his
mother.

entering into a comparison between *Rome* and *Antium*, which would have offended ^a them, told her son, that she would never require any thing of him that might be a blemish upon his honour; but that without being any ways wanting in what he owed to the *Volsci*, he might mediate a peace equally advantageous to both nations. Then raising her voice, she added; and can you, my son, reject a proposal so equitable? can you prefer a cruel and obstinate revenge to the tears and intreaties of your mother? consider, that your answer is to decide the fate of my glory, and of my life too. A *Roman* woman knows how to die, when her honour calls upon her so to do. If I cannot move you, know I have resolved to give myself death in your presence. You shall not march to *Rome* without treading under your feet the body of her, to whom you owe your being. *Veturia* perceiving her speech made a deep impres- ^b sion on his mind, continued her discourse, conjuring him by the great *Jupiter*, who presided in the capitol, and by the manes of his father and ancestors, to withdraw his troops from before *Rome*, and allow the *Romans* for her sake a truce for a year, that in this interval measures might be taken to procure a solid and lasting peace. Grant this, my son, said she, and if my tears and prayers are not able to move you, behold your mother at your feet, imploring of you the preservation of her country. With these words, melting in tears, she embraced his knees; his wife and children did the same, and all the *Roman* matrons, who were with them, begged for mercy by their cries and tears. *Coriolanus*, seeing his mother at his feet, could hold out no longer, but amidst a struggle with different passions cried out, ah, my mother, you ^c disarm me, and tenderly pressing her hand in lifting her up, he added in a low voice, *Rome is saved; but your son is lost*; well foreseeing that the *Volsci* would never forgive him the regard he was going to pay to her intreaties. He then retired into his tent with his mother, wife, and children, and there conferred with the two persons that were most dear to him about the measures he should take with respect to the *Volsci* and to the *Romans*. The articles agreed on were these; 1st, that *Coriolanus* should decamp the next day without committing any hostilities in the *Roman* territory; 2dly, that after he had assembled the chiefs of the *Volsci*, he should use his utmost endeavours to persuade them to conclude a peace with *Rome* upon reasonable terms; 3dly, that if the *Volsci* would not hearken to an accommodation, he should then lay down the ^d command of their army, which would probably be a means to bring them to a better temper. *Veturia*, after a conference so beneficial to her country, taking leave of her son, returned in the evening with the other *Roman* ladies to *Rome*, where they were received with the acclamations of the whole city. The senate desired them to ask what reward they pleased for so important a service. But *Veturia*, after having consulted with the others, replied, that they asked nothing but leave to build a temple at their own expence to the *Fortune of women*. The senate, applauding their disinterestedness, ordered both the temple and the statue to be erected at the expence of the public, in the very place where *Veturia* had overcome the obstinacy of her son. *Valeria*, who had proposed so successful a deputation, was the first priestess of this sanctuary, ^e which was much frequented by the *Roman* women ^a.

His mother prevails upon him to raise the siege of Rome.

EARLY next morning *Coriolanus* led back his troops into the country of the *Volsci*, and there divided all the spoil among his soldiers, without reserving any thing for himself. This liberality increased their affection to him, so that they made his apology where-ever they went. However, some murmured at the respect he had shewn for his mother and country. Among these was *Attius Tullus*, who, growing jealous of the esteem and credit which his rival had gained with the soldiers, publicly gave out that he had betrayed the interest of the *Volsci*. Hereupon *Coriolanus* desired he might be allowed to clear his conduct before the general council of the nation. An assembly was accordingly held; but while *Coriolanus* was beginning to answer the charge ^f brought against him by his adversaries, *Tullus*, who no less feared his eloquence than his valour, raised a tumult, by the advantage of which some of the opposite faction suborned by *Tullus*, threw themselves upon him, and stabbed him. The soldiers, who had served under him, greatly lamented his death, and the people of *Antium* performed his obsequies with great pomp, and erected a stately tomb to his memory. The *Romans* had their reasons of state for not decreeing him the same funeral honours. For he had born arms against his country, and was not yet reconciled to *Rome* by a regular treaty. However, the *Roman* ladies, upon their presenting a petition to the

He is assassinated by the Volsci.

^a DIO. HAL. p 511—516. LIV. l. ii. PLUT. *ibid*.

- a senate, obtained leave to wear mourning for him ten months. Such was the end of the famous *Marcus*, surnamed *Coriolanus*, who, for his eminent virtues, and great services, deserved a much better treatment both from the *Romans* and the *Volsci*. He was descended from one of the most illustrious patrician families in *Rome*. He had an excellent understanding, was frugal, disinterested, of strict probity, and inviolably attached to the observation of the laws. These pacific virtues were never known to be accompanied with a more heroic courage, or so great a capacity for the art of war. *Rome* never bred a more able general: he was always successful, because always equally brave and prudent. But he was imperious, inexorably severe, and so far from affecting popularity, that he ran into the other extreme, which passed for pride. Tho' b he was too haughty for a republican, his country has ever honoured him as one of her heroes, and history has done him the justice to say, that he could, at the head of a *Roman* army, have more enlarged the dominions of the republic, than all the generals, who went before him. But unhappy factions hindered *Rome* from reaping any benefit from his virtues. But she was at last sensible of the loss she had suffered by banishing him; and her own misfortunes taught her how many calamities she might have avoided, and how many conquests gained, if she had not provoked a man of such eminent parts.

UPON the news of *Coriolanus's* death, the consuls ventured to take the field. These were *Sp. Nautius* and *Sextus Furius*, men of no experience in war or courage. They incamped separately on eminences at a small distance from the enemy. But though the *Æqui* and *Volsci*, who had entered into a confederacy against *Rome*, quarrelled about the choice of a general, and even fought a bloody battle, the timorous consuls did not venture to attack them in their retreat, but led their troops back to *Rome*, where they were received with the hisses of the people b.

THE people had of late placed such persons at their head as were pliable and submissive, without regarding any other qualifications; but having experienced the inconveniencies of being governed by men of little merit, they resolved for the future to change their conduct; and therefore chose two consuls, who had given distinguishing proofs of their courage and skill in war, *Aquilius Tuscus*, and *Sicinnius Sabinus*.

- d The former gained a compleat victory over the *Hernici*, and the latter over the *Volsci*, who had been so formidable under the command of *Coriolanus*: their army was intirely defeated, their camp taken, and their general *Attius Tullus* killed in the battle. This victory being of greater consequence than that of *Aquilius*, *Sicinnius* was decreed a triumph, and the other only an ovation. These consuls were succeeded by *Sp. Cassius*, who had been twice consul before, and had obtained a triumph, and *Proculus Virginius*, a patrician of known courage. The latter marched against the *Æqui*, who upon the approach of the *Roman* army retired with all their effects into their cities. The consul therefore, who was not in a condition to undertake sieges, returned to *Rome*. It had fallen to *Cassius's* lot to make war with the *Hernici*; and accordingly he took the field, and entering their country, by the mere terror of his arms reduced them to submit, and sue for peace and an alliance with the republic. The consul however would not settle the conditions of the alliance, till they had first obtained a decree of the senate for it; which deference so obliged the fathers, that they empowered *Cassius* to draw up the articles of the treaty himself, promising to ratify whatever he should determine. This mark of distinction emboldened the consul to demand the honours of a triumph, which, though not due to him, for he had gained no victory, yet were granted. He was no sooner honoured with a second triumph, than he drew up the conditions of the treaty with the *Hernici*, which was only a copy of the treaty he had made with the *Latins* in his second consulship. This condescension gave no small umbrage to the senate; f they could not bear that a foreign nation, but just reconciled to *Rome*, should be raised at once to equal honours and privileges with the *Latins*, who were allied to them by blood, and had done them many important services. As *Cassius* was a man naturally vain and ostentatious, some penetrating republicans began to suspect that in thus favouring the *Hernici*, he had private views prejudicial to the state. And indeed he soon convinced them, that his views and interests were very different from those of the commonwealth. For the very next day after his triumph, having, according to custom, convened an assembly of the people, to give them an account of what he had done for the service of the republic during the campaign, among other things he told them, that

The Romans gain two compleat victories, the one over the *Hernici*, the other over the *Volsci*.

The consul *Sp. Cassius* courts the favour of the people.

b DIO. HAL. p. 518.

The Agrarian
law.

Why the tri-
bunes opposed
it.

The artful con-
duct of the tri-
bune Rabu-
lcus.

he proposed, before the end of his magistracy, to render the condition of the plebeians ^a so happy, that they should no longer envy that of the patricians. The next day he assembled the senate, and there made a long speech in praise of the plebeians, which he concluded by proposing a new division of the lands belonging to the public, saying, it was but reasonable, that the lands, taken from the enemy, should be divided among those who had exposed their lives to enlarge the bounds of the republic. He added, that he likewise thought it reasonable that the poor citizens should be reimbursed what money they had paid in the late famine for the corn, which *Gelo*, one of the princes of *Sicily*, had made a present of to the republic, and which ought to have been distributed gratis among the people. Both these proposals were rejected by the senate with great indignation. Most of the senators, without any respect to the dignity of *Cassius*, ^b publicly reproached him with his pride, his ambition, and the desire he betrayed of raising new troubles in the commonwealth. But *Cassius*, flattering himself that the people would declare in his favour, convened a new assembly, and having there bitterly inveighed against the patricians, he exhorted the multitude to free themselves at once from the indigence to which the avarice of the nobility had reduced them, by making a solemn law for the partition of the conquered lands in their own favour. He did not stop here; but advised them, by the same law, to admit the *Latins* and *Hernici* to share with them in the distribution. To make the people relish this part of his proposal, he insinuated to them, that by this means those two nations would be united with them in one common interest, and consequently would not fail to support them in ^c case of any attempt made by the patricians to drive them from their possessions. This law, as it related to the division of lands, was called the *Agrarian* law from the *Latin* word *ager*, signifying land. The people at first received the proposal with great applause. But the tribunes, displeased to see a consul author of a law, which favoured the people, opposed it to the utmost of their power, and brought over to them great numbers of the people, who at first had been fond of *Cassius*, and had blamed both tribunes and patricians as betraying their interest. *It is a shame*, said the tribunes, *to suffer lands, which you have acquired by your blood, to be profusely distributed among allies, who had no share in your conquests. Why are the Hernici to have one third of their lands left to them? Ought they not, as a conquered people, to be intirely deprived of them? There* ^d *is, without all doubt, O Romans, a design upon your liberty. Your slavery will be the consequence of this fatal division of lands, which the artful consul would make between you and foreigners. By that extraordinary distribution of lands between the conquerors and the conquered, he designs to make the old enemies of Rome his creatures, to the prejudice of the republic, and to plane himself a way to sovereign power.* One day, when *Cassius*, and his colleague *Virginus*, who opposed this law, were disputing before the people, *Rabulcius*, a cunning tribune, addressed them both thus: *Is not your dispute, whether the people of Rome shall themselves take possession of all the conquered lands, or share them with the Hernici and Latins?* The consuls agreed it was. Upon which the tribune, turning to the people, *Our consuls agree*, said he, *as to the main point; neither of them is for* ^e *excluding you from the lands in dispute. Lose no time therefore, Romans, in taking possession of what is unanimously granted you. As for the other article, leave it to be considered of hereafter.* This advice pleased the people, who were for having the clause in favour of foreigners dropt. But *Cassius*, who was fond of his own scheme, dismissed the assembly before they came to any resolution. As the people were then all inclined to favour *Virginus*, *Cassius* did not appear for some days in public, pretending to be indisposed, but in reality contriving new expedients to get his law passed. To this end he brought as many *Latins* to *Rome* as he could, for they had the privileges of *Roman* citizens. But *Virginus*, aware of his colleague's design, published a decree, commanding all those, who were not inhabitants of *Rome*, to leave it immediately. ^f *Cassius*, on the other hand, made a contrary edict, declaring it lawful for any one, who was inrolled among the citizens of *Rome*, to remain there; so that a sedition was like to ensue. The senate assembled to prevent the calamities which seemed to threaten the state. Several opinions were offered: *Appius Claudius*, that intrepid defender of the laws, spoke first, and opposed the *Cassian* law in both its parts. He was against distributing the lands either to *Romans* or foreigners; inveighed against *Virginus* for shewing too much indulgence to the people and their tribunes; proposed selling part both of the newly conquered lands, and of those which some of the nobility had usurped; and depositing the money arising from the sale, in the treasury, for defraying the charges of the war; and lastly, moved, that a college of ten senators, under the

- a the name of *Decemviri*, might be created to measure these lands, and determine the differences which might arise about their limits. *A. Sempronius Stratinus*, a man much respected by the senate, spoke next, and after having highly approved of *Appius's* advice, observed that there were two sorts of lands to be disposed of; some, which were formerly conquered by the *Romans*, without the assistance of their allies; and these he thought ought to be divided between the public and the indigent *Romans* only; others that had been lately conquered from the *Hernici*, by the assistance of the *Latins*; and these he was for dividing between the public, the *Romans*, the *Latins*, and the *Hernici*, who were now become allies. As to the creation of the *Decemvirs*, he seconded that motion. Pursuant to the advice of these two senators, a *senatus consultum*, or
- b decree of the senate, was drawn up, by which it was enacted, that ten of the fathers, who had been consuls, should be appointed to divide the conquered lands between the treasury, the *Romans*, and their allies; that for the future all the lands the *Romans* should conquer with the assistance of their allies, should be divided between the public treasury, the citizens of *Rome*, and those allies; and lastly, that the choice of the first decemvirs should be left to the consuls of the ensuing year. As the estates of the principal men in *Rome* lay wholly in those conquered lands, they got this last article added to the decree, in order to put off the execution of it. Nay, the chief men in the senate resolved among themselves to impeach *Cassius*, and prosecute him to the utmost, in order to deter others from stirring in this affair. Accordingly, the two new consuls, *Q. Fabius*, and *Servius Cornelius*, were no sooner entered upon their office, but the quaestors, *Casus Fabius*, brother to the first consul, and *Valerius*, nephew to the great *Poplicola*, having convened an assembly of the people, according to the power annexed to their office, accused *Cassius* of having introduced foreign troops into the city with a design to usurp the sovereignty. The charge being plainly proved by the depositions of the *Latins*, and *Hernici* themselves, *Cassius* was condemned by the unanimous voice of all his fellow-citizens, and thrown down headlong from the top of the *Tarpeian rock*.^c Some writers tell us, that as soon as the two new consuls had taken possession of their dignity, *Cassius's* own father accused him to the senate of having aspired to the sovereignty, and that, like another *Brutus*, having laid the
- c proofs of his crime before the assembly of the people, he took him home to his own house, and there caused him to be put to death in the presence of his whole family.^d

The senate decree a partition of the conquered lands.

Sp. Cassius is condemned and executed.

- THE pride of the patricians, and their contemptuous treatment of the people, made the poorer citizens regret the loss of *Cassius*, who had been their zealous defender. The consuls put off from day to day the nominating the decemvirs for the distribution of the lands, notwithstanding the solicitation of the tribunes to have the agrarian law put in execution. This provoked the people, who, being stirred up by the seditious harangues of their tribunes, began to hold private assemblies, and threaten both the consuls and the senate. Every thing seemed to tend to a revolt, when the consuls had recourse to the old expedient of amusing the people with a war. But as they were
- e well apprised that the tribunes would oppose the necessary levies, they caused a rumor to be spread, that they were going to create a dictator, and that *Appius Claudius* would be chosen. The very name of a man so severe, and so much dreaded by the multitude, made such an impression on the people, that they lifted themselves without delay. *Cornelius* entered the country of the *Veientes*, and *Q. Fabius* that of the *Volsci*: both consuls were attended with good success. *Fabius* returned with a great booty in spoils, cattle, and slaves, but sold the whole, and put the money into the hands of the quaestors, without giving the least part of it to his soldiers. And now this year being expired, *Casus Fabius* the quaestor, and *Amilius Mamercinus* were chosen consuls in the comitia by centuries. *Amilius* marched against the *Volsci*, by whom he was
- f defeated in the field; but the enemy having attacked his camp, after he had received a strong reinforcement from his colleague, he sallied out upon them, put them to flight, and laid waste their country. During the absence of the consuls, the senate, to divert the people's minds from the *Agrarian law*, ordered the consecration of the temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*, which had been vowed by *Posthumus* at the battle of *Regillus*. In the mean while the time for electing new consuls being come, *M. Fabius*, brother to *Quintus* and *Casus*, and *L. Valerius*, who in his quaestorship had been instrumental in the destruction of *Cassius*, were chosen. During their consulship, the war with the *Volsci* breaking out anew, the tribune *Manius* protested against any levies for the service,

New troubles on account of the Agrarian law.

^c DIO. HAL. p. 537—545. LIV. l. ii. c. 41.

^d VAL. MAX. l. v. c. 8.

till the decemvirs were named for executing the *Agrarian* laws. The consuls, to a
 extricate themselves from this perplexity, carried their tribunal out of *Rome*, beyond
 the jurisdiction of the tribunes, which was confined within the walls of the city. They
 then sent a summons to the people; and if any one refused to appear, or give in his
 name, they ordered his house in the country to be demolished, and his lands laid
 waste. Thus without having any contests with the tribunes, they brought the people
 to their duty, and soon formed two armies, one to march against the *Veientes*, the
 other against the *Volsci*. The consuls, distrusting their troops, which consisted of
 men ill affected to them, and for the most part enlisted against their will, agreed to
 act only upon the defensive. This agreement was observed by *Fabius*, who marched
 against the *Veientes*; but *Valerius* came to an engagement with the *Volsci*, which proved
 very bloody without any considerable advantage on either side; for both armies, after
 having fought many hours with incredible fury, retired, as it were, by common con-
 sent to their respective camps. The friends of *Valerius* at *Rome* gave out, that it was
 through want of affection in the soldiers to their general, that he had not gained a
 complete victory; but the soldiers in all their letters accused their general of inca-
 pacity in military affairs. The consuls detained their soldiers in the field as long as
 possible, to avoid new disturbances; but the time for the election of new magistrates
 drawing near, they were obliged to return to *Rome*, and then discord raged again with
 more fury than ever. The patricians were for promoting *Appius Claudius*, son of the
 famous *Appius*, who had so signally shewed his aversion to the people. But as often
 as the consuls ordered the centuries to assemble, the tribunes at the head of the people
 made so much noise, and raised such violent and bitter contests, that it was impossi-
 ble to proceed to the election. The consuls and the senate endeavoured to appease
 the tumult; but to no effect, the tribunes telling them, that unless they chose men
 of unquestionable characters, they should find means to prevent any election, and
 that they would not suffer tyrants to be imposed upon them for magistrates. As
 these disputes threatened a sedition, the senate agreed to reduce the republic for some
 time to an inter-regnum, and commit the administration of affairs to some venerable
 old men, who should govern by turns, and take care to provide new consuls. *S. Atra-*
tinus was the first who took upon him the care of public affairs, according to this
 scheme; and from that time all other authority ceased in *Rome*. To him, a few
 days after, succeeded *Sp. Lartius*, a man of a pacific disposition, who managed both
 parties so artfully, that he prevailed on each to abate somewhat of their demands. It
 was concluded, that the election should be made as usual, and by the votes of the cen-
 turies, and that the two parties should agree before-hand upon the persons who should
 be raised to the consulate. Union being re-established upon these conditions, they
 proceeded only for form sake to the election. The tribunes got the consular dignity
 bestowed upon *C. Julius Julius*, who was of the people's party. The patricians named
 for his colleague *Q. Fabius Vibulanus*, who, without having ever offended the people,
 had on all occasions stood up for the rights of the senate. As for the promotion of
Appius, the patricians, fearing the opposition of the tribunes might raise a fatal sedi-
 tion, thought it adviseable to defer it to more peaceable times. The tribunes made
 some opposition to the new levies, in hopes of getting the decemvirs named, and
 obtaining the partition of the lands. But *Fabius*, notwithstanding their opposition,
 raised such a number of troops, as enabled him to take the field, and ravage the
 country of the *Veientes*.*

The republic
falls into an
inter-regnum.

Union re estab-
lished.

The civil feuds
break out
afresh.

THE civil feuds broke out afresh upon the next election of consuls. The people
 insisted on chusing patricians of their party, and the senate were for electing such only
 as were in the interest of the nobility. Each party stood to its pretensions with equal
 warmth; but at length the affair was accommodated, and they agreed to go by the
 same rule as in the last election. The senate, named *Cajo Fabius*, who in his quaestor-
 ship had destroyed *Cassius*, and the people *Sp. Furius*. The *Aequi* and the *Veientes*,
 having renewed their incursions, the consuls ordered the people to take arms. But *Sp.*
Isilius, one of the tribunes, revived the old quarrel about the division of lands, and
 declared he would vigorously oppose all the decrees that should be issued by the senate,
 let the matter of them be what it would, till the decemvirs were named. In the mean
 time the *Aequi* and *Veientes* with fire and sword laid waste the territory of *Rome*, with-
 out the consuls being able to take the field, through the obstinacy of the tribunes,

* DIO. HAL. p. 557—559. LIV. l. ii. c. 43.

who

- a who prevented their making any levies. In this perplexity *Appius* thought of an expedient, which proved very successful. This was, to gain over some of the tribunes; for if the opposition of a single tribune could suspend the execution of a decree of the senate, he concluded, that it had the same force as to the resolutions of his colleagues. The senators therefore applied themselves to gain the friendship of the tribunes, wherein they succeeded, four of that college declaring in a public assembly, that they could not bear that the enemy should thus lay waste the country with impunity. The opposition of *Isidius* being therefore over-ruled, the people took arms. *Furius* being beloved by his soldiers, had a successful campaign, and gained very considerable advantages over the *Æqui*. But the troops of *Fabius*, who were to act against the
- b *Vientes*, chose rather to lose their own glory, than gain any honour for their general. They refused to pursue the enemy, after they had put their troops to flight, lest by making the victory complete, they should procure *Fabius* a triumph at his return to Rome. Neither did they stop here; but the night following, they struck their tents without orders, and began their march towards the city. The consul, finding it impossible to govern them, put the best face he could upon the matter, sounded a retreat, and returned with them.

The senate by a stratagem carry their point against Isidius, and make the necessary levies.

- As it was now become customary in the republic to have one of the consuls chosen according to the inclinations of the people, and the other according to those of the senate, the patricians cast their eyes again upon the *Fabian* family, and raised to the
- c consulship *M. Fabius* a second time, notwithstanding his brother *Cæso* had been so disagreeable to the army the year before; and the people promoted *Cn. Manlius Cincinnatus*. In their consulship the *Hetrurians*, encouraged by the divisions in Rome, invaded the Roman territory with a numerous army. *Pontificius*, one of the tribunes, renewed the old dispute; but the senate, having gained some of their college, an army of twenty thousand men was raised, and equally divided between the two consuls, who taking the field, incamped near each other; but had so little dependance on the affection of their troops, that they kept within their intrenchments. In the mean time lightning falling upon the tent of the consul *Manlius*, the augurs declared that his camp would be taken by the enemy; upon which prediction he quitted it the
- d same night, and joined his army to that of *Fabius*. The *Hetrurians*, interpreting the omen to their advantage, seized the deserted camp, and then insulted the united armies in their intrenchments. Upon this, those very soldiers, who a little before had agreed not to come to a battle, began to complain of their commanders for not leading them out against the enemy. The generals seemed to consult together whether it were proper to engage the enemy; but their true design was to increase the eagerness of the soldiers by further delays. Accordingly, they grew so impatient to fall upon the insulting *Hetrurians*, that the consuls were obliged to take away their arms, lest they should come to an engagement without orders. Then they crowded about the generals tents, making great clamours; and *Fabius* laid hold of that opportunity to reproach
- e them with their former behaviour, and to increase their ardor by expressing a diffidence of their courage and honour. He had no sooner ended his speech, but they all cried out with one voice, *Lead us on, and lay aside your suspicions*. One *Flevoletius*, a centurion, in great esteem among the troops, hearing these words, got upon an eminence, and thus addressed himself to the consuls: *I plainly see you have not quite laid aside your distrust of us; and indeed you have reason to fear that we shall not all answerably to our promises. But for my part, at least, I declare I will behave in the battle like a true Roman.* Fellow soldiers, continued he, *do you take the same oath that I am now going to take. At which words he drew his sword, and lifting it up towards heaven, cried out, O great Jupiter, Mars, and thou god, whosoever thou art, who punishest breach of faith, I call you*
- f *to witness that I will never return to Rome till I have conquered.* The consuls, inferior officers, and all the soldiers, took the same oath, and confirmed it by sacrifices. Then the consuls restored the soldiers their arms, and marched them out of the camp in silence and good order to take possession of an advantageous post, where they drew them up in battalia. On the other hand, the *Hetrurians* were surprised to see the cowardly Romans come out of their intrenchments, and offer them battle. As this was a thing they did not expect, they had not brought the soldiers of the two camps together. However, either of their armies was considerably more numerous than that of the Romans; and besides, it was confidently reported, that the Romans would betray their generals, and desert them in the heat of the engagement. Full of these hopes, they sounded the charge. The consul *Manlius* commanded the right wing

The Hetrurians with a numerous army invade the Roman territory.

of

The two consuls M. Fabius and Cn. Manlius engage the Hetrurians.

of the Roman army, Q. Fabius the left, and M. Fabius, the other consul, the main a body. Both armies advanced with great shouts, and came to a close engagement. The front of the right wing of the Hetrurians being more extended than that of the left wing of the Romans, and more numerous, Fabius, with great difficulty, withstood the multitude that faced him. However, he had broke into a great body of Veientes, and put them in disorder, when an Hetrurian, of a gigantic stature, attacking him, plunged his lance into his breast. Fabius drew it out, but soon after fell from his horse, and died. Upon his death the left wing was surrounded, which the consul Fabius hearing, he immediately quitted his post, and flew to their assistance, with his brother Cajo, and such troops as he could confide in, and finding the Romans, disheartened at the loss of their leader, giving way, and ready to betake themselves b to a disorderly flight, he cried out; *Fellow soldiers, have you forgot your oaths? Will you shamefully fly back to the camp? Are you more afraid of the Hetrurians than of Jupiter and Mars?* Having uttered these words, he threw himself with his brother Cajo into the midst of the enemy, and being seconded by the troops he brought with him, obliged the Hetrurians to retire with great slaughter. In the right wing, commanded by Manlius, the Romans fought with great courage and resolution, till the brave consul being wounded, was carried out of the field. Then his absence, and the report of his death, made a great alteration on that side. The Romans began to lose ground, but the consul Fabius and his brother appearing unexpectedly in the first ranks, and assuring the frightened Romans that the enemy's right wing and main body were put to c flight, and that the consul Manlius was still alive, they returned to the charge, and would have gained a compleat victory, if a new battle had not begun in another place. A body of Veientes in the heat of the action fell upon the Roman camp, which was guarded by a small number of troops, and were ready to enter it, when Manlius, wounded, as he was, hearing of their danger, caused himself to be carried thither. But while, forgetful of his wound, he was defending at the head of a small body of chosen horse one of the avenues to the camp, his strength being quite exhausted, he fell from his horse, and being surrounded by the enemy, was killed on the spot. His death was followed by the taking of the camp, the Romans, who defended it, being d overpowered with numbers. Hereupon the consul Fabius, who was still engaged in the plain, leaving his men, came unexpectedly upon the Hetrurians, retook the camp, and then hastening back to the field of battle, gave the finishing stroke to the defeat of the enemy, who retired into their intrenchments in disorder. Thus the Romans gained the victory; but it cost them dear, one of the consuls, the surviving consul's brother, and a greater number of persons of distinction being killed than in any former action. The consul was so affected with the death of his brother, that at his return to Rome, he declined the honours of a triumph, which had been decreed him, while he was yet in the camp. He entered the city in mourning, bringing with him the bodies of his colleague and brother, and mounting the rostra, made a panegyric on those two heroes, without saying any thing of his own exploits. As he was now the e sole governor of the republic, he was afraid of countenancing the least appearance of monarchy, and therefore he abdicated the consulship, two months before it expired, and leaving the government in an inter-regnum, retired to cure the wounds he had received in the action. This modest and generous behaviour in a person of so great merit gained him the hearts of the people; so that from this time the Fabii became popular f.

The Romans gain a signal victory chiefly by the bravery of the Fabii.

The consul Cajo Fabius advises the senate to put the Agrarian law in execution.

THE Roman people assembling in the *campus Martius* chose Cajo Fabius the third time: so that now the three brothers had enjoyed that office for seven years successively. The colleague, whom the centuries gave him, was T. Virginus. The new magistrates had no sooner entered upon their office, but Fabius, actuated by his new affection for the f people, laboured to reconcile them to the senate. The demands of the people, about the distribution of the conquered lands, and the refusal of the patricians, had been too long the source of divisions in the republic. The consul therefore, before the tribunes had presented any petition on that head, which they did every year, exhorted the senators to prevent the complaints of the people, and put an end to the daily disturbances, by making the distribution of those lands themselves. But Fabius was not heard; some rallied him on his new zeal for the interests of the people, others murmured, and some even accused him of ambition. He was attended with better

^e Dio. Hal. l. ix. p. 567—571. Liv. l. ii. c. 46—48.

- a success in his military expeditions ; for he dispersed the *Æqui*, who had committed great ravages in the *Latin* territories, without the loss of a single man, and afterwards hastened to the relief of his colleague, who being surrounded by the *Veientes*, without timely assistance, would have been obliged to surrender at discretion. Nor was this the only remarkable service that *Cæso Fabius* did the republic in his third consulate. The two consuls were scarce returned to *Rome* and their armies disbanded, when the *Hetrurians* entered again the *Roman* territory, and made incursions even to the foot of the hill *Janiculum*, carrying off the cattle, and laying the whole country waste. The senate assembled to deliberate upon the means of putting a stop to these devastations, but the people refusing to take arms till the *Agrarian* law was put in execution,
- b the fathers were greatly at a loss what to do. In this perplexity *Fabius* formed a project worthy of his affection for his country. He assembled all the men of his own name and family, and having communicated to them his design, which was, that the family of *Fabii* should alone, and at their own expence, take upon them to secure the frontiers against the *Veientes* ; the *Fabii* readily consented to the motion, and communicated their design to the fathers, by whom it was received with applause, and unanimously approved. Early the next morning those illustrious patricians, being in all three hundred and six, appeared under arms at *Cæso Fabius*'s door, and from thence marched through the city in good order with about four thousand men, partly their vassals, and partly their clients, all under the command of *M. Fabius*, who had last
- c year gained the battle of *Veii*, and was now cured of the wounds he had received on that occasion. The whole city ran in crowds to see them, and made vows to heaven for their preservation. They went out of the city at the gate *Carmentalis* ; and marching to the banks of the *Cremera*, now the *Baccano*, a small river, which discharges itself into the *Tiber*, there built a fort in a steep place, surrounded it with a double ditch, and erected towers at certain distances. When the works were finished, they divided their men into four small parties, one of which was left to guard the fort, while the other three marched into three several parts of the enemy's country, and pillaged it. Their first expeditions were attended with great success ; no husbandmen durst appear in the plains, or bring out their cattle. In the mean time, new consuls being
- d chosen at *Rome*, viz. *Lucius Æmilius* a second time, and *C. Servilius*, *Cæso Fabius*, the last year's consul, obtained leave of the senate to join his family on the banks of the *Cremera*. But the conscript fathers, to gain him the more respect, created for him a new office, declaring him a proconsul, a title which gave him the same power over the troops he commanded, as if he had been consul ; but no other authority (N). The new consuls had scarce entered upon their office, when news was brought to *Rome*, that the *Hetrurians* were raising a formidable army in order to fall upon the *Fabii*, and that the *Æqui* and *Volsci* had already invaded the country of the *Latins*. Hereupon the consuls divided their army into three bodies ; *Æmilius* led one against the *Veientes*, *Servilius* another against the *Volsci*, and *Sp. Furius* the third, with the title of proconsul,
- e against the *Æqui*. The *Volsci* being attacked by *Servilius*, repulsed him, and obliged him to keep in his camp without attempting any thing else that summer. The *Æqui* fled at the approach of *Furius*, who laid waste their country. The *Veientes*, having received strong reinforcements from the other *Hetrurian* leucumonies, came to an engagement with *Æmilius*, but were intirely defeated, and forced to sue for peace. The consul out of respect to the senate referred their deputies to the conscript fathers, and they in return gave him full power to conclude a treaty upon what conditions he should think proper. Hereupon the consul granted them a peace, without demanding hostages, or requiring any thing more than two months provisions for his army, and

The *Fabii* a family undertake alone to guard the frontiers against the *Veientes*.

War with the *Hetrurians*, the *Volsci*, and the *Æqui*.

(N) *Livy* does not mention the creation of a proconsul till the year of *Rome* 189, when he speaks of *T. Quinctius Barbatus*, as commanding the army of the republic against the *Æqui* in that quality. This dignity, when it was, if we may be allowed the expression, in its infancy, was confined to the command of the troops, when the presence of the consul was necessary at *Rome*, or when the republic, being attacked by several different nations at once, was obliged to send several armies into the field, and consequently to increase the number of her generals. When the expedition was ended, the proconsulate expired. But afterwards, when *Rome* became mistress of *Italy*, and gave law to distant nations, she

then appointed governors over the conquered provinces in quality of proconsuls and proprætors. These offices had then great privileges annexed to them, as we shall observe in a more proper place. It is not plain from the *Latin* historians, whether the proconsulate was at first disposed of by the senate or people, or whether they both joined in the election of a proconsul ; but when the proconsulate became a common office in the republic, it is certain, that the people, assembled by tribes, sometimes by curiæ, and more rarely by centuries, had their share in the election ; of which we shall find instances in the sequel of this history.

money to defray the expences of the war for six months. This indulgence highly ^a offended the senate, inasmuch that they refused him a triumph. However, as he was an excellent commander, they promised to reward him, according to his merit, on condition he relieved his colleague, who was kept blocked up in his camp by the *Volsci*. But *Æmilius*, piqued at the refusal he had met with, returned to *Rome*, and complained to the people of the proceedings of the senate, as if they were displeased with him for no other reason, but because he had put too speedy an end to the war with the *Veientes*. The patricians, said he, prolong the wars abroad, with no other view but to put off the execution of the *Cassian* law, and the distribution of the conquered lands. He did not stop here, but to shew his resentment, instead of marching to the assistance of *Servilius*, he disbanded his army, and recalled *Furius*, who, as ^b proconsul, was obliged to obey him.

NOTWITHSTANDING the peace concluded with the *Veientes*, the *Fabii* did not abandon their post, but continued on the frontiers to keep a people in awe, whose inconstancy, and inclination to break treaties, were well known. In the following consulship of *C. Horatius*, and *T. Menenius*, the other *Hetrurian* leucumonies being offended at the separate peace the *Veientes* had made with *Rome*, summoned them to appear in the general diet of the nation, and there gave them to understand, that they must either break the treaty they had made with *Rome*, or sustain a war with the other eleven leucumonies. The *Veientes* being reduced to this dilemma, chose the former, and accordingly sent to the *Fabii*, requiring them to demolish their fort, and quit the ^c frontiers. The *Fabii* rejected the proposal with indignation; whereupon hostilities were immediately renewed, and all *Hetruria* espoused the quarrel of their countrymen. The *Fabii* continued to ravage the country, and often engaged the *Veientes* in the open field with their usual success, till they were at last unfortunately surprised in an ambush. The *Veientes* lodged a whole army of *Hetrurians* in a neighbouring wood, and posted centinels on all the eminences, to give them notice when they should fall out. Then they brought out all their cattle and horses into a valley under a small guard, as if they had no other design but to feed them. The *Fabii* no sooner saw them, than they marched out in a great body, leaving no more men in the fort than were necessary to secure it from a surprise. They advanced in good order, and the ^d herdsman with their guard flying on their approach, some of the *Fabii* pursued the fugitives, while others seized the cattle, and a small number of them continued drawn up in order of battle. Immediately the *Hetrurians* sallied out of the wood, surrounded the *Romans* on all sides, and cut in pieces those who were in pursuit of the booty. Hereupon the *Fabii*, who had kept their ranks, drawing themselves into a close compact body, which faced every way, quitted the plain, and gained an eminence, opening themselves a way with their swords through the enemy's forces. When they had got half way up the ascent, they fell into another ambush, and were quite encompassed anew by a fresh body of *Hetrurian* troops, which had been posted in a ^e wood near the hill. The *Fabii*, though quite spent, and out of breath, renewed the fight with great vigour, made a dreadful slaughter of the *Hetrurians*, and at length, in spite of all opposition, gained the top of the hill. There they spent the night without any provisions, being on all sides beset by an army of *Hetrurians*. The next day the *Fabii*, who were left to guard the fort, being informed of the danger of their relations, hastened to their relief; but being attacked in the plain by a numerous body of the enemy, they were all to a man cut off. Not long after those, who were on the top of the hill, being pressed by hunger and thirst, broke their way through the enemy, of whom they killed great numbers. The *Hetrurians*, surprised at their courage and intrepidity, in the heat of action, offered to let them retire unmolested, upon condition they would throw down their arms, and give their word that they would ^f abandon the fort. But this the brave men looked upon as a dishonourable proposal, and therefore chose rather to die with glory, than save their lives by an action, which they thought would reflect disgrace on their family. They renewed the attack; upon which the *Hetrurians*, changing their way of fighting, avoided coming to a close engagement; and keeping at a distance, showered from all parts darts and stones on those illustrious warriors. They held out some time against the unexpected storm, and pushed forwards against the enemy, who had not the courage to come near them. At length the *Hetrurians*, perceiving that the swords of the *Romans* were for the most part

The miserable
state of the
Fabii.

^a DIO. HAL. l. ix. p. 575. LIV. l. ii. c. 49.

broke,

- a broke, and their bucklers split in pieces, ventured to attack them man to man. Then the *Fabii*, like men in despair, threw themselves with incredible fury into the midst of the *Hetrurian* battalions, and snatching the arms of their enemies, fought them with their own weapons. Hereupon the *Hetrurians* were again obliged to have recourse to javelins and stones, with which those brave men were overwhelmed, and all killed on the spot. The *Hetrurians* cut off their heads, and carrying them in triumph on the tops of their lances, shewed them to the *Fabii*, who had staid in the fort. At this sight they gave themselves up to despair, and instead of defending the ramparts, sallied out upon the enemy without observing any order, aiming at nothing but to sell their lives dear. These were likewise cut in pieces; so that of the three hundred and six *Fabii*, not one escaped. *Livy*, and those who have copied after him, tell us, that only one of the name was left in *Rome*, a youth not fourteen years of age, from whom the *Fabii*, we find afterwards mentioned, were all descended. But *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* looks upon this as a mere fable, invented to give something of a miraculous air to so tragical an event. And indeed we can hardly believe, that of all the *Fabii*, who perished at the *Cremera*, one only left a child behind him. However that be, *Rome* suffered a great loss, and shewed all the concern gratitude could express. The gate *Carmentalis*, through which they marched out of the city, was thenceforth called *Porta Scelerata*, or the accursed gate, and the day of their defeat was reckoned among the unlucky days, on which it was not lawful to begin any thing of consequence ^a (O). The consul *Menenius*, who had received orders to march against the *Hetrurians*, was but thirty furlongs from the field of battle, when the *Fabii* were cut in pieces. But it was believed, that he, out of jealousy, gave them up to destruction, when he might have easily relieved them. He afterwards incamped disadvantageously on the side of a hill, without securing the top of it; so that the *Hetrurians* incamping above him, attacked him from the higher ground, gave him an intire defeat, and made themselves masters of his camp. Puffed up with this victory, they advanced to the hill *Janiculum*, and posted themselves on the top of it, whence they could see all that passed in the city, and observe what preparations were made against a siege. This obliged the senate to recall the consul *Horatius*, and the army which was appointed to act against the *Volsci*. The brave *Horatius* immediately came to a battle with the *Hetrurians*, near the gate *Collina*, the success of which was pretty equal: but in a second, near the temple of *Ilope*, about a mile from *Rome*, he

All the Fabii killed on the spot.

The consul Menenius was defeated by the Hetrurians.

^a Dio. Hal. p. 578. Liv. l. ii. c. 50.

(O) We have followed *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* in our account of the unfortunate defeat of the *Fabii*. But other historians are said by that writer to relate it in the following manner. The family of the *Fabii*, *Livy* they, being obliged to offer up a sacrifice, and celebrate a family-feast together, they marched out of the fort on the *Cremera*, in order to discharge this religious duty, guarded by a small number of their clients. They passed through the enemy's country without using the precaution of sending out scouts to reconnoitre, or marching in order of battle, as if they had been at peace with the *Hetrurian* nation. But the *Veientes* being informed of their departure, posted part of their troops in an ambuscade on the road the *Romans* were to take, while a small body marched to meet the guard, and attack it. The *Fabii*, who suspected nothing of this nature, fell into the snare which had been laid for them. The troops, which lay concealed, sallied out unexpectedly and attacked them with vigor, some in front, others in flank, while a troop of *Veientes*, who followed them close, fell upon their rear. Being thus surrounded on all sides, and overpowered with numbers, they were all cut off. This account has not, according to *Dionysius*, the least appearance of truth. Is it credible, says he, that all the *Fabii* should abandon so important a post without an express order from the senate? As for the care of the sacrifice, it might have been committed to such of their family and name as were dispensed with by their age from

bearing arms. If we suppose, that all the *Fabii*, not one excepted, were shut up in the fort, it would have been sufficient for them to have dispatched three or four of the family to discharge their obligations in the name of all the rest. Besides, it would have been highly imprudent in them to leave such an important place defenceless, and at the enemy's mercy, and to march through their country with as much confidence as in the most peaceable times.

Livy observes, that the *Fabii* marched out of the city at the gate *Carmentalis*, leaving the temple of *Janus* on their right hand. *Ovid* speaks of the departure of the *Fabii*, of the curie annexed to the gate *Carmentalis*, and of the temple of *Janus* in the following verses:

*Carmentis porta dextra est vis proxima Jano;
Ire per hanc noli, quisquis es; omen habet.
Illa fama refert Fabius exisse trecentos.
Porta vacat culpa, sed tamen omen habet* (7).

The same poet tells us, that only one youth of the *Fabian* family, not yet fourteen years of age, was saved.

*Una dies Fabios ad bellum miserat omnes;
Ad bellum missos perdidit una dies.
Us tamen Herculeæ superesset semina gentis
Credibile est ipsos consuluisse deos.
Nam puer impubes, et adhuc non utilis armis
Unus de Fabia gente relictus erat* (8).

(7) *Ovid. Fast. l. ii.*

(8) *Idem ibid.*

gained

gained a victory, which revived the *Roman* courage, and secured the city. However, the enemy did not decamp from the *Janiculum*, nor quite lay aside the design of besieging *Rome*. At the same time a famine began to be felt in the city, occasioned by the incursions of the *Hetrurians*. The lands having been left unsown the last year for fear of their ravages, and most of the barns in the country burnt or plundered, there was a great scarcity of corn. The meaner sort of the people got together in companies, threatening to plunder the granaries of the rich; and their clamours and mutinies were fomented by the tribunes, who did not fail to throw all the blame on the conscript fathers. On the other hand, the senators, to clear themselves, did all that lay in their power to relieve the people. They sent out merchants to buy corn, fixed the price of it at a low rate, and ordered that none of the patricians should keep more in their granaries than was necessary for the maintenance of their families. But these wise precautions were only serviceable for a time. The *Romans* found themselves at last under a necessity either of starving, or driving the enemy farther off. They marched out therefore under the conduct of their new consuls, *A. Virginus*, and *P. Servilius*, and engaging the *Hetrurians*, gained a compleat victory over them. But when by the dead bodies, that were brought to *Rome* to be burnt, the senate saw how many *Romans* had perished in the engagement, they refused the consuls the honour of a triumph.

The *Hetrurians* entirely defeated.

Menenius accused before the people, and fined.

THE departure of the *Hetrurians* restored plenty to the city, provisions being brought thither from all the neighbouring countries. But the people were no sooner delivered from the fear of a foreign enemy, than they renewed their complaints about the distribution of the conquered lands. As they could not bring about the execution of the *Cassian* law, they laid the whole blame upon the consuls, citing them, as soon as they were out of their office, before the assembly of the tribes. Thus *Menenius*, the son of the famous *Menenius Agrippa*, was accused by the tribunes of having connived at the destruction of the *Fabii*; and summoned to give an account of his conduct before a tribunal, where his most inveterate enemies were his judges. The patricians used the same arts they had formerly practised in the affair of *Coriolanus*, to prevent his being tried by the people; but to no purpose; for the tribunes continued obstinate, and their obstinacy prevailed. *Menenius* was tried, not by the curiæ, but by the tribes, and almost unanimously condemned to death. But the senate, and all his friends, soliciting earnestly in his behalf, the tribunes changed the sentence of death into a fine of two thousand asses, that is, about five pounds of our money, a considerable sum, when men of the first rank lived upon the product of their small farms, which they often cultivated with their own hands. Nay, this fine was excessive, with respect to *Menenius*, whose father had left him no other patrimony, but his glory. His friends offered to pay it for him, but he rejected their generous offers, and being sensibly affected with the injustice and ingratitude of his fellow-citizens, shut himself up in his house, where he soon died of grief and hunger. This melancholly accident greatly increased the animosity between the patricians and plebeians; the former determining to keep no measures with the latter, openly declared that they would never suffer the *Cassian* law to be put in execution. On the other hand, the tribunes, more enraged than ever, omitted no opportunity of prosecuting the nobility. They took great pleasure in humbling the patricians, and summoning the consuls, as soon as they had laid down their office, to appear before the tribunal of the people. *Servilius*, as we have observed above, had lost a great number of men in the engagement with the *Hetrurians*, when he drove them from the *Janiculum*. He had therefore scarce laid down the fasces, when a criminal process was commenced against him for pursuing the enemy too far, and by that indiscretion exposing the lives of many citizens to unnecessary dangers. But this was only a pretence for the prosecution. The real crime both of *Servilius* and *Menenius* was, their omitting to name the decemvirs for the partition of the lands. *Servilius* had too much confidence in the goodness of his cause to beg the senate to intercede for him. He faced the danger boldly, and without changing either his habit or countenance, appeared before the assembly of the people, and made so judicious a defence, that he was unanimously acquitted. He soon after not only cleared his character from all blemish, but added a new lustre to it. A remarkable victory, which the consul *Valerius* gained the same year over the *Hetrurians*, was chiefly owing to the bravery and conduct of *Servilius*, who served

Servilius accused, but acquitted.

- in quality of the consul's lieutenant. The following year, *A. Manlius* and *L. Furius* being chosen consuls, the former marched against the *Veientes*, who, at his approach, shut themselves up in *Veii*, where they were so distressed for want of provisions, that they sued for peace, and obtained of the senate a forty yearstruce. The consul *Manlius*, for this successful and unbloody expedition, was honoured with an ovation.

The Veientes obtain a forty years truce.

PEACE abroad was always followed by intestine broils at home. The old disputes about the distribution of the lands were revived by the tribunes; but the consuls, without being in the least shaken by their clamours and menaces, finished their year, and left affairs in the same situation they had found them. They had no sooner resigned the fasces to *L. Æmilius*, now the third time consul, and *Vosijus Junius*, than

New disputes about the distribution of lands.

- b *Cn. Genucius*, a daring, enterprising tribune, cited them to appear before the people, accusing them of having neglected to name the commissioners, with a design to debar the poor citizens and brave soldiers of the share they had so well deserved in the conquered lands. He exhorted the people to do themselves justice, representing to them, that if they inflicted an exemplary punishment on those criminals, they might, by that means, oblige their successors to put in execution the *Cassian* law. Accordingly a day was appointed for their trial. These violent proceedings greatly alarmed the senate, who now saw, with no less indignation than sorrow, that the tribunes aimed equally at their lives and fortunes, and that they had formed a design of destroying all the senators one after another. They therefore had private meetings
- c among themselves, and resolved to rescue *Furius* and *Manlius*, if they were condemned, there not being wanting desperate men, who offered to make the attempt. On the other hand, the people triumphed before-hand, insolently boasting, that, in spite of all the artifices of the senate, the *Cassian* law should pass, and be sealed with the blood of those who had opposed it; but the very day before the trial of *Manlius* and *Furius*, the furious tribune *Genucius* was found dead in his bed, without any marks on his body either of violence or poison. He was carried into the forum, and being there exposed to public view, the common people concluded, that the gods did not approve of his enterprize; but the wiser sort entertained violent suspicions of the patricians. However, the religious notion having prevailed, the partition of lands was not so much as mentioned for some time after ^a.

The sudden death of the tribune Genucius.

- d THE consuls and senate, finding the tribunes greatly confounded at the unexpected death of their colleague, and more at the effect it had upon the superstitious minds of the people, began to act in a very arbitrary manner, imagining they should now meet with no opposition, either from the people or their tribunes. As there was occasion to raise an army, the consuls held their tribunal, as usual, in the forum, and there either fined or caused to be whipped those citizens, who did not appear as soon as they were called to give in their names. Amongst others they called one *P. Volero* to list himself as a common soldier. *Volero*, tho' by birth a plebeian, had been formerly an officer in the army; and therefore, as he had behaved on all occasions with great valour, he expected to be promoted, at least, to the post of a centurion. Not able therefore to stifle his resentment, he complained of the injustice of the consuls, and demanded to be restored to his former post, or to know for what fault he was degraded. The consuls, in great anger, sent a lictor to seize him; and, upon his making resistance, ordered him to be beaten with rods. The lictor endeavoured to execute their sentence; but *Volero*, striking him a blow on the face, declared, that he had done nothing which deserved that punishment, and at the same time implored the protection of the tribunes; but they, terrified at the death of *Genucius*, not daring to appear, he appealed from the consuls to the people, crying out to the multitude, *Allyst me, O Romans, it is your protection I implore; since our tribunes had rather see a citizen of Rome beaten with rods, than run the bazard of dying in their beds*
- e *by the treachery of the consuls, we have no remedy left us against the tyranny of the consuls but force.* At these words the mutinous populace fell upon the lictors, broke their fasces, and drove them out of the forum. The consuls themselves, being surrounded on all sides by the multitude, who pressed hard upon them, thought it adviseable to withdraw, and retire to the senate-house as a place of refuge. Hereupon the tribunes, recovering their spirits, inspired the people with new fury, which was no longer levelled at the patricians in general, but only at the consuls. Those magistrates, in this sudden commotion, which put all the city in an uproar, assembled the senate, and

The haughty and imprudent behaviour of the consuls.

^a Idem ibid. & ZONAR. l. ii.

complained of the outrages committed by the people, contrary to the respect due to their dignity. Some senators were for putting *Volero* to death, and ordering him immediately to be thrown down headlong from the *Tarpeian* rock; but the more moderate among them did not think proper to put it to the trial, whether the anger of the senate, or the fury of the people, should prevail. The tribunes, on the other hand, demanded justice upon the consuls, for commanding a *Roman* citizen to be whipped like a slave, after he had appealed to the people; which was a manifest and criminal transgression of the *Valerian* law. While the people were thus complaining of the consuls, and the consuls of the people, *Volero*, in order to secure himself against the fury of the patricians, engaged the people to confer upon him the office of tribune, vacant by the death of *Genucius*. He publicly boasted, that, if he were invested with that dignity, he would take such measures, as should deliver the people from being ever more oppressed by the senate. The multitude, charmed with this hope, readily granted him their votes, and he entered on his office after the election of the new consuls *L. Pinarius* and *P. Furius*. Every one expected, that he would immediately begin a prosecution against the last year's consuls; but *Volero* soon discovered, that he had views far more extensive and important to the interest of his party, than a mere personal revenge. Without dropping one disrespectful word against the late magistrates, he endeavoured to lessen the authority of the patricians in general, by depriving them of the influence they had in the election of the tribunes. In a general assembly of the people, he proposed, that their magistrates and protectors might be chosen for the future in the *comitia* by tribes, and not by *curiæ*. In this the subtle tribune had two views very prejudicial to the patricians. In the first place, the *curiæ* were never assembled for elections, till the senate had consented to it by a decree. In the second place, the patricians, who commanded the suffrages of their clients, often got such tribunes elected, as were agreeable to themselves; but neither of these inconveniencies attended the *comitia* assembled by tribes; for the tribunes had the power of assembling them, without the consent of the senate; and the country-tribes, who were not so devoted to the patricians as those in the city, had a right to vote in them, as well as the inhabitants of *Rome*. The plebeian faction was highly pleased with this proposal, and warmly declared for passing it into a law: but the consuls, the senate, and the whole order of the patricians, opposed it to the utmost of their power; so that *Volero's* law became the common and only subject of dispute between the two parties, the *Agrarian* law being for some time intirely dropped. A dreadful plague suspended, for a few months, this furious contest; but it no sooner ceased, than the tribunes resumed the prosecution of *Volero's* law. In the mean time *Volero's* tribuneship expiring, the people continued him in the same office for the following year, in spite of the opposition of the senate, and the whole patrician party.

The tribune
Volero proposes a law for
electing the
tribunes in the
comitia by
tribes.

Appius *Claudius* set up by
the patricians
against *Volero*.

THE patricians, finding the people bent upon carrying their point, had but one expedient left; which was, to set up against *Volero* a man, who was not to be terrified by the clamours and menaces of the multitude. With this view, they pitched upon *Appius Claudius*, and raised him to the consulate. He was the son of the famous *Appius Claudius*, who had so often signalized his hatred to the plebeians, and no less zealous than his father for the interest of the senate, but more obstinate and inflexible. As he thought himself but ill qualified to govern in a time of general commotions, he had absented himself from the *comitia*; but the patricians, acquainted with his steadiness and intrepidity, got him elected, tho' absent, in the *comitia* by centuries, in which they had great interest. They joined with him *T. Quinctius*, a venerable senator, of a sweet temper, who was beloved by the people, tho' looked upon as one of the chief leaders of the other party. The new consuls having convened the senate to deliberate on the most proper methods to hinder the publication of *Volero's* law, *Appius*, following the dictates of his natural severity, was for raising an army, and sending the people to vent that martial courage abroad, which made them untractable at home. But *Quinctius* was of a contrary opinion; he thought it unjust to make war upon nations, that had given *Rome* no occasion of complaint; and besides, represented to the senate, that the people themselves would soon be apprised of their design, and refuse to take arms, which would turn to the dishonour of the consular authority, and produce a general flame. The opinion of *Quinctius* prevailed; but *Appius*, who could not bear the least contradiction, lived upon ill terms with his

* DIO. HAL. p. 537. LIV. l. ii. c. 56.

a colleague all the rest of the year ; which greatly increased the affection the people had already for *Quintius* .

THE division of the consuls, and union of the tribunes, made *Volero* believe, that he should now get his law passed. He had even the confidence to add the two following articles to it, viz. that all affairs relating to the people should no longer be brought before the curiæ, but before the tribes ; and that the ædiles, as well as the tribunes, should be chosen by them. There were but four tribes in the city, and seventeen in the country, which were not any-ways influenced by the nobility ; so that in the comitia by tribes the patricians had but little interest. They therefore exerted their utmost endeavours to ward off a blow, which tended directly to destroy

b the authority of the senate, and to establish that of the people upon its ruins. When the senate met to deliberate upon these extraordinary proposals, *Appius* was for making a decree to invite all those, who loved their country, to take arms, and declaring those, who refused to obey the summons, enemies to their country ; but *Quintius*, who was afraid of seeing *Rome* become a field of battle, thought it advisable to try, whether the people could be brought to their duty by ways of gentleness and insinuation. The advice of *Claudius* was rejected as too violent, and even dangerous, and the more moderate counsels of *Quintius* prevailing, the tribunes were desired to convene an assembly of the people, and to suffer the consuls peaceably, and without interruption, to represent to the people the true interests of the common-

c wealth ; after which they might, in concert, agree upon such measures, as should be most for the common good of the people and senate. The tribunes acquiesced to so reasonable a proposal ; and *Quintius*, when the time came, mounting the rostra, made such an impression on the minds of the people, by his soft and insinuating eloquence, that *Volero's* proposal would have been rejected, if *Appius*, when it was his turn to speak, had not, by his imperious behaviour, his threatnings, and his invectives against the people, and their tribunes, effaced the impressions made by his colleague. *Caius Leſtorius*, who was accounted one of the bravest soldiers in the republic, and had, for that reason, been raised to the tribuneship, when the domestic broils were like to end in a civil war, rose up to answer the consuls ; but, without taking

d any notice of *Quintius's* arguments, insisted only on the invectives of *Appius*, which he retorted, and concluded thus : *But to what purpose do we fight with words against a wild beast ? The sword is the proper weapon to be used in such engagements ; the sword perhaps may make you sensible, that the Roman people are not so despicable as you think them. In the mean time, you shall experience the authority of those tribunes, who are the objects of your contempt, but whom the law has made your judges.* Upon this there was a profound silence ; and *Leſtorius*, lifting up his eyes and hands to heaven, swore by all that was most sacred, that he would either get *Volero's* law passed, or perish in the attempt. Then, after having kept the people some time in suspense, turning to *Appius*, I com-

e mand you, said he, to leave the assembly. *Appius* despised his order, and told him, that, tho' a tribune, he was but a private man, and that his whole power consisted

f in forming an opposition to such decrees of the senate as were prejudicial to the plebeians. Then calling about him his friends, clients, and relations, who were very numerous, he prepared to oppose force with force. The tribune, having conferred hastily with his colleagues, commanded one of his officers to seize *Appius*, and carry him to prison. Hereupon a scuffle began between the consuls lictors and the officers of the tribune. The senators, the patricians, and the clients, who attended *Appius*, placed him in the midst of them, and repulsed *Leſtorius*, who advanced in person to assist his officers. Nothing was heard but confused cries proceeding from mutual animosity. From reproaches they quickly came to blows ; but as arms were forbid-

den in the city, little blood was spilt in the fray. *Quintius*, attended by some venerable senators, threw himself into the midst of the contending parties, and having found means to convey *Appius* out of the tumult, appeased the tribunes, and put an end to the scuffle.

THE next morning, the people, spirited up by their tribunes, and especially by *Leſtorius*, who had been wounded the day before, seized on the capitol, fortified themselves there, and seemed resolved to begin an open war. The senate being assembled to deliberate on ways to quiet the sedition, *Quintius* was for yielding something in favour of the people ; whereas *Appius* could by no means be brought to make them

The tribune *Leſtorius* orders *Appius* to leave the assembly, and to be led to prison.

A scuffle ensues.

the least concession. During this disagreement, which lasted several days, *Quintilius*,^a having often conferred with the tribunes, gained at length their consent to refer both their private and public complaints to the senate, and to stand to the determination of the conscript fathers. He then convened the senators, and after having acquainted them with the good disposition of the tribunes, got the following decree passed, viz. That as the scuffle, which had happened a few days before, was not premeditated, but the effect of a sudden commotion, arising on both sides from a pretended zeal for the republic, all injuries committed and received on that occasion, should be buried in an eternal oblivion. As to the law in question, since *Appius* would by no means suffer it to be proposed to the assembly of the people, without a previous decree of the senate, it was agreed, that it should be referred to the senate, and that a decree should be made for that purpose. The affair was therefore disputed with great warmth, *Appius* calling both gods and men to witness, that the republic was betrayed, and that the senate were submitting to a law more detrimental to their authority, than those which had been formed on the sacred mount; but *Quintilius* brought the senate to yield to the people, and allow them to propose the law in their assembly, where it passed, and was unanimously received with great applause. From this time therefore the tribunes were made, and almost every thing relating to the people determined, not in the comitia by curiæ, but by tribes.^b

*Volero's law
passes.*

*War with the
Æqui and
Volsci.*

NOT long after this law was passed, the consuls were obliged to take the field. *Quintilius* marched against the *Æqui*, and *Appius* against the *Volsci*. The former was so much esteemed and loved by his army, that the enemy, not caring to appear against troops so well affected to their general, shut themselves up in their cities, or lay concealed in the forests. The consul therefore, having laid waste their country, returned with a great booty to *Rome*, where he was received with loud acclamations, and called the father of the soldiers, while *Appius* was styled by his men, the tyrant of the army; and indeed never was an army governed with more severity, or discipline exacted with more rigour. As his rage against the people was no longer under any restraint from the tribunes, he intirely gave way to it; the consequence of which was, that the centurions and soldiers all murmured at their general's orders, and even entered into a conspiracy, not against his life, but his glory; for they resolved, by agreement, not to oppose the enemy, lest their general should receive the honours of triumph. The *Volsci*, being informed of all that passed in the *Roman* camp, drew up their men in order of battle, and challenged the *Romans* to an engagement. *Appius* marched out against them; but he was no sooner within reach of the enemy, than his men threw away their arms, and, with one consent, returned to the camp. The *Volsci* took advantage of this confusion, and having cut to pieces those who were in the rear, attacked the entrenchments; but the *Romans*, fearing the enemy might break into the camp, faced about, made a brave resistance, and drove back the *Volsci*. The rash consul would have led them again to face the enemy the next day; but they loudly demanded of their officers to be led out of the enemy's country, and forced *Appius* to comply with their demand, and break up his camp. As soon as the incensed consul entered the *Roman* territory, where he was out of the reach of the enemy, he summoned his soldiers to assemble; and, being seated in his tribunal, he first upbraided them with their disobedience and treachery, and then, giving a loose to his resentment, he commanded the heads of the centurions and other officers, who had abandoned their posts, to be struck off in his presence. Those, who had born the ensigns, and delivered them to the enemy, he caused to be beaten to death with rods. As for the common soldiers, he decimated them, that is, put every tenth man to death. As the time of the comitia for the election of new consuls drew near, he led back to *Rome* the remains of his army, where he was received with the hisses of the multitude.^c

*Appius's troops
refuse to fight.*

*He punishes
them with the
utmost severity.*

*The old dispute
of the Agrarian
law revived.*

THE consuls chosen to succeed *Quintilius* and *Appius*, were *L. Valerius* a second time, and *Tib. Æmilius*. They had scarce entered upon their office, when the tribunes revived the old dispute concerning the partition of the lands. Both the consuls were disposed to favour the people; *Æmilius* out of revenge against the senate, for having refused his father the honours of a triumph, when he returned from a successful war against the *Æqui*; and *Valerius*, to gain the good-will of the people, whose hatred he had drawn upon himself by prosecuting *Cassius* during his quæstorship. As

^a Idem, p. 602. Liv. l. ii. c. 57.

^c Dio. Hal. p. 606. Liv. ibid.

- a the consuls, by a decree of the senate passed in the consulate of *Virginus* and *Cassius*, were impowered to nominate the decemvirs, in order to make a new distribution of the conquered lands, the tribunes, being secure of the present consuls, brought the affair before the senate, where it occasioned long debates. *Emilius*, the consul's father, who spoke first, was for having the decemvirs named by the consuls, in order to proceed to the division of the conquered lands; which, said he, being public and common, ought to be for the equal benefit of all. But *Appius*, that sworn enemy of the people, opposed the opinion of *Emilius* with so much warmth and strength of reason, that the senate rejected the proposal of the tribunes, tho' supported by both the consuls. Hereupon the tribunes, enraged at their disappointment, resolved to
- b destroy so violent an adversary, and with that view cited him before the people, as a declared enemy to the public liberty. *Appius*, without changing his habit, as was usual on such occasions, or even suffering his friends to solicit the multitude in his behalf, on the day of the assembly, appeared in the midst of his accusers with the same dignity as if he had been their judge. His accusation was reduced to these four heads. 1. That he had spirited up the senate against the people. 2. That he had raised seditions in the republic. 3. That he had caused a tribune to be struck, tho' the laws declared his person sacred and inviolable. 4. That he had sunk the courage of his soldiers by his severity, and suffered himself to be overcome by the *Volsci*. But he answered these several articles with so much strength, that the people durst not condemn him. The tribunes, who were bent upon his destruction, fearing he would be acquitted, put off giving sentence to another day, under pretence, that they should not have time before night to collect the suffrages. But *Appius*, plainly foreseeing that he should fall a victim to the implacable hatred of those magistrates, prevented the disgrace of a condemnation, by laying violent hands on himself. The tribunes endeavoured in vain to deprive him of such funeral honours as his merit and rank in the republic deserved. His son obtained leave of the consuls to assemble the people, and make, according to custom, his funeral oration; which the people heard with pleasure, shewing him more regard after his death, than they had done in his life-time.
- c He kills himself
- d UPON the death of *Appius*, the tribunes resumed the business of the *Agrarian* law, which his prosecution had only suspended; but not being able to prevail upon the present consuls to name the decemvirs, the people, at their instigation, refused to appear at the election of the consuls for the next year, as if they intended to separate themselves once more from the body of the republic. However, the patricians, with their clients, raised to the consulate *T. Quinctius* a second time, and *Q. Servilius*, who, to prevent the breach from growing wider, busied the people all that year with foreign wars. *Servilius* had great success against the *Sabines*; and *Quinctius* gained a complete victory over the united forces of the *Æqui* and *Volsci*, which was followed by the siege and surrender of the city of *Antium*. *Quinctius*, on his return to
- e Rome, was honoured with a triumph, and attended both by the senate and people in his procession to the capitol. The domestic dissensions began afresh in the following consulate of *T. Emilius* a second time, and *Q. Fabius*, son of one of the three famous brothers, who perished in the battle of *Cremera*. *Emilius*, who had favoured the people in his first consulate, renewed his endeavours to get the *Cassian* law put in execution; whereupon great disturbances ensuing, *Fabius* found out an expedient to appease both the people and patricians. He proposed to send a colony to people that pleasant and fruitful canton of the *Volsci*, which *Quinctius* had just conquered. His motion was received with great applause by the meaner sort of people, and three senators, viz. *T. Quinctius* the consul, *A. Virginus*, and *P. Furius*, were immediately
- f appointed to make the distribution of the lands; but when the plebians were to give in their names to those triumvirs, few of them appeared; nay, they began to change their style, and complain of the senate, who, they said, were sending brave men out of their country, because they opposed their oppressions; the greater part therefore chose rather to stay at *Rome*, than leave it to take possession of the lands, for which they had raised so many disturbances. The games, the shews, the public assemblies, the hurry of business, and the share they had in the government, contributed to tie them to their old abode, and, notwithstanding their poverty, made them look upon a colony as an honourable banishment. The triumvirs, finding the people unwilling to quit *Rome*, were forced to admit of strangers to make up the number appointed for the colony. However, one advantage accrued from the refusal of the
- The Sabines, the Æqui, and the Volscians, seated.
- Fabius finds out an expedient to stop the complaints of the people.
- people,

people, which was, that those, who would not give in their names, were ever after ashamed to meddle in the affair of the partition of the lands.

The Æqui subdued.

But revolt, and defeat the consul Sp. Furius.

Quinctius obliges them to retire into their own country.

The Æqui and Volsci appear before Rome.

Rome enjoying now a profound tranquillity, *Fabius* took the field against the Æqui, and obliged them to sue for a peace; which was granted them, on condition of their being subject to the republic. However, in the following consulate of *Sp. Posthumius* and *Q. Servilius*, now a second time consul, they began to stir again; and the next year, when *T. Quinctius* a third time, and *Q. Fabius* a second time, were consuls, they renewed the war, and continued it under the consuls *A. Posthumius* and *Sp. Furius*. The latter, who was but a very indifferent commander, having engaged rashly with the enemy, was defeated, and so closely besieged in his camp, that not a man could go out to give notice at Rome of his danger. However, the senate had advice of it, and, in so great a distress, resolved upon an expedient, never used but in great extremity; which was, to give up the government absolutely into the consuls hands, by these words, *Videat consul, ne quid respublica detrementi capiat*, Let the consul take care that the republic suffer no detriment. *Posthumius*, who received this commission, made all take arms who were able, and gave *T. Quinctius* the command of the army, with the title of proconsul. As soon as *Quinctius* came within sight of the invested camp, the Æqui retired; but *Furius* had before made a sally, in which his brother *L. Furius*, and two cohorts, had been surrounded by the enemy, and cut in pieces. The consul now acted upon the offensive, and obliged the enemy to withdraw into their own country. *Posthumius* attacked a great body of their freebooters, loaded with spoil, and made a great slaughter of them. By these successes Rome was restored to its former tranquillity. In the following consulate of *P. Servilius Priscus* and *Æbutius Elva*, a dreadful plague broke out in Rome, and swept away almost all the flower of the youth who were able to bear arms, the fourth part of the senators, the greatest part of the tribunes, and both the consuls. Upon the news of so general a mortality among the Romans, the Æqui and Volsci renewed their old design of destroying the haughty republic. They began the campaign with committing hostilities in the territories of the Latins and Hernici, who immediately applied to the Roman senate for succours; but all the Romans could do, was to give leave to their allies to arm and defend themselves, and to promise them assistance in better times. Hereupon the Latins shut themselves up in their cities, leaving their country open to the ravages of the enemy. The Hernici took the field, and even ventured an engagement, in which they lost a great many men, and were, on that account, tho' the success of the battle was pretty equal, forced to confine themselves to their cities; so that the Æqui and Volsci, having now no enemy to oppose them in the field, entered the Roman territory, and appeared unexpectedly before Rome. The two consuls being dead, and the few tribunes, who were still alive, unable, on account of their bad state of health, to assist the republic either with their hands or their advice, the ædiles took upon them to represent the dignity, and perform the functions of the consuls. Notwithstanding so many calamities, the Romans seemed to have lost nothing of their ancient steadiness. They crept to the ramparts, and put the best face they could on their affairs. The senators themselves mounted the guard, and stood centinels; and the city being well fortified on all sides, the Æqui and Volsci, more expert at plundering than carrying on a siege, laid aside all thoughts of making themselves masters of Rome, and marched their forces towards Tusculum. In the mean time the plague continued to rage in the city. The two augurs, *Virginus* and *Valerius*, died of it, as well as *Sulpicius* the chief of the *curiones*, that is, the priests of each curia. The dead were so numerous, that they were thrown into the Tiber without burial; so that the calamity becoming now greater than ever, the people turned their thoughts intirely to divine assistance; all made their vows upon the altars, and the matrons swept the temples with their hair, and continued prostrate in the presence of the gods, till at length a more wholesome season put an end to the distemper, and delivered Rome from a calamity, which threatened her with utter destruction. Several patricians had governed one after another during the inter-regnum, which had lasted from the death of the consuls; and now *Valerius Poplicola*, being inter-rex, assembled the centuries for the election of new ones, when *Lucretius Tricipitinus*, and *T. Veturius Geminus*, were chosen. In the beginning of their consulate, the tribunes, forgetting the miseries the city had suffered, undertook to renew the old quarrel about the division of the lands; but the people,

- * without hearkening to them, turned all their thoughts upon revenging the insults *Rome* had received from the *Æqui* and *Volsci* the year before. Even those citizens, whom the laws exempted from going to war, enlisted themselves for the service; so that two consular armies were immediately raised. It fell to *Lucretius's* lot to march against the *Æqui* and *Volsci*, who had united their forces; but were overthrown in a pitched battle, with the loss of both their generals, and of thirteen thousand four hundred and sixty men, the most dreadful defeat they had ever received. So memorable an action made *Rome* forget the misfortunes she had suffered the last year.

The Æqui and Volsci entirely defeated.

- WHILE the two consuls were thus employed in the field, a tribune of the people, named *C. Terentius Arsa*, took the opportunity of their absence to weaken the consular authority, exclaiming in a full assembly of the people against the exorbitant power of the consuls, and demanding that bounds might be set to it with regard to public affairs, and that invariable laws might be established, for the consuls to be governed by in deciding the contests that arose between man and man. We must observe here, that the people referred all their differences to the judgment of the consuls, who regulated their sentences either by the principles of natural equity, or by ancient usages, or by the laws of *Romulus* and his successors, some remains of which were still to be found in the sacred books that were lodged with the pontifices, who, together with the patricians, made a mystery to the people of those first elements of their science of law. *Terentius* therefore, or, as *Livy* calls him, *Terentillus*, represented to the people, that the patrician magistrates were absolute masters of each man's fortune, and that the consuls, having no rule to go by in deciding causes but their caprice, or laws unknown to the plebeians, might strip them, when they pleased, of all their effects, and at the same time make them believe, that they acted therein agreeable to the laws. To prevent this inconvenience, insupportable in a free city, he moved for an immediate establishment of laws, known by every body, to serve for a rule to the magistrates in their sentences, and to the litigants for proofs of the justice or injustice of their cause. He urged at the same time with great vehemence, that the consuls had all the despotic power of kings, and only wanted the name; and therefore demanded, that a choice should be made of five of the best men in the republic, who should be authorized to restrain within due bounds a power so excessive; so that the consuls for the future might have no other authority over their fellow-citizens, but what those very citizens should think fit to intrust them with. The senators were all surprized at such bold proposals. *Q. Fabius*, who then governed the city in the absence of the consuls, immediately dispatched messengers to them, acquainting them with what had happened, and conjuring them to hasten back to *Rome*. He then convened the senate, and, after having enumerated the fatal consequences of such an innovation, prevailed upon the tribunes to desist from seconding *Terentius* in his first demand concerning the limitation of the consular power; but as for the second, they still persisted in demanding a choice to be made from among the senators and plebeians, of proper persons, to form a body of laws for determining suits among the citizens; however, overcome by the entreaties of *Fabius*, they consented to suspend the prosecution of this affair till the arrival of the consuls. Thus the city continued some time quiet; for the tribunes did not so much as mention the *Terentian* law, till the new consuls, *P. Volumnius*, and *S. Sulpicius*, were chosen; and then the whole college renewed their efforts to get the law passed. The people were often assembled to hear the harangues of the tribunes on this subject; and the senate as often to concert measures to oppose their designs. The factions and blind zeal on both sides increased to such a degree, that there was just reason to apprehend a civil war. The alarms, which these dissensions gave, were increased by the dread, which some pretended prodigies occasioned in the city. At the same time the *Hernici*, who were in alliance with *Rome*, gave notice to the senate, that the *Æqui* and *Volsci* were secretly arming, and that the new colony of *Antium* was entered into that confederacy. This news authorized the consuls to raise an army of citizens, as usual, whose absence would lessen the strength of the tribunes; but these magistrates of the people, pretending that this war was nothing but a trick of the senate to get the citizens out of *Rome*, opposed the levies, and revived the demand of *Terentius* for the compiling a body of laws. The contest ran high, and occasioned great disturbances. Every thing was carried by mere violence. The consuls having caused a plebeian to be arrested, be-

The tribune Terentius Arsa proposes the establishment of fixed laws.

Great contests on this head.

* DIO. HAL. p. 615. LIV. l. iii. c. 8.

cause he refused to give in his name, the tribunes rescued him out of the licitor's hands, and set him at liberty. On the other hand, the young patricians made great disturbances in the comitia, dispersed the people by violence, and, with their clamours, hindered the reading of the law, which was drawn up in these words: *Let the people, in lawful comitia, elect ten men of a mature age, consummate wisdom, and unspotted reputation, to draw up a body of laws, as well for the public administration, as for the determination of public affairs; let these laws be fixed up in the forum; and let the annual magistrate, as well as other judges, be obliged to conform to them in their decisions of the controversies, which may arise in Rome.* At length the tribunes gained their point of having this law proposed to the people; but when the day came for the comitia by tribes to determine the affair, the young senators and patricians, having *Quinctius Cæso*, the son of *Quinctius Cincinnatus*, at their head, rushed into the crowd, knocked down all who stood in their way, and dispersed the assembly, in spite of all that the tribunes could do to keep them together. *Cæso* was a young man, tall, well-shaped, of an extraordinary strength of body, and had signalized himself by actions of uncommon bravery in several battles. His eloquence was not inferior to his strength and valour; for no patrician was heard with greater applause, or spoke with more dignity. He was always the first to answer the seditious harangues of the tribunes with great freedom. These magistrates therefore, enraged to meet with so much opposition from one single man, conspired his ruin; and having agreed among themselves upon articles of impeachment, *Virginus*, the most zealous of the tribunes, caused him to be summoned before the assembly of the people. This made *Cæso* more violent in his opposition to the *Terentian* law; he reviled the plebeians, and inveighed with great bitterness against the tribunes. In the mean time *Virginus* still went on proposing the law, not so much out of any hopes that it would meet with a ready acceptance, as purely to increase the fury of *Cæso*, and render him, by his violent and rash behaviour, more odious to the multitude. Accordingly the inconsiderate youth, being supported by the senate, who flattered his vanity with their applauses, gave the tribunes new matter of complaint, and made, we may say, open war with them and their party. At length the day came, which was appointed for his trial; and then his courage all on a sudden failed him. He did not imitate the constancy of *Coriolanus*, but condescended to mean intreaties, and endeavoured to save his life by low and unworthy solicitations. He put on mourning, and with a countenance full of sorrow and humiliation, went about, begging the favour of the meanest plebeians. The tribune *Virginus* opened his accusation, and, in his discourse, enumerated the several violences of the young patrician, and produced those to be witnesses against him, who had been themselves ill-used by him; but the chief crime laid to his charge, was his having hindered by violence the meeting of some judicial assemblies legally called. When the accusation was ended, the accused was called upon to plead; but *Cæso* refused to own the jurisdiction of the assembly, offering at the same time to submit himself to the judgment of the consuls, his only lawful judges. This set the people yet more against him; so that his father, *L. Quinctius Cincinnatus*, a man highly esteemed and respected of the republic, was obliged to undertake his defence. He denied the capital points in the charge; and, as to hasty words or blows, he excused them as the indiscretions of youth, which rather deserved pity than resentment. Then *T. Quinctius Capitolinus*, who had been thrice consul, *Sp. Furius*, and *Lucretius*, all appeared to witness his bravery in several engagements, and his other good qualities. Neither the *Quinctian* family, said *Quinctius Capitolinus*, nor the city of Rome, ever produced a young patrician of greater expectation. He made his first campaign under me, and I was witness of his glorious exploits. Nor did *Sp. Furius* give a less advantageous testimony to young *Cæso*; The consul *Quinctius*, said he, often sent him to my relief, when I was in great danger; and nobody contributed more than he to the advantages we gained over the enemy. *Lucretius* likewise, who had been honoured with a triumph the year before, did justice to the valour of the accused: On this occasion, said he, I think myself obliged to share my glory with the brave *Cæso*. Nobody signalized himself more, both in single combats, and the general action, in which I was conqueror. What city is there, to which this gallant youth will not be an ornament, if we drive him from ours? As to the natural impetuosity he is reproached with, age and prudence will, by degrees, correct it; and when his virtue is arrived at its maturity, his defects will be worn away. How great a man will *Cæso* be, when years shall have tempered the ardour, which now transports him? The suffrages of so many illustrious

The contending parties come to blows.

Quinctius Cæso is cited before the people.

His mean behaviour.

His father, *L. Quinctius Cincinnatus*, undertakes his defence.

- a illustrious men, and the entreaties of the father, made a sensible impression on the multitude; but *Virginus*, who was bent upon *Cæso's* destruction, frustrated the hopes of the patricians. He rose up, and addressing himself to *Quinctius Cincinnatus*, The public, said he, does justice to your virtues, and the affection you have for the people; but alas! how different is your son from you! His proud temper and tyrannical conduct make him unworthy of pardon. The education he has received under the eye of a modest and popular father, has not been able to abate his pride. Romans, what have you to expect from him for the future? What a pernicious example has he given to the youth, who follow and admire him? If you, *Quinctius*, were ignorant of it before, yet being to-day better informed of it, you ought to join your indignation to ours. If you was acquainted with his conduct, and did not correct him, you are not worthy of the favour you ask. But what am I saying? your son's transports were certainly concealed from you; nor have you had any share in his attempts upon the authority of the Roman people: No, *Quinctius*, you are not to be blamed for any thing, but being a better father than a commonwealth's man; but, in order to efface in your heart those remains of tenderness which the people share with you, I beg, that my colleague, *M. Volscius*, may be heard in what he has to offer by way of private complaint against your son. I hope the people will not leave unrevengeed one of their own magistrates, who has been so great a sufferer by him. Then *Volscius* ascending the rostra, to act the part that had been concerted between them, directed his speech to the people thus: As I was returning one night with my brother from a friend's house, where we had supped, we met, hard-by the public stews, *Cæso*, accompanied, according to his custom, by several young patricians of the same character with himself, who, I suppose, had been making a debauch together in those infamous houses. They at first attacked us with abusive language, which I indeed was for taking no notice of; but my brother, less patient than myself, returned injuries for injuries. Then *Cæso*, full of anger and resentment, fell upon him, and, notwithstanding my prayers and entreaties, so beat and bruised him, that he expired upon the spot. This happened the year the plague made such havock among us. I designed to carry my complaints to the consuls; but death took them from us soon after. *L. Lucretius*, and *T. Veturius*, their successors, took the field in a hurry, and *Cæso* followed them. At their return I prepared to bring my action; but *Cæso*, hearing of my design, waited for me one night in a by-place, and falling upon me, repeated his blows so thick, that, to avoid my brother's fate, I was forced to promise never to mention what had befallen either of us.
- c
- d

Cæso is falsely accused of murder.

THE people were so exasperated at this story, that, without examining into the truth of the fact, they were ready to tear young *Cæso* in pieces; but *Virginus*, to give some appearance of justice to his villainous prosecution, interposed, and moved, that *Cæso* should be secured and imprisoned, till his crime could be fully proved, since *Volscius* had not his witnesses at hand. This occasioned great debates; *T. Quinctius* representing to the assembly, that it was a thing unheard-of in the republic, that, upon a bare accusation, a citizen should be arrested, and carried to jail. On the other hand, *Virginus* maintained, that such a precaution was necessary to prevent such an offender from escaping the justice of the people. After the question had been long debated, with great warmth and liberty of speech on both sides, the tribunes took a middle way between *Virginus's* pretensions and those of the contrary party, which was, that *Cæso* should be set at liberty, provided he gave security for his appearance before the people on the day appointed. This raised a new debate about the sum, in which the securities were to be bound; but the senate at last fixed the sum to three thousand asses of brass, that is, about nine pounds thirteen shillings and nine pence of our money; and left it to the tribunes to declare how many citizens should be security for it, in case of his escape. They were content with ten securities, who bound themselves to produce *Cæso* on the day he was to be tried, or to pay the fine. And this is the first time we read of bail given for appearance in public and capital cases. *Cæso* was no sooner at liberty than he left *Rome*, and retired into *Hetruria*; but the tribunes knew nothing of his escape, till he was again cited to appear, when his friends endeavoured to prove to the people, that he had executed justice on himself, and anticipated their sentence of banishment, by banishing himself; but the tribunes, seeing plainly that this was only an evasion to avoid the payment of the fine, exacted it with more rigour; so that *Quinctius*, the father of *Cæso*, having sold the best part of his estate on that account, was forced to retire to a poor cottage on the

Cæso retires into banishment.

other side the *Tiber*, where he cultivated, with his own hands, five or six acres of land, a which were all he had to live upon *.

The patricians
continue steady
in their opposi-
tion to the Te-
rentian law.

THE tribunes, believing that the banishment of *Cæso* would keep the young patri-
cians in awe, called an assembly of the people, in order to propose the *Terentian* law,
and get it approved by the tribes; but it was no sooner mentioned, than there sprung
up as it were a thousand *Cæsos*, all opposing it with the same intrepidity. Hereupon
the tribunes ordered all the patricians to be driven away from the assembly; but the
nobility, uniting themselves more closely together after the prosecution of *Cæso*,
opposed force by force; and being attended by a great number of their clients, made
the tribunes feel the evil consequences of the sedition they had begun. The people
were dispersed anew, and the tribunes obliged to save themselves, by taking refuge b
in their own houses. Thus the law was hindered from passing this year. The fol-
lowing year the senate and patricians, in conjunction, raised to the consulate *Cains*
Claudius, brother to *Appius Claudius*, who killed himself, and *P. Valerius* a second
time. The tribunes, seeing the whole body of the nobility united against them, and
despairing to carry their point by a fair, open contest, combined together to destroy
at one stroke the better part of the senate, and such of the patricians as were obnoxious
to them. In order to put in execution so detestable a project, in the first place, by
many false reports spread abroad among the people, they filled the whole city with
inquietude and distrust, as if some great design was secretly hatching against the
public liberty. Then, to give the people strong suspicions of the whole body of the c
nobility, they caused a letter to be delivered to themselves in public. While they
were sitting in their tribunal, a stranger came, and having, in the sight of all the
people, put into their hands a letter, disappeared in an instant, and was never after-
wards seen. The tribunes read the letter to themselves, and, in reading it, put on
an air of terror and surprize, in order to excite the curiosity of the people, and make
them more uneasy. Then rising from their seats, and causing silence to be proclaimed
by the crier, *Virginus*, with looks full of consternation, addressing himself to the
assembly, spoke thus: Romans, you are threatened with the greatest dangers. If the
gods, who are the protectors of innocence, had not discovered the wicked designs of your ene-
mies, you had been all lost. But you must give us leave to acquaint the senate with the d
affair before it be divulged. *Virginus* having thus spoke, the tribunes went all in a
body to the consuls houses, and the senate being immediately assembled, the tribunes
were admitted into it. In the mean time the emissaries of the tribunes spread a thou-
sand false reports among the people about the contents of the letter. Some said, that
Cæso was advancing towards *Rome*, where he had correspondents, at the head of an
army of *Volsci*; others, that the patricians had conspired to call him back, and, with
his assistance, to destroy the tribunate; others confined the enterprize to the young
patricians, and maintained, that *Cæso* was still in *Rome*, and would soon appear at the
head of a numerous body, composed of patricians and their clients, &c. Thus the
people's prejudices were kept up, and their hatred to the patricians increased. e

THE tribunes being admitted into the senate, *Virginus* addressed himself to the
consuls [and senators in the following words: "Our discretion, conscript fathers,
"made us keep silence, while the misfortunes, with which we are now threatened,
"were yet uncertain. To act upon bare conjectures against seditious men not yet
"discovered, is often only giving a handle to factious spirits to raise insurrections;
"however, we have not been unactive upon our first suspicions, and our private in-
"quiries have been effectual. We have been faithfully served by those foreigners,
"with whom we live in hospitality and friendship. Their letters will convince
"you, that the gods watch over the republic for its preservation. The symptoms
"we find at home, agree with the accounts we receive from abroad. *Rome* is be- f
"trayed. Some of the most illustrious families in this city, and some even of the
"senate itself, are turned conspirators, and have sworn her destruction. Among the
"Roman knights there are assassins, who are ready to murder us. They wait only
"for the opportunity of a dark night to break into our houses, and massacre us, and
"all those among the people, who shew any zeal for the public liberty. They take
"it for granted, that, after this barbarous execution, they shall easily obtain of you
"the abolition of the tribunate. *Cæso*, that *Cæso*, whom they rescued from his just
"punishment, is the instrument of their fury. He is to appear within the walls,

* *DIO. HAL. l. x. p. 627, — 632. LIV. l. iii. c. 25, — 13.*

" attended

- a " attended by numerous troops of *Æqui* and *Volsi*, who are to be brought hither
 " privately, and in small parties. The tribunes are to fall the first victims to his
 " resentment; and such of the people as shall dare to make any resistance, are to be
 " sacrificed without mercy. These are our dangers; this is the crime of your patri-
 " cians. What then is now to be done? O! ye immortal gods, who unite us in
 " the same religious worship, inspire the senate with sentiments of equity; efface
 " out of their minds all regard to rank, birth and party-interest. We conjure you,
 " conscript fathers, not to give us up to the rage of these assassins. In order to pre-
 " vent their evil designs, we hope you will not refuse us a decree; empowering us to
 " make further inquiries into this conspiracy, and to secure the chief authors of it.
- b " Those, who are most in danger, are most nearly concerned to avoid it, and will
 " be most active in making discoveries. Time presses us, and our assassins are at the
 " gates. The least delay were dangerous. Who knows but this very night may be
 " pitched upon for the execution of the bloody design? They must be conspirators
 " themselves, who are against inquiring into the conspiracy."

THE demand of the tribunes much embarrassed the senate. The more timorous were apprehensive, that a refusal would irritate the people, and raise a sedition; but those who had more firmness of mind, represented how dangerous it was to give the tribunes an unbounded power in an affair of a capital nature. But the consul *Clau- dius*, addressing himself to the tribunes, replied thus: " I take upon me to answer

- c " you, tribunes, because none of you can have the confidence to say, that I am con-
 " cerned in the conspiracy, with which you charge the patricians. My conduct puts
 " me out of your reach. However, my design in speaking, is not to dissuade the
 " senators from suffering informations to be taken of such a cruel attempt, or to hin-
 " der them from giving you this commission. Were the accusation true, too much
 " precaution could not be used to secure your lives, and the public liberty; but let
 " us search the matter to the bottom. The tribunes last year could not get their
 " law passed: hence their air of consternation; hence their continual deliberations,
 " their assemblies, and their conferences. And what resolutions have they taken in
 " them? No doubt, to invent the chimerical conspiracy they now bring to light.
- d " Let us accuse the patricians, said they, of having conspired against our lives;
 " and then demand of the senate a power to take cognizance of the conspiracy. If
 " they refuse it, we shall then inspire the populace with new rage against them. If
 " they grant it, we will then give full scope to our resentment, and intimidate the
 " opposers of the *Terentian* law. This is the tribunes scheme; these are the snares
 " they have laid for us. Speak, *Virginus*, tell us, whence came these letters, which
 " have so much alarmed you? Who are these guests, and these faithful allies?
 " How came they acquainted with the misfortunes which threaten you? Where is
 " the bearer of this foul accusation? Why has he disappeared? Let us know who
 " are the senators and knights named in the letter you produce? Surely we have
 " time enough to hear the names of those great criminals. Shall we wait till you
 " are made masters of our lives by a decree of the senate, and have it in your power
 " to convict us of treason by false evidence? You say, the symptoms at home agree
 " with the informations from abroad; why don't you then shew us these symptoms?
 " Why don't you produce the accusers? Could you possibly imagine, that the se-
 " nate would deliver up our most illustrious citizens to your fury, upon a bare accu-
 " sation by letter, without any kind of proof? To you, conscript fathers, to your
 " indulgence the bold attempts of the tribunes are to be ascribed. You were too
 " easy in delivering up the brave *Cæso* to the rage of his persecutors. The tribunes
 " success against him encourages them to attempt every thing against us. To con-
 " clude, my opinion is, that, if the state be in any danger, it is only from these
 " seducers of the people, who, while they set up for the defenders of the public
 " liberty, are indeed its greatest enemies." This speech quite stunned the tribunes.
 They withdrew with no less shame than fury; and repairing to the assembly of the
 people, who waited for them, began there to inveigh most bitterly against both senate
 and consuls; but *Appius* following them, ascended the rostra, and spoke to the people
 with so much strength and eloquence, that the better sort were fully convinced, that
 the pretended conspiracy was only an artifice of the tribunes to have it in their power
 to destroy their enemies; but the undistinguishing rabble continued in their first
 per-

persuasion; and the tribunes took great care to maintain the belief of an error, which ^a gave them an opportunity of raising new disturbances in the state ^w.

Herdonius, a Sabine, attempts the reduction of Rome.

THE intestine broils of the republic encouraged a private man in *Sabinia*, named *Appius Herdonius*, to attempt the reduction of *Rome*. He was descended of an illustrious family, and having a great number of slaves and clients, he flattered himself that he should be able, with their assistance, to reduce the *Roman* republic under his obedience, and make himself king of *Rome*. This bold design he imparted to his friends, representing to them, that it was not impracticable to surprize the city during the division between the people and the senate. Some of his friends, no less enterprising than himself, approving his undertaking, soon got together about four thousand men, consisting partly of their own clients, but chiefly of slaves, outlaws, ^b and men of desperate fortunes. This was indeed a small number for so great an enterprize; but *Herdonius* took it for granted, that a great number of *Roman* exiles, the *Roman* populace, who were greedy of plunder, such citizens as were enemies to the patricians, the slaves, and also the *Æqui* and *Volsci*, would not fail to come to his assistance, upon the first news of his attempt. With these hopes he embarked his troops on the *Tiber* by night, brought them down the river, and landed them before break of day by the side of the capitol. He got up the hill without being perceived, and, under cover of the darkness, possessed himself of the temple of *Jupiter*, and the fortress adjoining to it. Thence he threw himself into the neighbouring houses, and put all those to the sword, who refused to join him. Some, who had the good luck ^c to save themselves before the *Sabines* entered their houses, raised with their noise an alarm in all the quarters of the city. Nothing was heard but confused voices of people, crying out, *To arms, the enemy is in the heart of the city*. The consuls, awakened by the noise, knew not whether this tumult arose from a domestic faction, or foreign enemy, and were therefore equally afraid to arm the people, or leave them disarmed. They therefore contented themselves with giving arms to some, on whom they could depend, and placing them in the forum, and at the gates of the city. The night was spent in doubts and uneasiness, neither the consuls nor the people knowing how many, or what enemies they were to contend with. At length the return of light discovered who was at the head of so daring an enterprize. The consuls ^d immediately repaired to the forum, and summoned all the citizens to take arms, and follow them; but the tribunes, mounting their tribunal, with their unseasonable harangues, cooled the ardor of the people. We don't pretend, said they, to obstruct the public good; but after all, *Romans*, this is the time for turning the service you are going to do your country to your own advantage. Before you take arms, insist upon the consuls not opposing the *Terentian* law; and don't expose your lives to evident dangers, till they have promised upon oath, that as soon as you have re-taken the capitol, they will suffer the *Terentian* law to pass. Why should you venture your lives, when you can draw no advantage from your bravery? These words made such an impression upon the minds of the multitude, that neither the commands of ^e the consuls, nor the danger with which they were threatened, could prevail upon them to take arms. The consul *Claudius*, full of indignation, was for having the patricians attack the citadel themselves. The people, said he, would sell you their services too dear. The patricians, attended by their clients, and a few volunteers, are sufficient to drive away the rash *Herdonius*; besides, we may borrow succours of the *Latins* and *Hernici*: our slaves, if we set them at liberty, will lend us their assistance. In short, any soldiers are better than refractory citizens, who refuse to relieve their country in its utmost danger. But *Valerius*, who was more moderate and popular than his colleague, was of opinion, that, in the present circumstances, the senate ought not to refuse the multitude any thing that could induce them to take ^f up arms immediately. The best part of the senators being of his mind, he advanced into the midst of the people, and promised them, that, as soon as the capitol was re-taken, he would not hinder the tribunes from proposing the law. The people, charmed with this promise, took arms, and solemnly swore never to lay them down without the consuls leave. Then the consuls drew lots for the conduct of the attack, which fell to *Valerius*. *Claudius* was appointed to cover the city, and prevent any succours from joining *Herdonius*. *Valerius*, having drawn up his men in the forum, marched to the attack with them, and a legion of *Tusculans*, which *L. Mamilius*, the

Valerius prevails upon the people to take arms in defence of their country

^w DIO. HAL. *ibid.* p. 635.—637. LIV. *ibid.* c. 15.

- a supreme magistrate of *Tusculum*, had sent of his own accord to the assistance of the *Romans*. *Herdonius* sustained the assault with such courage and resolution, that the day was far spent before the *Romans* had gained any advantage over him. The consul *Valerius*, encouraging his men by his example to advance boldly, notwithstanding the showers of darts, which were incessantly discharged upon them, was slain at the head of the legionaries. *P. Volumnius*, who saw him fall, ordered his body to be covered, in order to conceal his death. He then took his place, and led on the *Romans* with so much bravery and resolution, that they carried the place before they missed their commander. *Herdonius* fought like a man in despair, who was resolved to sell his life very dear. As he was a man of a tall stature, and great strength, he made a terrible slaughter of the *Romans*, disputing the ground inch by inch, till he was at length slain, after having lost the greatest part of his followers. Those, who outlived the loss of their general, either stabbed themselves, or threw themselves headlong from the top of the capitol. And thus ended this rash enterprize in the destruction of *Herdonius*, and all those who were concerned in it.

The consul *Valerius* is killed, and the Sabines driven from the capitol.

- THE city was no sooner recovered from its fright, but the tribunes called upon *Claudius*, the surviving consul, to perform his colleague's promise; but he put it off, under various pretences, and at length refused to do any thing in the affair, till a new consul was elected in the room of *Valerius*. The day for the election being appointed, the senate and the whole body of patricians resolved to chuse some senator of great merit, who should be capable of defeating the tribunes design, and keeping the people in awe with his authority. They cast their eyes upon *Quintius Cincinnatus*, the father of *Cæso*, who was accordingly elected by the first class, consisting of eighteen centuries of cavalry, and fourscore of infantry; so that there was no occasion for the inferior classes to give their suffrages. When the deputies sent by the senate to acquaint *Quintius* with his promotion, presented him with the decree of his election, the venerable old man, wholly free from ambition, was in some doubt what resolution to take. He had retired, after his son's disgrace, into the country, and was so taken with the sweets of a rural life, that he preferred them to all the pomp of the consular dignity. However, the love of his country getting the better of his private satisfaction, he left the plough, which he was driving when the deputies arrived, and consented to go with them to the city; but he first took leave of his wife, and recommending to her the care of his domestic affairs, I fear, said he, my dear *Racilia*, that our fields will be but ill manured this year. He no sooner entered upon his office, but he turned his thoughts upon reforming the senate, and restraining the insolence of the people and their tribunes. In the first speech he made, he reprimanded both the senate and people with equal severity, without declaring himself for either party. He reproached the senate for feeding, with their continual compliance, the rebellious spirit of the people; and the tribunes for raising continual disturbances, and promoting an unbridled licentiousness among the populace. Some seditious men, said he, reign in *Rome*, with more insolence and tyranny than ever did the *Tarquins*; but I shall take care to carry the people out of the way of those seducers. Know then, ye *Roman* people, that my colleague and I have resolved to make war upon the *Æqui* and *Volsci*. We declare too, that our intention is to pass the winter in the field, without ever returning, during our consulate, into a city so full of sedition. We command all those, who have taken the military oath, to appear to-morrow with their arms at the lake *Regillus*. The tribunes answered, that they would not suffer any levies to be made; and that if *Quintius* was determined to take the field, he might chance to go to war only with his colleague. The brave consul replied, That there was no occasion for new levies, since the oaths the people had taken to *Valerius*, whose place he supplied, were still binding. The tribunes, to elude that engagement, cried out, That by the oath the people had taken to *Valerius*, they had not laid themselves under any obligation to *Quintius*, who was then but a private man. But the answers of the tribunes seeming even to those, who were most nearly concerned, more subtle than solid, every one began to take arms, tho' very unwillingly. What still increased their uneasiness, was a report spread abroad, that the consuls designed to hold a general assembly on the banks of the lake *Regillus*, and there to annul whatever had been done in former assemblies for the advantage of the people, the authority of the tribunes being confined to the city. *Quintius* further gave out, that, on his return,

Quintius Cincinnatus consul

* DIO HAL. p. 642, LIV. lib. d. c. 18.

Quintilius
makes the tri-
bunes deſt
from their pro-
ſecution of the
Terentian law.

he would name a dictator, whose authority could not be curbed by the opposition of a the tribunes. These reports, artfully spread abroad, struck both the people and the tribunes with terror. The women and children, all in tears, conjured the principal men in the senate to intercede for them with *Quintilius*, and to prevail upon him to suffer their husbands and fathers to return to their homes at the end of the campaign. *Quintilius* seemed inflexible; and the people, struck with consternation at the very mention of spending the winter in the camp, became very submissive. At length a kind of treaty was made between *Quintilius* and the tribunes: the former promised not to force the troops to winter in the field, nor even to march out of the city; and the latter, on their parts, bound themselves to make no proposal to the people of new laws. To these two articles was added a third, viz. that for the future neither b consuls nor tribunes should be continued in their offices beyond the year. *Quintilius* having thus restored tranquillity to the city, applied himself to hear and determine private causes, and pronounced such equitable judgments, that the people, charmed with his conduct, seemed to have forgot that there were any such officers as tribunes in the republic.

The Æqui and
Volſci defeated

NOTWITHSTANDING the late agreement between *Quintilius* and the tribunes, the latter got themselves continued in their employments. Hereupon the patricians were for continuing *Quintilius* in the consulship; but he warmly opposed it, upbraiding the senators with their contemptible levity in being so ready to violate their own laws, and thereby countenancing the breach of them in the people. Before he retired c to his farm, he presided at the comitia, when *Fabius Vibulanus* a third time, and *L. Cornelius Maluginensis*, were named consuls for the ensuing year. They had scarce entered upon their office, when news was brought to *Rome*, that *Antium* had revolted to the *Volſci*, who, together with the *Æqui*, had taken the field. It fell to *Fabius's* lot to march against the *Volſci*; and he gained considerable advantages over them, while his colleague was attended with equal success against the *Æqui*, who, after having been defeated in the field with great slaughter, shut themselves up in the city of *Antium*. *Cornelius* laid close siege to the place, took it by storm, and ordered the chief authors of the revolt to be first whipped in the market-place, and then beheaded. The *Æqui*, being disheartened at their repeated losses, had recourse to the clemency d of the senate, who granted them peace, upon the same conditions on which it had been formerly granted to the *Latins*. They were to continue in possession of their cities, lands and laws, but under the dominion of *Rome*.

Volſcius proſe-
cuted.

WHILE the consuls were thus employed in the field, *A. Cornelius*, and *Q. Servilius*, both quaestors this year, being men of great probity, began a prosecution against *M. Volſcius*, for having bore false witness against *Casſo*. In virtue of the power annexed to their office, they convened an assembly of the people, and produced their evidences, of whom some deposed, that they had seen *Casſo* in the army on the very day when *Volſcius* pretended he killed his brother at *Rome*. Others gave testimony, that e *Volſcius's* brother died of a languishing distemper; and that he never stirred out of his house after he was seized with it. These facts, and many others, were attested by so many persons of unquestionable credit, that there was no room left to doubt of *Volſcius's* malice; but the tribunes, who had suborned *Volſcius*, put a stop to this prosecution, declaring, that they would not suffer the suffrages of the people to be gathered upon any affair whatsoever, before the *Terentian* law was determined. The senate, in their turn, made use of the like pretence, declaring, that they would not suffer the *Terentian* law to be proposed, till the business of *Volſcius* was determined. These contests were spun out till the return of the consuls, who entered *Rome* in triumph, and soon after resigned the fasces to *C. Nautius*, and *L. Minucius*, who were obliged to take the field in the very beginning of their year against the *Volſci*, who had revolted f from the *Romans*, and the *Sabines*, who, with a numerous army, committed great devastations in the *Roman* territory. The latter were routed by the consul *Nautius*, and forced to shut themselves up in their strong-holds. But *Minucius*, by a stratagem of *Cluilius*, commander of the *Æqui*, being led into a valley, was there hemmed in on all sides, and in danger of being starved into a surrender at discretion. Some horsemen, having found means to make their escape in the dead of the night, carried the news to *Rome*. Whereupon *Quintus Fabius*, governor of the city, immediately dispatched a messenger to the other consul, to inform him of the danger his colleague was

The consul Mi-
nucius, and his
whole army in
great danger.

- a in. *Nautius* repaired to *Rome* in all haste; and having assembled the senate, all the fathers were for having recourse to the remedy made use of in their greatest calamities, which was, to create a dictator. Accordingly the consul named *Quintius* (*Quintus Cincinnatus* for that high station, and immediately returned to put himself at the head of his army. The governor of *Rome* sent the consul's decree to *Quintius*, who was found, as before, cultivating his small inheritance with his own hands. When he saw the deputies with a numerous train of attendants, and twenty-four lictors with their fasces advancing to him, he put on his robe, and going to meet them, What tidings, said he, do you bring from *Rome*? Your country, replied the deputies, being in great danger, stands in need of a dictator, and has pitched upon you; you are the only refuge *Rome* has in her distress. At these words he sighed, and, tho' sorry to quit his beloved solitude, yet obeyed the orders of the senate, and, having put on the habit of his new dignity, set out for *Rome*. The senate having notice that he drew near, sent him a boat, in which he crossed the *Tiber*, his three sons, his friends, and the chief men of the senate, receiving him at his landing, and conducting him in triumph to his house, amidst the loud acclamations of the people. The next day the dictator named for general of the horse *L. Tarquinius*. He was a patrician of uncommon valour, but not having wherewithal to keep a horse, had till then served in the infantry; but the dictator, who had observed his gallantry and conduct in the campaign he had made under him, did justice to his merit; and, notwithstanding his poverty, raised him to that high station. The first order *Quintius* made, was, that all the shops and tribunals should be shut up. Then he commanded all the youth in the city and country to be before sun-set in the *campus Martius*, each with twelve stakes, and provisions for five days. He then put himself at the head of these troops, and, before break of day, arriving at the enemy's camp, viewed their entrenchments, as well as the obscurity of the night would allow him. He made his soldiers, by several loud shouts, give the consul notice of the arrival of succours. Upon this, the consular army expressing as much joy as the *Æqui* did terror, without waiting for day-light, ran to arms, and fell upon the enemy with another shout, which was heard by the dictator's army. The *Æqui* first turned their arms against *Quintius*, in order to prevent him from surrounding them; but being called back to repulse the consul, *Quintius* laid hold of that opportunity to fortify his entrenchments with a palisado made of the stakes his men had brought from *Rome*. These entrenchments served at the same time to shut up the enemy's camp; so that the general of the *Æqui*, named *Gracchus Duius*, found himself at day-light in the same situation to which he had reduced the consul. Early in the morning the dictator and consul attacked the enemy's camp at the same time with such vigour, that *Duius*, fearing his camp would be won sword in hand, had recourse to negotiation. He sent deputies to the consul, who refusing to hear them, referred them to the dictator. *Quintius* having heard their proposals, which were, to quit their camp, and retire without baggage, arms or cloaths, replied sternly, That he did not think their death would be of any service to his republic, and therefore was willing to grant them their lives, but upon condition, that they delivered up to him their general and chief officers, and submitted to pass every man of them under the yoke, to imprint it deeply in their minds, that the *Æqui* were a nation conquered by the *Romans*. If they refused to comply with these conditions, he threatened to cut them all in pieces. The *Æqui*, being surrounded on all sides, and unable to sustain two attacks at the same time, submitted to what conditions the victorious enemy was pleased to impose upon them. Two javelins were therefore fixed in the ground, and a third laid over them; and under this sort of gate all the soldiers passed, naked and unarmed. At the same time they delivered up to the *Romans* their general and chief officers, who were reserved to adorn the dictator's triumph. *Quintius* would not allow the troops of the consul *Minucius* to have any share of the spoil. Cowardly troops, said he to the consular army, you were almost become a prey to the enemy; it is not therefore just you should have any share of their riches. As for you, *Minucius*, added he, you must learn the art of war in an inferior rank, before you pretend again to command in chief. He then obliged him to lay down his office; which the modest consul was so far from resenting, that he and his troops presented the dictator with a crown of gold of a pound weight, for having saved the lives and honour of his fellow-citizens. *Quintius*, after this victory, returned to *Rome*, which he entered in triumph, being attended both by his own and *Minucius's* army, with garlands of flowers on their heads.

Quintus Cincinnatus dictator.

Relieves the consul, and makes the Æqui pass under the yoke.

He degrades the consul Minucius.

heads. Before his chariot were led the enemy's general, and a great number of officers in chains, who were the chief ornament of that procession. The dictator, having finished his expedition in less than a fortnight's time, was for laying down immediately his office, and retiring to his beloved solitude; but his friends prevailed upon him to continue in the dictatorship, till *Volscius*, the accuser of his son *Caso*, was brought to his trial. Accordingly he assembled the curiæ; and the informer being convicted of calumny and false testimony, was, according to the law of retaliation, condemned to perpetual banishment, and *Caso* recalled home. This done, *Quintius* abdicated the dictatorship the sixteenth day after his advancement to it, though he might have held that dignity six months.

THE abdication of the dictator was followed by new disturbances. *Virginus* was continued a fifth year in the tribuneship; *Volscius* was recalled from banishment, and reinstated in his office; the tribunes revived the dispute about the *Terentian* law; and at the same time the *Æqui*, tho' lately subdued, together with the *Sabines*, began to make their usual inroads, and lay waste the *Roman* territory. The two new consuls, *C. Horatius*, and *Q. Minucius*, were ordered by the senate to raise troops, and march without delay against the enemy; but the tribunes, after their old way, protested, that they would not suffer one plebeian to give in his name, till the commissioners for making a body of laws, according to *Terentius's* proposal, were named. An extraordinary assembly of the senate was therefore summoned, to deliberate on the present troubles, and *Quintius Cincinnatus* recalled to make head against the tribunes. He was of opinion, that the whole senate, and the body of the patricians, with their friends and clients, should take arms, and hasten into the field. His advice was received with applause. Even the oldest senators repaired immediately to their houses, took arms, and, attended by their clients and friends, appeared in the forum. The people, who flocked thither from all parts, being moved at this new sight, the consul *Horatius* exhorted all good citizens to join those illustrious senators, who chose rather to expose their lives to the utmost dangers, than to see *Rome* insulted by her enemies. *Virginus*, in the name of his colleagues and the people, answered, That the plebeians would not serve, till the *Terentian* law was accepted. Hereupon *Horatius* made a reproachful speech to the curiæ, shewing them the dismal effects, which the seditious practices of their tribunes must at last unavoidably produce. His harangue made a deep impression on the minds of the multitude; which *Virginus* perceiving, thought it advisable to conform to the present conjuncture. Assuming therefore a milder behaviour, he told the consul, That he was ready to give over opposing the levies, nay, that he would himself exhort the people to take arms, provided the senate would grant them one favour, which would be of great service to them, and noways detrimental to the authority of the conscript fathers. The consul desired him to speak his mind freely, assuring him, that he would find the senate ready to comply with any reasonable request in behalf of the people. Then *Virginus*, having first conferred with his colleagues, replied, All that the people request of you is, that you will suffer the number of the tribunes to be increased from five to ten. If you give us a refusal in an affair of so small importance, accuse yourselves only of the misfortunes the republic may suffer. This unexpected request divided the senate. *Caius Claudius* opposed it with great warmth, being governed by this hereditary maxim, as we may call it, that all the requests of the tribunes ought to be suspected. But *Quintius Cincinnatus*, considering this affair in another light, was for granting the tribunes their request. He thought, that the more numerous the tribunes were, the more easy it would be to sow divisions among them. The opinion of this great man prevailed, and the senate passed a decree, giving the people leave to chuse ten tribunes annually, provided they did not continue the same man in office above a year. Pursuant to this decree, the tribes were immediately assembled, and two tribunes chosen out of each of the first five classes. The tribunes being satisfied, two armies were raised without opposition. *Minucius* marched against the *Sabines*, who fled before him, and retired into their own country. *Horatius* led his troops against the *Æqui*, retook *Corbio* and *Ortona*, which they had seized; and then both consuls returned to *Rome*, to preside in the comitia at the election of their successors.

IN the following consulate of *M. Valerius Laetucinus*, and *Sp. Virginus Tricostus*, the tribunes, grown more audacious than ever by their number, proposed, that mount

The tribunes of the people increased to ten. Year of the world 2547. Before Christ 452. of Rome 296.

* DIO. HAL. p. 651, 652. LIV. l. ii. c. 28, 29. FLOR. l. i. c. 11. OROS. l. ii. c. 12. p. 653.—657.

* DIO. HAL.

- a *Arventine*, or at least such parts of it as lay uncultivated, or were not possessed by lawful owners, might be yielded to the people, who being now very numerous, began to want habitations. The consuls looking upon this new demand as a prelude to the revival of the *Agrarian* law, and therefore deferring to convene the senate to debate it, *Isilius*, one of the tribunes, ventured upon an attempt never heard of before. He sent an officer to them, commanding them to assemble the senate forthwith, and to repair to it themselves. The messenger was, by the consuls orders, soundly beat, and ignominiously driven away by one of their lictors. Hereupon the tribunes caused the lictor to be seized, and some of them were for putting him immediately to death, for violating the sacred privileges of the tribuneship in the person of their officer. The senate, to save him, had recourse to entreaties, but without success. They were obliged to come to a composition with the tribunes. The lictor was set at liberty; but mount *Arventine* was, by a decree of the senate, yielded to the people. The senate soon found, that their compliance with the last demands of the people served only to put them upon new pretensions. *Isilius*, the most enterprising of the tribunes, formed a design to bring the consuls themselves under subjection. In the consulate of *T. Romilius* and *C. Veturius*, the tribunes made more noise than ever about the *Terentian* law; and the consuls, knowing the republic would never be quiet at home, till she was engaged in a war abroad, resolved to revenge the inroads, which the *Sabines* and *Æqui* had made the year before; but, in raising levies, they used so much severity,
- c that the people appealed to their tribunes, who taking the part of the complainants, endeavoured to rescue out of the hands of the lictors those, whom the consuls had ordered to be seized, for refusing to answer when called upon. The consuls advanced to support the execution of their orders; but the tribunes, supported by the populace, not only repulsed them, but ordered their ædiles to seize those sovereign magistrates, and carry them to prison. So daring an attempt provoked the patricians to such a degree, that they fell upon the tribunes, beat them soundly, and forced them to fly, with those who stood up for them. The next day the tribunes assembled the people anew, and summoned the consuls to appear before their tribunal, and there answer for what had happened the day before. The consuls scornfully refusing to obey the
- d summons, the tribunes brought their complaints to the senate, and threatened to assemble the tribes in order to judge the consuls, in case they did not appear to justify their conduct. The consul *Romilius* haughtily answered, That the tribunes had been the aggressors, and the sole authors of the tumult; and protested, that, if they were so daring as to proceed a step further in this affair, he would arm the whole body of patricians against them. The senate, thinking it equally dangerous to declare either for the consuls or the tribunes, broke up, without coming to any resolution. *Isilius*, finding that nothing was to be expected from the senate, convened an assembly of the people, in order to stir them up to some vigorous resolution. Some of the plebeians were for taking arms, and retiring again to the sacred mount; others for proceeding
- e against the consuls, and insisting upon their appearing before the people, or condemning them to death or banishment, in case they did not appear; but the most moderate advised the people to defer all proceedings against the consuls, till their consulate was expired, and, in the mean time, to prosecute, with the utmost rigour, those patricians, who had assisted them in the insult they had committed on the persons of the tribunes. Of these three different opinions the tribunes chose to follow the second; and accordingly summoned the consuls to appear the third market-day. This project however came to nothing; for *Isilius* declared in the assembly of the people, that the college of tribunes, at the entreaties of the senate, forgave the consuls the personal injuries they had received from them; but could not neglect the
- f interests of the people, and would therefore propose both the *Agrarian* and *Terentian* laws to their consideration. This said, he fixed a day for a new assembly to deliberate upon those matters.

THE time appointed being come, and the people assembled, *Isilius* made a long harangue on the reasonableness of the *Agrarian* law, and then declared, that any plebeian might speak his mind freely. Upon this, many plebeians pleaded the right their services gave them to a share of the conquered lands, and made loud complaints of the patricians, who usurped what the plebeians had gained with their blood. This was the common complaint of the plebeians; but none represented it in stronger terms than one *Sicinius*, or, as *Livy* calls him, *Siccius Dentatus*. He was a plebeian

g about three score years of age; but yet in his full strength and vigour, of a handsome

A bold attempt
of the tribunes.

The consuls cited
before the
tribunal of the
tribunes.

The tribunes
renew their
pursuit of the
Agrarian law.

Sicinius Dentatus pleads for it.

shape and mein, and not uneloquent for a man of his profession. He enumerated his exploits in war during forty years service; told the multitude, that he had been in a hundred and twenty engagements, that he had received forty-five wounds, and all before, twelve of them in that single action against *Herdonius the Sabine*; that for the thirty last years he had been always in some command or other; that fourteen civic crowns had been given him for saving the lives of so many citizens, three mural crowns for having been the first who mounted the breach in towns taken by storm, eight other crowns for different exploits, eighty-three golden collars, sixty golden bracelets, eighteen lances, twenty-five sets of furniture for horses, nine of which he had won from so many enemies conquered in single combats. And these military toys, added he, are the only rewards I have hitherto received. No lands, no share of the conquered countries. Usurpers, without any title but that of a patrician extraction, possess them. Is this to be endured? Shall they alone enjoy the fruits of our conquests? the purchase of our blood? No, plebeians, let us delay no longer to do ourselves justice. Let us this very day pass the law proposed by *Scilius*. If the young patricians oppose it, let our tribunes make them feel what is the extent of their authority. *Scilius* bestowed the highest elogiums on *Dentatus*, but affecting to appear a strict observer of the laws, he told him, that he could not with justice propose the law till he had heard what the patricians alledged against it. Accordingly, he adjourned the assembly to the next day. In the mean time the consuls, having spent great part of the night in consulting with the chief men of the senate about the proper means to frustrate the designs of the tribunes, came to the following resolution, viz. to employ the whole art of eloquence to win over the people; but if they continued obstinately bent upon the publication of the law, in that case to hinder by main force the collecting of the votes. This resolution being imparted to the patricians, they all repaired early in the morning to the forum, and dispersed themselves among the multitude in small parties. The consuls being come, the tribunes caused proclamation to be made by a herald, that whoever had any solid reasons to offer against the publication of the *Agrarian* law, might lay them before the people. Several senators presented themselves one after another; but they no sooner began to speak, than the populace set up such a clamour, that it was impossible to hear what they said. The consuls protested against all that should be done in so tumultuous an assembly; but the tribunes, without hearkening to their remonstrances, commanded the urns to be opened, and the tables to be delivered out to the people, in order to vote. Hereupon the young patricians starting up, snatched away the urns, and scattered about the tablets, on which the votes were written, and throwing themselves, at the head of their clients and friends, into the croud, by blows and main force hindered the people from dividing into their respective tribes. The tribunes, having attempted in vain to oppose the patricians, and keep the people together, were at length obliged to retire, and defer the promulgation of the law to another day. Early next morning, the tribunes assembled the people, and having demanded and obtained permission of the assembly to inquire after the authors of the late disorder, they resolved to turn the whole accusation against the youth of the *Posthumian*, *Sempronian*, and *Clelian* families, who had been the most active in the fray. It was then customary in *Rome* to determine what punishment the accused deserved, in case he was convicted, before his crime was reported to the people. The tribunes therefore having assembled a certain number of the most considerable citizens to determine the punishment they should inflict upon the ring-leaders of the tumult, some voted for death, others for banishment; but *Sicinius* was for the least punishment the laws enjoined, viz. the confiscation of their effects; and his opinion prevailed. The chief men of the senate, having consulted together on this occasion, thought it adviseable not to oppose the prosecution, hoping that the multitude, satisfied with this revenge, would drop the more important affair of the law. As for the loss of the sufferers, they resolved to repair it at their private charges. Accordingly, when the day came for the trial, the persons accused not appearing, were condemned in a fine for default, and their goods publicly sold to pay it. But the senate caused them to be bought up by private hands, and restored to the former proprietors.

The patricians oppose by force the passing of the law.

The *Æqui* invade the territory of *Tusculum*.

DURING these contentions, news was brought, that the *Æqui* had made an irruption into the territory of the *Tusculans*, who were in alliance with *Rome*. The senate

^b DIO. HAL. p. 662—668. LIV. l. iii. c. 31.

immediately

- a immediately decreed, that the consuls should take the field, and march to the assistance of those faithful allies. The tribunes did not fail to lay hold of this opportunity to raise new disturbances about the *Agrarian* law, protesting, that they would not suffer the plebeians to take arms, till the law was passed. But herein they were not seconded by the people, who, remembering the assistance they had received from *Tusculum* against *Herdonius*, readily gave in their names; so that two armies were immediately raised. *Sicinius Dentatus* was one of the first who joined the consuls at the head of eight hundred veterans as brave as himself, who had all served the time prescribed by law, but yet were willing to make one campaign more under the command of so famous a leader. The consuls marched out of *Rome* in great state; but the
- b *Æqui*, on the news of their approach, retired to their own frontiers, and incamped on a steep rock. The *Romans* pitched their camp not far from the enemy, and kept close within it, to conceal their strength, and by that means encourage the enemy to offer them battle. Accordingly, the *Æqui*, imagining the number of the *Romans* to be very small, went down into the plain, and there challenged the *Romans* to an engagement. The consul *Romilius*, who commanded that day in chief, seeing the enemy thus confirmed in their false confidence, resolved to give them battle in the plain, and at the same time to attack their camp on the hill. With this view he sent for *Sicinius*, and either out of esteem for so valiant a commander, or, what is most likely, with a design to expose him and his veterans, who were all plebeians, to be cut
- c in pieces, gave him the charge of attacking the enemy's camp. *Sicinnus*, being well apprised of the danger of so desperate an attempt, gave the consul this respectful answer. I never yet declined any dangerous enterprise out of fear: but give me leave to represent to you, that the execution of what you command, is not so easy as you seem to imagine it. The rock we must climb up is very steep on all sides, and not accessible, but by a narrow way, which an handful of men may defend against a whole army. If you will have me therefore to make this attack, enlarge my troop, and put us in a condition to shew our bravery without dishonouring ourselves by a rash attempt. At these words, the consul told him in great anger, that his business was to obey, and not to act the general; and then added, with a scornful smile, this then
- d is the brave man who has signalised himself in an hundred and twenty battles, who has been forty years in the service, and whose whole body is covered over with wounds! He draws back at the sight of danger, and has no courage, but in words. Go, *Sicinnus*, go to the comitia, and fight the patricians with your tongue. What you refuse to undertake, others shall put in execution for you. The brave plebeian, enraged at the general's reproaches, told him boldly, that he found he was resolved either to destroy an old soldier, or to shame him; that he had been always ready to sacrifice his life for his honour, and therefore would now march up to the enemy's camp, and either win it, or fall in the attempt, with all the veterans under his command. Then turning to them, my dear fellow-soldiers, said he, let us go whithersoever honour and
- e the command of our general call us. You will bear me witness after my death, that I was destroyed only for having defended with zeal the public liberty. His veterans took their leave of the rest of the soldiers, who looked upon them as men sent to slaughter. But *Sicinnus*, who understood the art of war better than the consul, instead of following the narrow path, which he had pointed out to him, led his men round about, and at length entered a great wood that seemed to stretch along the hills quite to the enemy's camp. There he met with a peasant, who conducted him to an eminence, which overlooked the enemy's camp, and was not far from it. From thence he had a sight of the two armies, which were already engaged, and at the same time observed, that the soldiers, who were left to guard the enemy's camp,
- f were all gone to that side, which were next the plain, to see from thence the battle. In this juncture *Sicinnus*, with his veterans, entering the intrenchments without opposition, ordered his men to give a loud shout, and at the same time falling upon the *Æqui*, whose eyes were turned another way, struck them with such terror, that they abandoned the camp, and fled in the utmost confusion to the main body of their army. *Sicinnus* pursued them close, made a great slaughter of them by the way, and then falling upon the rear of the main body, which was engaged with the *Romans*, quickly put an end to the conflict. The *Æqui* betook themselves to flight, and the consuls following them, killed above seven thousand men in the pursuit. *Sicinnus*, as soon as it was dark, retired with his veterans to the camp he had taken from the enemy,
- g and having there put to the sword all the prisoners, killed the horses, and set fire to the

The gallant behaviour of *Sicinnus Dentatus*.

The *Æqui* are routed by the *Romans*.

the tents, arms and baggage, marched with all possible expedition to *Rome*, with a his victorious cohort, and gave an account to the tribunes of what had passed, begging that the honours of a triumph might not be allowed to generals who had abused their authority to destroy their fellow-citizens. The people, full of indignation, promised they would never consent that the consuls should have a triumph, and accordingly, when the generals returned from the campaign, the multitude refused to let them enter the city with the usual pomp on such occasions. The senate, fearing some new commotions, did not think proper to espouse the consuls cause, so that they returned without honour, and loaded with fresh odium.

The last year's consuls tried by the people, and fined.

THE two consuls had no sooner resigned the fasces to their successors *Sp. Tarpeius*, and *A. Aternius*, but they were cited before the assembly of the people. *Sicinius*, b whom the people had raised to the tribuneship, took upon him the management of the prosecution against his enemy *Romilius*, whilst *Allienus*, one of the ædiles, accused *Veturius*. On the day appointed for their trial, they both appeared, depending on the promises the patricians had made them, which were not to suffer the suffrages of the people to be gathered. But *Sicinius* took such measures to prevent the young patricians from raising any disturbances, that they were both regularly tried for having offered violence to the tribunes, and disturbed them in the execution of their office, and besides, for abusing their authority in the army, in order to destroy *Sicinius*, and the eight hundred veterans of his cohort. The people fined them both, *Romilius* in ten thousand asses, and *Veturius* in fifteen thousand. History has not told us why the c people made this difference in their fines; *Veturius* seems to have been less guilty than his colleague, and yet his fine was one-third larger. Perhaps *Sicinius*, satisfied with humbling his adversary, did not care to reduce him to poverty.

UNDER this year's consuls a law was made, with the consent of all orders in the state, empowering any magistrate to lay a fine upon such as should be wanting in respect to his dignity; a prerogative reserved before to the consuls only. This new regulation raised the authority of the tribunes, and put them almost upon a level with the consuls. However, to prevent any particular magistrate from abusing his authority in this point, it was provided by the same law, that the highest fine for such crimes should never exceed the value of two oxen, and thirty sheep. c

The tribunes resume the pursuit of the Terentian law,

THE tribunes, finding they could not by any means bring the consuls to hear of the *Agrarian* law, returned to the pursuit of the *Terentian*. The senate, to put an end to the continual contests between them and the people, which they foresaw would at length make *Rome* become a prey to her enemies, began to hearken to the tribunes proposal, and declared that they would not oppose the drawing up a body of laws, which should be a guide to the magistrates, provided all the legislators were chosen out of the nobility. On the other hand the tribunes were for having them chosen partly out of the nobility, and partly out of the plebeians. On this occasion *Romilius*, to the great surprise of both parties, declared with great warmth for the establishment of fixed laws, and at the same time proposed the sending of deputies to *Athens* to e transcribe the laws of *Solon*, and of the other law-givers of *Greece*, in order to form thereby a body of *Roman* laws, which should be the rule for magistrates in all the parts of their administration. The opinion of *Romilius* was followed by the two consuls, and a great majority of the senators. But before the decree passed, the tribune *Sicinius* rose up and bestowed great encomiums on *Romilius*, protesting, that for the future he should ever be his friend. Nay, he went further; and as *Romilius* had not yet paid the fine, the tribune declared that he remitted it in the name of the people. But as fines, according to the custom of those days, were always applied to religious uses, *Romilius* rejected this favour, protesting that he would not defraud the gods of the money which belonged to them. A decree conformable to f *Romilius's* proposal being passed by the senate, and confirmed by the people, *Sp. Posthumus*, *S. Sulpicius*, and *A. Manlius*, were appointed to repair to *Greece*, and there collect the best laws and institutions of the *Greek* cities, especially of *Athens*. The quæstors ordered some galleys to be fitted out, and magnificently adorned, to give the *Greeks* an advantageous opinion of the *Roman* republic, with which they were yet intirely unacquainted. On board these galleys the deputies set out, leaving *Rome* in the enjoyment of a profound peace, which lasted all this year and the following, when *P. Horatius*, and *Sextus Quintilius* were consuls; but almost all *Italy* was afflicted with a plague, which swept away great numbers of citizens at *Rome*, amongst others the

Which at length passed.

- a consul *Quintilius, Sp. Furius*, who had been named to succeed him, *Servius Cornelius*, the high-priest of *Jupiter*, the augur *Horatius Pulvillus*, four tribunes of the people, and the best part of the senators. The next year, *P. Sestius* and *T. Menenius* being consuls, the plague ceased, and the deputies, who had been sent into *Greece*, returned home. Upon their return, the people pressed the nomination of the ten commissioners or decemvirs for the great work of drawing up a body of laws. But the consuls *Sestius* and *Menenius*, being averse to the whole design, put off the election under various pretences. At first they alledged in excuse of their delay, that their successors, in whose consulate this great affair was to be settled, ought to be previously elected. This hastened the election of the new consuls, and *Appius Claudius* and *T. Genucius* were chosen before the usual time. *Appius* was the son of that *Appius* who killed himself, and grandson of the first *Appius*. All the patricians gave him their suffrages, hoping he would be no less zealous for the power of the senate than his ancestors. After this election of magistrates for the next year, the tribunes applied themselves anew to the present consuls for the nomination of the decemvirs. But *Menenius*, pretending to be out of order, kept at home, and *Sestius* declared, that he would not act in so great an affair without his colleague. Hereupon the tribunes applied themselves to the consuls elect. It then evidently appeared, that the *Roman* constancy, and zeal of the most rigid patricians for the interests of their body, was nothing else but a refined ambition. For *Appius Claudius*, who had hitherto valued himself on his immoveable attachment to the party of the nobility, and seemed to have derived it with his blood from his ancestors, changed all at once, and joined with the tribunes, in order to get the decemvirs appointed. His colleague *Genucius* followed his example, but with more moderation. *Appius* publicly undertook the defence of the popular faction, and, at the instigation of the tribunes, made an harangue in their favour in a general assembly of the people. He there publicly declared, that the nomination of the decemvirs ought to be deferred no longer, and added, that if the election of himself and his colleague to the consulate was thought to be of any hindrance to it, they were both ready to relinquish their pretensions to that dignity. *Appius* had in this his private views; he expected, that by the favour of the tribunes, he should be placed at the head of the decemvirs, and by that means have a more absolute authority, than if he had continued consul. The next step was to bring the affair before the senate. *Menenius* still pretended sickness, and stayed at home; but *Sestius* was at length prevailed upon by *Appius* and *Genucius* to assemble the conscript fathers, and propose the nomination of those new magistrates, which did not pass without some opposition. The patricians did not find their account in establishing these laws, the authority of the consuls being much greater, while they continued to determine causes in an arbitrary manner. Many therefore among the senators were for adhering to the ancient customs, and rejecting all changes in the government of the state. But *Appius*, who had a strong party in the assembly, maintained on the contrary, that it was highly reasonable that laws should be established, equally binding all citizens, and equally favourable to all; adding, that such an establishment would put an end to the domestic feuds, which had so long divided *Rome*, as it were, into two cities. The opinion of *Appius* prevailed, and it was resolved, that ten men, venerable for their age and wisdom, should be chosen to compile a body of laws out of those that had been brought from *Greece*. It was likewise decreed, that these commissioners should for one whole year be invested with the sovereign power, that the authority of consuls, tribunes, ædiles, and quaestors, should cease; that there should be no appeal from the decemvirs; and lastly, that during their administration, they should be the sole judges of peace and war, and of all matters of justice. This is the first instance of suspending the tribuneship, which, as the tribunes were not properly magistrates, had hitherto been always preserved even under the dictators. But when the ten commissioners came to be chosen, a new difficulty arose. The tribunes demanded, as they had done before, that some plebeians should be let into the commission; but the senate opposing with great unanimity this pretension, the tribunes yielded, for fear the nomination of the decemvirs should be dropt intirely; but upon condition that no alteration should be made by the decemvirs, in two laws favourable to the people, viz. the *Scilian*, which gave the people ground to build upon on the *Aventine*, and that of the *Mons sacer*, by which the tribunes were appointed to defend and protect the people against the oppressions of the patricians. These two articles being agreed upon, a solemn assembly was held of the whole *Roman* people convened by centuries, and the auspices being taken, they

The consul *Appius Claudius* joins the tribunes.

Decemvirs
created for
making new
laws.

Year after the
flood 2553.
Before Christ
446.
Of Rome 302.

The decemvirs
propose the ten
tables of laws.

The decemviral
government
continued for
one year more.

proceeded to the election of the decemvirs. *Appius Claudius*, and his colleague *T. Genucius*, were the first named. To them were added *Sestius* the consul, who had laid this matter before the senate against his colleague's will; *Sp. Posthumus*, *S. Sulcius*, and *A. Manlius*, who had brought the laws from Greece; *T. Romilius*, the first who proposed that deputation; *C. Julius*, *T. Veturius*, and *P. Horatius*, all consulars, and men of great distinction. This was almost as remarkable a revolution in the government of Rome, as that from kings to consuls. Nothing could be more moderate and gentle than the beginning of this joint reign, as we may style it, of the decemvirs. They agreed among themselves, that only one of them at a time should have the fasces and the other consular ornaments, assemble the senate, confirm decrees, &c. To this honour they were to succeed by turns, each enjoying it one whole day, and then resigning it to another. The rest, who were not actually exercising their authority, affected no distinction but that of guards, their habits differing very little from those of the other senators. They repaired every morning, each in his turn, to their tribunal in the forum, and there distributed justice with so much impartiality, that the people, charmed with their conduct, seemed to have quite forgot their tribunes. *Appius* was the most popular of them all. He, who was formerly a severe and inflexible magistrate, was now all affability and complaisance. He knew most of the citizens by their names, received them with respect, and saluted them with great marks of affection; insomuch, that from being the detestation, he became the idol of the people, and was looked upon as a second *Poplicola*. Before the end of the year each of the decemvirs presented to the people that part of the laws which he had drawn up. They were assisted by one *Hermodorus*, banished from *Ephesus*, his native city, and then accidentally at Rome, in understanding the Greek transcripts brought from Athens. We are told, that *Heraclitus*, one of *Hermodorus*'s friends, wrote him a congratulatory letter on the pains he had taken in drawing up the Roman laws; adding, that in a dream he had seen all the nations of the earth bowing down before those laws, and worshipping them after the Persian manner^d. When the whole work was compleated, the decemvirs assembled the people, and harangued them with the following words; May the gods grant, that what we now present to you, Romans, may be equally agreeable to you, and advantageous to the republic, to you, and your remotest posterity! go, read the laws we have drawn up. We have used all the care and attention possible. But, after all, a whole nation must see further than any ten persons. Examine our laws therefore in private, make them the subject of your public conversation; confer upon them among yourselves, and consult with one another what ought to be taken from them, and what may be added to them. Nothing that we have drawn up shall have the force of a law, till it is received with universal consent. Be you, Romans, rather the authors, than barely the approvers of laws, which are to establish order and regularity, and to be the main foundation of the happiness both of the senate and people. A discourse so modest and candid was heard with great applause. Immediately the laws were cut in ten tables of oak, fixed up in the forum, and all, who came to start any difficulties about them, well received, and readily heard. When all necessary corrections and amendments had been made, the ten tables were carried before the senate, where they met, with no opposition; so that a decree was passed for convening the centuries for their ratification. This assembly was soon after held, and the auspices being solemnly taken, the laws were first confirmed by the unanimous voices of the whole Roman people, and then transcribed on pillars of brass, and ranged in order in the forum, as the foundation of all judicial determinations, with regard both to public and private affairs^e.

As many eminent men in the republic were of opinion, that several regulations, which would fill two other tables, were necessary to be added to the ten already established, the continuation of the decemviral government for one year more was proposed in a general assembly of the people, and approved of by the senate and people with equal readiness, but for different reasons. The senators were glad at any rate to get rid of the tribunes; and the people extremely desirous to keep back the restoration of the consular dignity. Never was any office so much solicited by the gravest and wisest senators, as the decemvirate at this time. Those patricians, who were formerly the most declared enemies of the people, and who scorned to canvass for public offices, were now wholly taken up in flattering and courting the meanest

^d PLIN. l. xxxiv. c. 3. STRAB. l. xiv.

^e DIO. HAL. p. 68c—683. LIV. l. iii. c. 33. 34.

- a of the citizens. *Appius*, though a decemvir, forgetting his dignity, debased himself more than any of the candidates. He was perpetually seen in public places in company with those who had been formerly tribunes, and whom he knew to be agreeable to the people. By their means he recommended himself to the multitude, for they were continually boasting of him to the populace, as the author of the happiness they enjoyed under the mild government of the decemvirs. But *Appius* himself, when asked by the patricians, whether he desired to be continued in his office for the next year, affected to dislike it, and was continually talking of the uneasiness that attends public employments. But his colleagues saw into his designs, and wisely formed their judgment of him by his actions, and not his words. They observed that he abused the regard the people had for him to lessen the most venerable senators in the esteem of the people; that he excluded all men of known merit and steadiness from standing at the approaching election by artfully defaming them among the multitude; that contrary to the pride of the *Claudian* family, he affected great affability and moderation, &c. All this gave great uneasiness to his competitors, and rendered him suspicious to his colleagues. These latter therefore formed a design to disappoint him. When the time of the comitia for the creation of the new decemvirs drew near, they appointed *Appius* to preside in them; for the president in these assemblies proposed to the people the persons, who stood for the office in question, and it had never yet been known, that any one had nominated himself. But *Appius*, contrary to all the rules of decency, proposed himself for the first decemvir; and the people, who were now intirely devoted to him, readily gave him their suffrages. The other persons he named were all men at his devotion, and such as he favoured. The first of the number was *Q. Fabius Vibulanus*, who had been three times consul, a patrician indeed of a character hitherto unblameable. After him were chosen five other patricians, viz. *M. Cornelius*, *M. Sergius*, *L. Minucius*, *T. Antonius*, and *M. Rabulcius*, all men little esteemed in their own body, but in great favour with *Appius*. But what most surprised the senate was, that *Appius*, out of complaisance to the people, proposed three plebeians for the decemviral dignity, viz. *Q. Petilius*, *Cæso Duilius*, and *Sp. Oppius*. These, though excluded by their birth, and by a late agreement between the patricians and plebeians from this supreme magistracy, were by a plurality of voices added to the number of the decemvirs. Several men of known probity and moderation had offered themselves for candidates only to exclude those, whose behaviour gave them cause to suspect them of some ill designs, namely *Quintilius Cincinnatus*, *Quintilius Capitolinus*, and *Caius Claudius*, uncle to *Appius*. But these *Appius*, who presided at the election, did not so much as name, lest the people, who were well acquainted with their merit, should prefer them to his creatures.

- AND NOW *Claudius*, seeing himself once more at the head of the decemvirs, threw off the mask, and turned his thoughts wholly on making his domination perpetual. As he governed his colleagues with absolute sway before they began to exercise their office, he inspired them with his own sentiments. They had private meetings every day to deliberate about the most proper means of perpetuating themselves in that dignity. Above all things, they thought it necessary, and agreed to keep up a good understanding with one another. *Appius*, at their head, directed all their proceedings, and told them what they were to do. From that time they appeared reserved and mysterious, suffered few persons to come near them, and had no intercourse but with those of their own body. This close union and confederacy of ambitious men, made the senate apprehensive, that the decemvirs for the ensuing year would behave themselves very differently from their predecessors. When the ides of *May* came, and the new decemvirs made their first appearance, the Romans were greatly surprised to see each decemvir appear in the forum early in the morning with twelve lictors bearing axes among their fasces, like those that were anciently carried before the kings, and afterwards before the dictator; so that the forum was filled with an hundred and twenty lictors. This was a dreadful sight to Rome, the people prognosticating from thence that this would be a year of tyranny and injustice. And they were soon made sensible, that their fears were not groundless. The decemvirs began to reign imperiously, and with a despotic power. They were always surrounded, not only by the numerous train of their lictors, but also by a croud of desperate men, loaded with debts, and guilty of the blackest crimes. Many of the young patricians, preferring

^f Idem ibid.

licentiousness to liberty, made their court to them in the most abject manner, in order a to screen themselves from justice, and escape by their favour, the punishment due to their crimes. No man's life or property was any longer safe. The young patricians, supporters of the ten tyrants, were not ashamed upon the most frivolous pretences to take possession of their neighbours estates; and when application was made to the decemvirs for redress, the complainants were treated with contempt, and their complaints rejected. An inconsiderate word, or an expression of concern at the remembrance of their ancient liberty, was a capital crime. Some of the chief citizens were beaten with rods for complaining of the present administration; others were banished, and some even put to death, and their goods confiscated. The new tyrants vented b their fury chiefly upon the people, treating them more like slaves than *Roman* citizens. As for the patricians, most of them, dreading the tyranny of the decemvirs, gave way to the storm, and retired into the country for the remaining part of the year. They hoped that the tempest would cease with the annual power of the decemvirs. In the mean time the ides of *May*, the time fixed for holding the comitia, in order to elect new magistrates, drew near; but the decemvirs, instead of assembling the people, proposed two new tables of laws, the first relating to religion, and the worship of the gods, the second to marriages and the right of husbands. These made up the number of the twelve tables so much spoke of, which the *Romans* preserved ever after as a sacred depositum. Notwithstanding the hatred the public bore to the decemvirs, they found little to object to their laws. The last only, forbidding patricians and c plebeians to intermarry, seemed an artful invention of the tyrants to keep the two parties always divided, that they might reign with more security. In the mean time the ides of *May* passed, and not a word of any comitia for an election of new magistrates. The tyrants then shewed themselves bare-faced, and in spite both of the senate and people, retained their power without any other title but possession and violence. All who gave them the least umbrage were proscribed; and many worthy citizens, retiring voluntarily from their country, took refuge among the *Latins* and *Hernici*. The people, groaning under so cruel a tyranny, cast their eyes upon the senate, as their only refuge. But the senators, instead of comforting them, took an ill-natured pleasure in seeing d them oppressed, and bearing a great share in the misfortunes they had occasioned. When any plebeian complained to them, they maliciously referred him to *Claudius*, that idol, whom they had set up, and preferred to so many illustrious defenders of their country. *C. Claudius*, greatly concerned to see his nephew become the tyrant of his country, went several times to his house, with an intention to reprove him, and put him in mind of the glorious examples left him by his ancestors. But *Appius*, guessing at the errand he came upon, constantly eluded him, having ordered his attendants to admit none but the supporters and partners of his tyranny.

Two new tables of laws added to the ten.

The tyrannical government of the decemvirs.

They convene the senate to obtain a decree for the levying of troops.

L. Valerius opposes the decemvirs.

In the mean time the *Sabines* and *Æqui*, hearing of the weak condition of the republic, and disdainful to live subject to a city, which had lost her own liberty, invaded the *Roman* territory, and advanced within a few miles of *Rome*. This unexpected e invasion alarmed the decemvirs. It was necessary to make head against the enemy; but the difficulty was how to raise an army, when the people were dissatisfied with their governors. In this perplexity the decemvirs resolved to assemble the senate, and endeavour to prevail with the conscript fathers to interpose their authority, and make a decree for legal levies. The people were surprised to hear a proclamation made in the forum for the senators to meet. We are indebted, said they, to our enemies for the appearance of this single spark of our ancient liberty. But when the decemvirs repaired to the senate, they found no body there but their own creatures. The others had retired to their country seats; and thither the decemvirs sent messengers, summoning them to appear on a day appointed. Most of them obeyed the summons, and f returned to *Rome*, but with views very different from those of the usurpers. *Appius*, in a studied harangue, represented the danger which threatened the republic from the *Sabines* and the *Æqui*, and desired a decree for levies without delay. He had scarce finished, when *L. Valerius Potitus* rose up to speak without waiting till it came to his turn. He was the grandson of the famous *Valerius Poplicola*, and son of that *Valerius*, who was slain at the head of the *Romans* fighting against *Herdonius* the *Sabine*. *Appius*, apprehending he was going to propose something contrary to the interest of the decemvirs, sternly commanded him to sit down, and hold his peace, till senators, older than himself, and more considerable in the republic, had declared their opinions. But the brave *Valerius*, despising his command, complained of his pride and insolence, in g presuming

- a presuming to impose silence upon a senator standing up for the liberty of the commonwealth, laid open the conspiracy they had all formed against the republic; and lastly, called upon *Fabius*, one of the decemvirs, as a man of justice and probity, to undertake the defence of his oppressed country, telling him, that on him chiefly the senate turned its eyes. *Fabius*, overwhelmed with shame and confusion, did not answer. But *Appius* and the other decemvirs, starting up from their seats in a great rage, surrounded *Valerius*, and obliged him to hold his peace. Such an extraordinary proceeding raised a tumult in the assembly, most of the senators being highly provoked at the haughty behaviour of the decemvirs, but no body more than *M. Horatius Barbatus*, the grandson of that *Horatius*, who had been consul with *Poplicola*. As he was
- b an intimate friend of *Valerius*, and animated with the same zeal for liberty, he could no longer bear the insolence of *Appius* and his colleagues; but standing up, called them the *Tarquins* and tyrants of their country. What hinders us, said he, from immediately executing the same vengeance on the new *Tarquins*; which our ancestors did on the former tyrants? To restore liberty to *Rome* is an hereditary honour in the families of the *Valerii* and *Horatii*. It is not the name of king that makes a tyrant, &c. He was going on, when the decemvirs, surrounding him, drowned his voice with their clamours, threatening to have him thrown headlong from the *Tarpeian* rock, if he did not instantly hold his peace. But when they perceived, that the senate in general expressed an uncommon resentment at their tyrannical proceedings, they repented of having imposed silence upon those who had a mind to speak. *Appius*, their chief, as soon as the tumult was appeased, declared to the assembly, that it was not the intention of the decemvirs to hinder by any violence the conscript fathers from delivering their opinions; but that it was necessary to conform to the ordinary method, which was, that every one should speak in his turn, and confine himself to the matter in hand. He added, that whatever *Horatius* might imagine to the contrary, the commission of the decemvirs was limited to no period but that of the establishment of the laws; that they would not lay down their office till the twelve tables were settled in due form, and that then they would give an account of their administration. But,
- c till that be done, continued he, we will steadily maintain and execute the offices of consuls and tribunes, which are united in us. Then turning to his uncle *C. Claudius*, he desired him to speak his mind with freedom concerning the levies. But he, without confining himself to that subject, in a long harangue imputed all the misfortunes of the state to the usurpation and tyranny of the decemvirs, exhorted the senators to insist on their being deposed, and in a very pathetic strain urged his nephew to abdicate an authority, which was become intolerable to a free people. *Appius* disdained to give his uncle any answer; but *M. Cornelius*, one of his colleagues, spoke for him, and applying himself directly to *C. Claudius*, We don't want your advice, said he, to direct our conduct; if you want to give particular counsels to your nephew, go to his house: the only affair in question here is the war with the *Sabines* and *Aequi*: tell us
- d in plain terms your opinion concerning the levies. *Claudius* rose up a second time, and turning to the senate, since my nephew, said he, will not condescend to speak to me, either in his own house, or in full senate, and I am so unhappy as to see the tyrant of my country arise out of my own family, I declare, conscript fathers, that I am resolved to retire to *Regillus*. I banish myself from *Rome*, and make an oath never to enter it again, but with our liberty. However, to fulfil the obligation I lie under of giving my opinion with relation to the present business, I am for coming to no determination concerning the levies, till consuls are chosen to lead them. His opinion was followed by *Quintius Cincinnatus*, *Quintius Capitolinus*, and *L. Lucretius*, all consular persons, and by the chief men in the senate. When it came to *L. Cornelius's* turn to
- e speak, he, in an harangue, which he had concerted before-hand with his brother *M. Cornelius*, one of the decemvirs, imputed the enmity of the old senators against the decemvirate to envy and private resentment, for having been themselves disappointed in the pursuit of that office; urged the unreasonableness of losing time in disputes about new magistrates, when the enemy was almost at the gates of *Rome*, and represented that it was impossible to come to a new election in less time than twenty-seven days, during which time the city might be besieged, and reduced to the utmost extremity. His speech was highly applauded by the creatures of the decemvirs; and even some of the oldest senators were for granting levies, hoping, that when the war was finished, the abdication of the decemvirs would quietly follow of course, and the government return naturally into the hands of the consuls. *Appius*, seeing with great

And is seconded
by M. Horatius
Barbatus.

Claudius uncle
to the decemvir
Appius retires
from Rome.

The decemvirs
are allowed to
raise levies.

pleasure that the majority were for granting him and his colleagues a power to raise levies, a asked, for form sake, the opinion of *Valerius*, on whom he had imposed silence in the beginning of the assembly. *Valerius*, rising up, proposed the creating of a dictator, an expedient, which had been so successfully practised on many occasions. All the senators, who spoke after *Valerius*, declared for this motion, as did also many of those who had before voted for the continuation of the decemvirate. A warm dispute hereupon arose with much clamour and tumult. *Appius*, taking advantage of the disorder, stepped forth into the midst of the assembly, and cried out aloud, that the suffrages had been gathered, and that the opinion of *Cornelius* had prevailed. He then ordered the decree of the senate, which he had brought with him ready drawn up, and which empowered the decemvirs to raise troops, to be read in the assembly, and immediately b dismissing the senators withdrew.

THE authority of the decemvirs being now become more formidable than ever, the most timorous among the citizens became as submissive and complying as the tyrants could wish; others sought an asylum in the country, or among the neighbouring nations. *Appius*, enraged to see the best men in the republic abandon the city out of hatred to his government, placed guards at all the gates to prevent their escape. But finding that this precaution only increased the number of the malecontents, and fearing a general revolt, he removed the guard, and left every one free to retire. But to be revenged on those who withdrew, he confiscated their effects, or bestowed them on his ruffians and partisans. As for *Valerius* and *Horatius*, they staid at Rome, c and, having gathered together in their houses a great number of their clients and friends, to secure them against the violence of the decemvirs, held private assemblies to concert measures for restoring liberty to the commonwealth. In the mean time the decemvirs raised ten legions, the people, destitute of their tribunes, being forced to lift themselves. *Q. Fabius*, with two other decemvirs, *Q. Petilius*, and *M. Rabuleius*, marched against the *Sabines* at the head of three legions, *M. Cornelius*, *L. Minucius*, *M. Sergius*, *T. Antonius*, and *C. Duilius*, all decemvirs, led five legions against the *Æqui*. *Appius* and *Oppius* remained with two legions in the city to keep in awe the domestic enemy, more formidable to him than the *Sabines* and *Æqui*. The people, of whom the legions were composed, regretting the loss of their liberty, would not conquer, but d suffered the enemy to gain great advantages over them, and at last, feigning a sudden fright, dispersed in the night, and returned into the Roman territory. *Appius* did not fail to send recruits and provisions to his colleagues, exhorting them to keep the soldiers in awe by the terror of punishments, or, in case that was dangerous, to destroy by private ways the most mutinous, and he himself set them an example. The famous *Sicinius Dentatus*, of whom we have spoke above, being returned from the camp, filled the city with his complaints against the decemvirs, exaggerating the faults they had committed in the management of the war. *Appius*, to get him out of Rome, sent for him, discoursed with him several times, and desiring him to speak with freedom, examined him concerning the conduct of the decemvirs. *Sicinius*, e without reserve or circumspection, blamed the proceedings of *Fabius* and the other generals. *Appius*, pretending to admire his wisdom, prevailed upon him to go and assist *Fabius* with his advice; and to deceive him the more effectually, he dignified him with the character of envoy or legate, which not only gave him the authority of a general, but made his person sacred and inviolable. As true valour is a stranger to jealousy and distrust, the brave *Sicinius*, willingly embraced the opportunity of serving his country, and repaired to the camp with all speed, where the decemvirs, instructed by *Appius*, received him with outward marks of great joy, and consulted him, soon after his arrival, about the operations of the campaign. *Sicinius* advised them f to remove their camp into the enemy's country, for many reasons, which he laid before them. This was what *Fabius* wanted, and accordingly he commissioned him to go and view the situation of the country, and mark out the ground for a new incampment. He appointed him a hundred chosen men light armed to be his guard; but this guard consisted only of the decemvirs ruffians, who had secret orders to dispatch him. *Sicinius*, not suspecting the least treachery, led them into the narrow passes between the mountains, and there they took the opportunity of falling upon him when he could not make his escape. The brave veteran no sooner perceived their base design, but drawing his sword, he set his back against a rock, that he might not be

The Roman
soldiers suffer
the *Æqui* to
gain great ad-
vantages over
them.

*Sicinius Den-
tatus treache-
rously mur-
dered.*

- a attacked behind, and then summoning all his valour, he laid fifteen of the assailants dead at his feet, and wounded above thirty more. The base assassins, not daring now to venture near him, stood at a distance, and discharged their darts at him, which he avoiding with great dexterity, some of them climbing up to the top of the rock, from thence overwhelmed him with stones. They then went back to the camp, where they gave out, that they had been attacked by the enemy, and that *Sicinius* had been killed in the action. But when the soldiers, who marched out under arms to fetch the body of *Sicinius*, came to the place of the pretended battle, they observed, that the slain were all *Romans*, and that they lay unstripped, with their faces towards him. This made them suspect that *Sicinius* had been murdered by his guard, and raised loud
- b complaints and a general discontent throughout the camp. The whole army in the greatest fury and rage demanded that the assassins might be brought to justice; but the decemvirs helped them to make their escape, and caused the body of *Sicinius* to be honourably interred, lest the soldiers should convey it to *Rome*, and there raise new disturbances. The discontent which so odious a treachery raised in the army came to such a height, that the greater part of the soldiers began to think in earnest of throwing off the yoke, and restoring their country to its ancient liberty, which they soon found an opportunity to effect.

- Appius*, as we have observed above, remained at home with a body of troops to keep the city in awe, while his colleagues marched against the *Sabines* and *Æqui*. As
- c he was one day going to his tribunal, he observed a young virgin of extraordinary beauty, and though he seemed dead to all soft passions, yet he was taken with her charms. It was then customary at *Rome* for young persons of both sexes to pursue such studies, as were proper for them, in public schools erected in the forum; and in one of these it was, that *Appius* first saw this beautiful young woman, and was charmed no less with her intent application to her book, than with her graceful mein, and engaging behaviour. As his office obliged him to appear frequently in the forum, this severe magistrate, and grave law-giver, was observed to stop when he passed by the school of the young virgins, and there to behold with great satisfaction some pleasing object. The person, who thus drew his attention, was the daughter of one *L. Virginius*, a man famous in the city for his probity, and in the army for his valor. Though he was a plebeian, he made a considerable figure in the troops, and had led several detachments in the present war with the *Æqui*, as commander in chief. His daughter's name was *Virginia*. Her mother *Numitoria* being dead, her father *Virginius*, upon his departure for the war, had committed her to the care of an uncle by her mother's side, who shewed for her all the affection and concern of a father. She was now marriageable; and *Virginius* had already promised her to *Scilius*, who had been tribune of the people, and was to marry her at the end of the campaign. But in the mean time the decemvir, conceiving a violent passion for her, resolved at all adventures to satisfy it. He would willingly have married her; but he had a wife
- e already, and though divorces were allowed by law, yet there had never been any instance of one. Polygamy was strictly forbidden, and besides, the decemvir himself had just past a law prohibiting all marriages between patricians and plebeians; so that he had no room to hope the accomplishment of his wishes, but by the scandalous means of debauching the young maid; and these he began to pursue, by endeavouring to corrupt, with large presents and great offers, *Virginia's* nurse or governess. But she, equally faithful and prudent, instead of making a private market of the beauty and charms of young *Virginia*, rejected his offers with the utmost indignation, and kept a more watchful eye over her charge than ever. The amorous tyrant, finding he could neither corrupt nor deceive the trusty and watchful nurse, had recourse
- f to another stratagem, the execution of which he intrusted to *M. Claudius*, one of his clients, an infamous wretch, and fit for any villanous enterprize. This minister of the decemvir's passion, taking with him a band of profligate fellows, entered the school, where *Virginia* was, and seizing her by the arm, declared that she was the daughter of one of his slaves, and therefore belonged to him. As he was carrying her to his house, with all the authority which the law gave to a master over his fugitive slave, the people flocked about him, and being touched with so moving a sight, obliged him to set her at liberty. *Claudius*, finding he could not execute his first design, cited her to appear before the decemvir; and she by the new laws was obliged to follow him to the tribunal. *Appius*, who was alone upon the bench, was just ready
- g to adjudge her to the claimant, as his lawful slave, when the people, full of indignation,

Appius Claudius the decemvir falls in love with Virginia.

He contrives a stratagem to get her into his power.

nation, cried out with one voice, that *Virginia's* relations ought first to be heard, ^a
Appius, absolute as he was, dared not refuse to suspend the sentence, till some of the
prisoner's relations appeared. The first who came was *Numitorius*, the uncle of the
young woman, attended by a great number of his friends and relations. Upon his
arrival, silence being made, *Claudius* renewed his claim, founded on a lie concerted
between him and the judge; he pretended, that *Virginia* was born in his house of a
slave belonging to him; that her mother had given her to *Numitoria*, the wife of
Virginus, and that *Numitoria* had imposed the child upon her husband, and made
Virginia pass for his daughter. He added, that he would soon produce undeniable
testimonies of what he advanced; that in the mean time it was but just that a slave
should go with her master, and that he would give security to produce the young ^b
woman again in court, when *Virginus*, her pretended father, returned from the war.
Numitorius represented, that it was highly unjust to dispute a citizen's right to his
very children, when he was not present to assert it, adding, that *Virginus*, who was
serving his country in the camp, would not fail to be at *Rome* in two days, and that it
was reasonable her uncle, who had the care of her person, should in the mean time be
the guardian of her honour. This, he said, was conformable to the laws, which
ordained, that during a law-suit, and before a definitive sentence, the plaintiff should
not disturb the defendant in his possession. But this law *Appius* eluded, by artfully
observing, that in the present dispute there were two circumstances, which altered the
case. Here, said he, there are two persons claiming; one as a father, the other as ^c
a master; if the pretended father were present, he indeed ought to be allowed the
possession; but he being absent, the person, who claims her as his slave, ought to
be preferred to any other, provided he gives good security to produce her again at
the return of the person, who is called her father. Having thus spoke, he ordered
Virginia to be put into *Claudius's* hands. The iniquity of the judgment incensed all
who were present. The women, who surrounded *Virginia*, made such outcries, that
they were heard at a great distance. They kept her in the middle of them, and
seemed resolute to defend her. At that instant *Icilius*, to whom she had been prom-
ised in marriage, arrived, and breaking through the croud, forced his way to the
tribunal, to defend his dear *Virginia*. A lictor endeavoured to oppose his passage, ^d
crying to him, that sentence was already passed. But nothing could stop the enraged
lover; he took *Virginia* in his arms, and addressing himself to *Appius*; No, *Appius*,
he cried, nothing but death shall separate me from *Virginia*. Add my murder to
the many crimes with which thou art already polluted. Assemble all thy lictors, and
those of thy colleagues too, I will defend her honour to my last breath. Have you
deprived us of the protection of our tribunes, only to subject our wives and our daugh-
ters to your lewdness? Go on to exercise your rage upon our estates and lives; but
spare the chastity of our virgins. If any attempt be made upon the honour of *Virginia*,
I call the gods to witness, that it shall not go unrevenged. What will not *Virginus* be ^e
able to do in the army, and *Icilius* among the people, when the one is to revenge the
cause of an injured wife, and the other of a dishonoured daughter? He was going on,
when the lictors were ordered to drive him away, and to seize *Virginia*. But the
people, moved with his misfortune and his courage, fell upon the officers of the
decemvir, dispersed them, and obliged *Claudius* to take refuge under the tribunal.
Appius, seeing the people incensed against him beyond measure, called his client to
him, whispered in his ear, and then having caused silence to be made, It is not, said
he, the fury of the violent *Icilius*, which makes me comply, but the intreaties of
Claudius my client. He is willing to give up the right he has to carry home his
slave, and to commit her to the same hands in which she was before. At his request
I will wait for *Virginus's* return, till to-morrow. Let his friends take care to give ^f
him notice. If *Virginus* does not appear at the time appointed, I would have *Icilius*
know, that I shall not want any assistance from my colleagues to put my decree in
execution. When he had done speaking, *Claudius* desired that *Icilius* might give
security for producing *Virginia* the next day, which he did accordingly, all the people
then present offering eagerly to be his security. *Icilius* and *Numitorius* immediately
dispatched, the first his brother, the second his son, to bring *Virginus* from the camp.
Appius at the same time sent a courier with orders to the generals to put him under
arrest. But the other messengers were more expeditious; and *Virginus* upon the first
notice of his daughter's danger had left the army, and was so fortunate as to escape two
parties, which were sent, one from the camp, and the other from the city to stop ^g
him.

- a him. He appeared the next morning in the forum, leading his daughter in deep mourning, attended by a great number of matrons of distinction. He addressed himself to his fellow-citizens as he passed, and uttered his complaints with an air of dignity, which seemed rather to demand than implore assistance. *Scilius* broke into the throng, inveighed loudly against *Appius*, and endeavoured to transfuse his own resentment into every breast. But the silent tears of the women, who attended *Virginia*, affected the multitude more than any words. *Appius* was greatly surprised to hear that *Virginus* was in the forum. Full of rage, he repaired thither, and though informed of the disposition of the people, he ascended his tribunal, being surrounded by a numerous croud of his dependants and creatures. *Claudius* spoke the first, renewed
- b his claim, and produced the slave, whom he had suborned to declare that she was the mother of *Virginia*, and that she had sold her to the wife of *Virginus*. Several other witnesses appeared to attest the same thing, all gained with great promises by *Appius* and his client *Claudius*. The friends and relations of *Virginia*, to destroy this imposture, urged the little probability of *Numitoria*'s imposing a child upon her husband. He had married her, when she was very young, and was almost of the same age with her. *Virginia* was born soon after their marriage. Where was the necessity then, said they, for *Numitoria*'s practising such a fraud as is pretended. Besides, if she had proved barren, and had designed to introduce a stranger into her family, why should she have chosen the child of a slave rather than of a free woman? Why a girl, when she might
- c as easily have had a boy? Besides, was it probable, that a contrivance carried on by so many persons should continue so long a secret? Would not the slave have made her court to her master, as soon as *Numitoria* was dead, by discovering a secret to him, which would have put him in possession of a young woman well educated, and of extraordinary beauty? Why was this mystery kept undiscovered till *Appius* was decemvir, since the slave for a long time past could have no interest in concealing it? To these presumptions *Virginus* added undeniable proofs, and brought some of the most considerable women in *Rome*, who deposed, some that they had seen *Numitoria* when she was big with child, others, that they had assisted at her labour, and some, that they had seen her suckle young *Virginia*, which she could not have done, had she been
- d barren, as *Claudius* pretended. *Appius*, observing that these unanswerable proofs made a great impression upon the multitude, interrupted the evidence, and commanding silence, signified, that he himself had something to say. All the people listened with attention, being anxious to know what he could object against so many witnesses of unquestionable credit. He then spoke thus: *Virginus*, said he, I must acquaint you and all who are present, that this is not the first time I have heard of this affair. *Claudius*'s father revealed the secret to me at his death, when he made me his son's guardian. Afterwards, I examined into the matter, and found it to be true. However, I did not think it became me to meddle in an affair of this nature, and therefore left it to my pupil to recover his right, or to agree with the parties concerned when he
- e should come of age. But now that the cause is brought before me in judgment, being obliged to give sentence, according to my own personal knowledge, I declare both as judge and witness, that the young woman belongs to *Claudius*, and my sentence is, that she be delivered up to him as his property. *Virginus*, provoked to the highest degree at so unjust and cruel a sentence, was no longer master of himself. He trembled with rage, and accompanying his words with a threatening gesture, infamous wretch, said he, I never designed my daughter for thee. I educated her for a lawful husband, and not to be a prey to a lustful ravager. Must then brutal passions among us take the place of honourable marriages! How the citizens here will bear with these things I know not; but I trust that the army will revenge my wrongs. At these
- f words the people set up a loud cry full of indignation, as if they were determined to oppose the execution of *Appius*'s decree. But the decemvir, having first cast his eyes on all sides, to observe his strength, and how his friends were posted, told the multitude with a threatening voice, that he was not unacquainted with the plots that had been laid to cause an insurrection, but that he neither wanted power nor resolution to inflict exemplary punishments on such as should offer to disturb the public peace. Let every one therefore, said he, retire to his own house, and none presume to give law to a supreme magistrate. As for you, *Claudius*, added he, seize your slave, and make use of my guard to disperse the croud. At these words, uttered with an imperious tone, the multitude gave back, and left *Virginia* standing by herself, a
- g helpless prey to injustice. The unfortunate father seeing there was no other remedy,

Virginus the father of Virginia arrives at Rome.

The imposture of Claudius made manifest.

Appius decrees Virginia to his client.

Virginius to
save the honour
of his daughter
slabs her.

The decemvir
obliged to re-
tire.

The soldiers re-
volt from their
general, and
encamp on
mount Aven-
tine.

drew near *Appius*, and in a suppliant manner addressed him thus: Pardon, *Appius*, a the unguarded words, which have escaped me in my first transports of grief, and allow me to ask in the young woman's presence some questions of her nurse, that I may carry home at least the comfort of being set right in this matter. *Appius* readily granted him his request, and *Virginius* taking his daughter in his arms, and wiping the tears, in which she was all bathed, drew near to some shops, which were in the forum. There he snatched up a butcher's knife, and turning to *Virginia*, My dear daughter, said he, this is the only way to save thy liberty, and thy honour; go, *Virginia*, go to thy ancestors, whilst thou art yet a free woman, pure and undefiled. With these words he plunged the knife into her heart, and then drawing it out again all smoo-
king with her blood, and turning to *Appius*; by this blood, he cried, I devote thy
head to the infernal gods. The decemvir immediately ordered him to be seized; but he with the knife in his hand made his way through the croud, got out of the city, and mounting his horse, took the road to the camp. In the mean time *Numitorius* and *Icilius*, staying by the dead body of *Virginia*, and shewing it to the people, raised a great commotion in the city. As for *Appius*, he seemed to have quite lost his reason; instead of endeavouring to pacify the multitude, he retired to his own house, and from thence sent his lictors to seize *Icilius*, and carry away the dead body. But the people opposed the execution of his orders, and falling upon the lictors, broke their fasces, and drove them out of the forum. Hereupon the decemvir had the boldness to come in person, attended by a chosen company of young patricians, to support his authority. But *Valerius* and *Horatius*, those sworn enemies of the decemvirs, putting themselves at the head of their friends and clients, obliged the decemvir to retire. In this perplexity *Appius* hastened to the temple of *Vulcan*, and there pretending to act the part of a tribune of the people, demanded that *Valerius* and *Horatius* should be thrown head-long from the *Tarpeian* rock, as disturbers of the public tranquillity. But his harangue was often interrupted with hisses; and in the mean time *Valerius*, having caused the body of *Virginia* to be carried to the top of a flight of steps, whence it might be seen by the people, was from the same eminence inveighing against *Appius*. So that there were two assemblies and two orators in different parts of the forum declaiming against each other at the same time. But *Appius's* auditors soon left him to go to
Valerius; and *Appius*, terrified at the desertion of many of his creatures, privately withdrew, and hiding his face with his robe, took refuge in a neighbouring house. At that juncture *Oppius*, the plebeian decemvir, rushed into the forum to defend his colleague; but finding that the party of *Horatius* and *Valerius* was by far the strongest, he judged, that the wisest method in the present exigence was to convene the senate; and this immediately quieted the multitude, for they hoped, that the decemvirate would by that means be abolished. But the senators then in *Rome* being all friends to the decemvirs, only ordered the people to behave themselves peaceably, and commissioned some young members of their body to go to the camp near mount *Algidus*, and prevent the sedition which *Virginius* might raise there^b.

He had entered the camp attended by four hundred citizens, and holding the fatal knife in his hand. The soldiers, at this strange sight, flocked to him from all quarters, when he, standing on an eminence, with his face drowned in tears, related to them the plot laid by *Appius* against his daughter's honour and liberty, and the cruel method he had been forced to take for the preservation of her chastity. The centurions and soldiers, full of indignation against *Appius*, assured him, that they were determined to stand by him in whatever he should undertake against so wicked a tyrant. The decemvirs, who commanded the army, being informed of *Virginius's* return, and the disposition of the soldiers, attempted to seize the former, and appease the latter. But the soldiers, refusing to pay any obedience to the orders of men, whom they looked upon as usurpers and tyrants, flew to their arms, snatched up their ensigns, and took the way to *Rome*, which they reached about evening, and entered without making the least disturbance. They marched quietly through the city to mount *Aventine*, and there intrenched themselves, declaring, that they would not lay down their arms, till the decemvirate was abolished, and the tribuneship restored. Hereupon *Oppius* convened the senate, for *Appius* was afraid to appear in public, and the conscript fathers agreed to send three of their body to the army, to ask, why they had left the camp without their generals orders, and what their intent was in pos-
sessing

^b DIO. HAL. p. 709—719. LIV. l. iii. c. 42—49.

- a *seffing themselves of mount Aventine ? As they had not yet chosen a head, they all cried out with one voice, let Valerius and Horatius be sent to us, we will return no answer to the senate, but by them. As soon as the three commissioners were gone, Virginus advised the troops to chuse chiefs to govern them, and manage for them. Agreeable to his advice, ten persons were elected under the name of military tribunes. The army was desirous to have Virginus at the head of them ; but he declined the honour. My daughter, said he, is dead, and I have not yet revenged her death. No kind of honour will become me, till her manes are appeased. Besides, what prudent or moderate counsels can you expect from me, who am so incensed against the tyrants ? I shall be of more service to the common cause by acting in it as a private man.* Ten military tribunes elected.

- b In the mean time the three legions sent against the *Sabines*, being stirred up by *Numitorius* and *Icilius*, abandoned their generals, and having, after the example of the other army, chosen themselves ten military tribunes, marched through the city, and joined the legions on the *Aventine*. The two armies thus united, commissioned their twenty tribunes to elect two out of their number to be supreme over all, and the choice fell upon *M. Oppius* and *Sextus Manilius*. In the mean time the senate assembled every day, but spent the whole time in debates without coming to any resolution. At length it was carried by a majority of voices, that *Valerius* and *Horatius* should be sent to the revolted army. But they protested, that they would not move a step so long as the
- c decemvirs were masters of the government. The two armies, tired out with these delays, removed their camp to the *sacred mount*, intrenched themselves there, and observed the same good discipline as their ancestors had formerly done. In this decampment they were followed by such numbers of citizens with their wives and children, that *Rome* was in a manner deserted. The senators, surpris'd to see the streets so thin of people, resolv'd at length to abolish the decemvirate, to restore to the people their tribunes, and to the senate its consuls. The decemvirs, finding they could not retain their authority any longer, only desired, that they might not be sacrificed to the hatred of their enemies, offering to resign the power with which they were invested, whenever the senate should think fit to create new consuls. Upon this *Valerius* and *Horatius* repaired to the army, where they were received with inexpressible joy. *Icilius*, whom the army chose for their speaker, after having returned the deputies thanks for the zeal they had shewn all along in behalf of the people, demanded in the name of all who had retired to the *Mons sacer*, 1. The re-establishment of the tribunes of the people, with a right of appeal to them from the decisions of the consuls. 2. An amnesty for all who had left the camp without permission from their generals. 3. That the decemvirs should be delivered into their hands, that they might be burnt alive. But the prudent deputies made a great difference between the two first articles and the last. Your two first demands, said they, are agreeable to reason ; but the third is the effect of passion. You are offered a shield ; do not pretend to take a sword too.
- e The senate has not yet declared you innocent, and will you already take upon you to give law to it ? The people being satisfied that no tribunes whatsoever could have their interests more at heart than those two senators, empowered them to make what terms for them they should think fit. *Horatius* and *Valerius* returned immediately to the senate, and gave them an account of the demands of the people, but omitted their threats against the decemvirs, who hearing no mention made of their punishment, readily consented to all that was asked. Only *Appius* seem'd unwilling to part with his power : To re-establish the tribuneship, said he, is only to put arms into the hands of the enraged multitude. I find my life must be sacrificed to the public hatred. But since it must be so, I will not any longer oppose the rage of the populace. I am ready
- f to resign the decemvirate, and care not how soon I do it. Accordingly, a decree was pass'd, abolishing the decemvirate, and restoring the tribunes. Then the decemvirs, repairing to the forum, there laid down their authority to the great joy of the city. When the news of their resignation was carried to the camp, the army leaving the sacred mount, incamped a second time on mount *Aventine*, and there chose their tribunes, the pontifex *Maximus* presiding at the election. *Virginus*, *Icilius*, and *Numitorius*, were first named. *C. Sicinius*, *M. Duilius*, *M. Titinius*, *M. Pomponius*, *C. Aronius*, *P. Villius*, and *C. Oppius*, were appointed their colleagues. An interrex was afterwards created, who held an assembly of the people by centuries, in which *L. Valerius* and *M. Horatius* were rais'd to the consulate. These consuls, being both
- g very popular, got several laws pass'd, which gave the people a superiority over the senate. The senate resolves to abolish the decemvirate. A decree passes abolishing the decemvirate. L. Valerius and M. Horatius rais'd to the consulate.

enate. Formerly the decrees of the people, convened by tribes, obliged only the plebeians; but now it was enacted, that all decrees made in the comitia by tribes, should have the force of laws with relation to all citizens. That the tribunes might be maintained in perpetual possession of their right of judging causes brought before them by appeal, it was likewise enacted, that for the future no magistrates of any kind should be invested with authority, without appeal to the assembly of the people, and that it should be lawful for any one to kill the man, who should attempt the creation of such a magistrate. The ceremonies were likewise renewed, whereby the persons of the tribunes were made sacred. To these regulations another was added, viz. that the decrees of the senate should for the future be carried to the ædiles, and kept in the temple of *Ceres*. This was done, lest the succeeding consuls should suppress the decrees now made, and by that means render them useless.

Appius impeached by Vir-
ginius,

THE power of the tribunes being now firmly established, they resolved to prosecute the decemvirs, and begin with *Appius*, who was accordingly cited to appear. *Virginius*, who was appointed to be his accuser, without enumerating all his crimes, insisted only on his having, contrary to law, refused a young woman, who was in possession of her liberty, the right of enjoying it, till the suit was determined. If you do not instantly clear yourself from this breach of the law, I will order you, said *Virginius*, to be carried to prison. *Appius* kept silence; but when the tribunes officers offered to seize him, he cried out, *I appeal*; and having enumerated the services done to the republic by his family, and reminded the people of his own zeal for the common good in promoting and compiling the body of laws contained in the twelve tables, he claimed the protection of the laws just made in favour of appeals. *Virginius* answered, that such a monster as *Appius* ought not to partake of the common benefits of society, nor be allowed to escape imprisonment on giving security, since he had refused that privilege to *Virginia*. He added, that it was but reasonable that so profligate a wretch should be carried to that prison, which he himself had built, and insolently named *the habitation of the people of Rome*. Accordingly, he

And carried to
prison,

was led, notwithstanding his appeal, to prison; but his trial was put off to the third market-day. In this interval *Claudius*, the uncle of *Appius*, who had so much disapproved of his nephew's conduct, and had always been against the decemvirs, yet upon hearing of the danger of *Appius*, hastened to *Rome*, and appeared in the forum with all his friends and relations in habits of mourning. He went from citizen to citizen, beseeching them not to fix such an ignominy on the *Claudian* family; but to no purpose; *Virginius* on the other hand begging them to shew compassion for him and his daughter, and not for the *Claudian* family, which had tyrannized over them.

And dies there.

But before the day appointed for the trial, *Appius* died in prison. *Dionysius* tells us, that the tribunes gave out he had strangled himself; but that it was much suspected he had been dispatched by their orders. *Livy* barely relates, that *Appius*, to avoid the infamy of a public punishment, laid violent hands on himself in prison.

Oppius another
of the decem-
virs thrown
into prison
where he dies.

THE prosecution of *Oppius*, one of the plebeian decemvirs, followed next. He was accused by *Numitorius*, *Virginia's* uncle, as an accomplice with *Appius*, whose injustice in her affair he had not opposed, though at that time in *Rome*. Nor was this the only crime laid to his charge. A veteran, who had served twenty-seven years in the army, and had been eight times honoured with military rewards, uncovering his shoulders, exposed to the multitude the marks of the rods, with which he had been beaten by *Oppius's* orders, and offered to undergo the same treatment again if the decemvir could assign any good reason for his cruelty. The accused was by the unanimous suffrages of the people thrown into prison, where he died the same day. The other eight decemvirs, terrified with these imprisonments, which were followed by sudden deaths, retired into banishment of their own accord. Upon their flight their effects were confiscated and sold, and the money arising from them carried by the

The others re-
tire of their own
accord into ba-
nishment.

quæstors into the public treasury. As for *M. Claudius*, the client, who had been suborned to serve the pleasures, and carry on the iniquity of his patron, he was condemned to death. But *Virginius*, pitying a wretch, who had offended at the instigation of a powerful magistrate, and a sovereign, from whom he had no appeal, changed the sentence of death into that of perpetual banishment, upon his confessing that he had been suborned. After this, *Dulcius*, one of the tribunes, advised his col-

¹ Idem, p. 726. Liv. l. iii. c. 56—58.

- a legues to carry vengeance no farther ; and accordingly a general amnesty was granted, and the state enjoyed a profound tranquillity at home the remaining part of the year.

AFFAIRS being thus settled, the two consuls took the field against the *Æqui*, *Volsci*, The Æqui, the Volsci, and the Sabines, defeated by the consuls. and *Sabines*, who, during the late intestine divisions, had pillaged the Roman territory. *Valerius* defeated the two former, and *Horatius* the latter. But the senate, dissatisfied with their too popular administration, and moved by a speech of *C. Claudius*, who inveighed bitterly against them, refused them a triumph. But this opposition served only to gain the people a new prerogative, the right of decreeing triumphs. For the consuls applied to them, and the tribunes espousing their cause, *Iulius* declared
 b in the name of the people of *Rome*, that the consuls should, in spite of the senate, have the honour of a triumph, which was thought so legal a one, that it had a place in the *Fasti Capitolini*. The tribunes did not stop here, but formed a design of getting themselves continued in the tribuneship after the expiration of their year. This was a conspiracy not unlike that of the decemvirs ; but to prevent any suspicion, that their aim was to make themselves sole masters of the government, they were for having the people continue *Valerius* and *Horatius* in the consulate. *Dulius*, one of their college, a man of great moderation, and very zealous for the public liberty, opposed this project, and made it abortive, by prevailing upon the consuls to declare publicly, that they would not hold the consulate after their year was expired, though the people
 c should desire it. After this *Dulius* held the assembly for electing tribunes, and by his influence got five new ones chosen, in spite of the cabals of the old tribunes. However, the latter prevailed so far by their intrigues, as to hinder any other of the candidates from having the necessary number of voices. Hereupon the nomination of the five tribunes yet wanting was referred to the five actually chosen, according to the direction of a law, which expressly provided, that if upon a day of election the full number of tribunes could not be chosen, those who were elected should have power to name their colleagues. Agreeable to this law the new tribunes no sooner entered upon their office, but they named their colleagues, and among them, to the great surprise of all, *S. Tarpeius*, and *A. Æternius*, both patricians, old senators, and even consulars. Two patricians chosen tribunes of the people.
 d Some writers are of opinion, that these patricians had got themselves adopted into plebeian families ; but this is a groundless conjecture ; for *Livy* tells us, that the five first tribunes were directed by the senate in the choice of their colleagues, whence it is more likely, that the senators privately joined with *Dulius*, who acted all along in concert with them, to get some of their body into the tribuneship, in order to counterbalance the power of the plebeian tribunes. The election of the consuls followed that of the tribunes, when *Lartius Herminius*, and *T. Virginus*, were chosen without any disturbance. In their consulate, *L. Trebonius*, one of the tribunes, dissatisfied to see two patricians in that college, gave himself intirely up to cross the senate in every thing, whence he acquired the surname of *Asper*, or the *Crabbed*. In order to
 e exclude patricians for the future, he got a law passed, which from his name was called *Lex Trebonia*, by which it was ordained, that whosoever should for the future hold the *Lex Trebonia.* *comitia* for electing tribunes of the people, should not dismiss the assembly till the number of ten tribunes was compleated by the votes of the people. This law took from the tribunes, who were first chosen, the right of naming their colleagues, which the Romans called *Cooptatio* *.

- THE following consulate of *M. Geganius* and *C. Julius* produced nothing remarkable. But the succeeding consuls, *T. Quintius Capitolinus* a fourth time, and *Agrippa Furius*, found the people highly exasperated against the nobility on account of some insults they had offered the plebeians. The aggressors were cited to appear before
 f the people, which occasioned great contentions. Upon the news of these fresh domestic broils, the *Æqui* and *Volsci* entered the Roman territory, and ravaged the country to the very gates of *Rome*, the tribunes opposing the necessary levies to repulse them. Hereupon the consul *Quintius*, a man illustrious for several victories, and greatly respected for the purity of his manners, and the wisdom of his counsels, having convened a general assembly of the people, made an harangue to them, with which they were so affected, that they concurred unanimously in taking arms. All the youth offered themselves in crouds to be enlisted ; insomuch that on the same day the levies were raised, and the army marched ten miles on its way. The next day the consuls came in sight of the enemy, and the day following gave them battle, and gained a com-

* Liv. l. iii. c. 65.

The Romans
gain a complete
victory over the
Æqui and Vol-
sci.

Iniquitous
judgments of
the people of
Rome in a
cause referred
to their arbi-
tration.

New presen-
tions of the tri-
bunes.

Military tri-
bunes created
with consular
power; but soon
after abdicated.

plete victory. However, the consuls, as *Livy* observes, did not demand a triumph, a nor did the senate offer them one. He conjectures, that the consuls were ashamed to ask an honour for one victory, which the fathers had refused to *Valerius* and *Horatius* for two. This would have been a glorious year for the republic, had not the Roman people dishonoured themselves by an iniquitous judgment in a cause that was referred to their decision. The inhabitants of *Ardea* and *Aricia* chose them arbitrators in a dispute concerning a large tract of land, to which they both laid claim. The tribes being assembled, and the cause heard, the votes were going to be taken, when one *Scaptius*, a Roman, eighty-three years old, desired to speak. He pretended, that the district in question belonged formerly to the city of *Corioli*, and consequently now to the Romans, who ought therefore to make no scruple of seizing it. The consuls used b their utmost endeavours to dissuade the people from taking a step, which must cast a blemish on the Roman probity. But all their efforts were to no purpose; the people, in spite of their remonstrances, adjudged the territory to themselves¹.

IN the following consulate of *M. Genucius Augurinus*, and *C. Curtius Philo*, the tribunes carried their pretensions farther than ever. For they not only demanded that the law, prohibiting patricians and plebeians to intermarry, might be repealed, but likewise, that plebeians might be admitted to the consulate. *Canuleius*, the most active of the tribunes, declared to the senate, in the most solemn manner, that he would constantly oppose all levies of troops, let the want of them be never so pressing, till these concessions were made to the people. The consuls and patricians c declared with great warmth against these new claims of the incroaching tribunes; but the *Ardeates*, the *Æqui*, the *Veientes*, and the *Volsci*, invading at the same time the Roman territory, the senate found it necessary to let the law concerning marriages pass, hoping that this concession would induce the tribunes to give over intirely the pursuit of the law relating to the consulship, or at least to suspend it till the conclusion of the war. But their hopes proved vain; for the tribunes, though the alarm from abroad daily increased, still opposed the levies, and pushed their point with the same zeal as before. Nay, at the instigation of *Canuleius*, they all bound themselves by a solemn oath not to desist from their enterprize, till the senate had granted them their demand. *C. Claudius*, in a private assembly of the oldest senators, moved to have d recourse to arms and violence rather than yield to the people the dignity of the consulship. But *T. Quinctius*, and the majority of the assembly, thought it better to comply, than come to a rupture with the people. Hereupon *Claudius*, to prevent the debasing of the consular dignity, made a new proposal, viz. that instead of consuls a certain number of military tribunes should be chosen, partly out of the senate, and partly from among the plebeians, and that these new magistrates should be invested with consular power. This project being approved, the senate was assembled, and the tribunes called to it to give their reasons in behalf of the new laws in question. After they had spoke, *Claudius*'s scheme was proposed, and received with great applause both by the patricians and plebeians. A decree was immediately passed for e this fourth revolution in the Roman government, and the comitia were held without delay. But when the people came to vote, they refused to give their votes to any but patricians, so that only three military tribunes were chosen, *A. Sempronius Atratinus*, *L. Atilius*, and *S. Cecilius*, or, as some style him, *Clelius*. But they did not long continue in office. *Curtius*, the late consul, who had presided at the election, declared three months after, that the auguries preceding it had been inauspicious, which made their promotion void. This was probably an artful contrivance of the nobility to restore the ancient form of government. However that be, the three new magistrates readily resigned their office, and an inter-rex was named, that the commonwealth might not remain without a head. *T. Quinctius* the inter-rex assembled f the people to determine whether the consular government should be restored, or that of the military tribunes continued? The senate were for the former; the tribunes for the latter; but the people, being resolved to confer the supreme dignity only on patricians, were indifferent whether it should be called *consulship* or *tribuneship*. At length all agreed to restore the old form of government, and *L. Papirius Mugillanus*, and *L. Sempronius Atratinus*, brother to one of those patricians, who had laid down the military tribuneship, were appointed consuls for the remaining part of the year. Under the succeeding administration of *T. Quinctius Capitolinus*, a fifth time consul,

¹ DIO. HAL. l. xi. p. 739. Liv. l. iii. c. 71.

- a and *M. Geganius* a second time, the *Censorship* was established. There had been no census for seventeen years, which occasioned great disorders. These the new consuls undertook to remedy; but as they had many civil and military affairs on their hands, they desired the senate to discharge them of the care of numbering the people, and to lay it upon two magistrates created for that purpose, who, with the title of *Censors*, should, every five years, take a general review of the whole *Roman* people, and an account of their effects. The senate approved the motion; and the tribunes, tho' always upon their guard against every thing offered by the senate, thought the employment of too little importance to oppose it. They did not even demand, that the plebeians should be allowed a share in it, not foreseeing to what a pitch of power and grandeur the office of censor would in time arrive. As men generally study how to enlarge their authority, the censorship was no sooner made a distinct magistracy, than the censors began to take upon them the reformation of manners, and by that means subject to their tribunal the senators and knights, as much as the meanest of the people. *Papirius* and *Sempronius*, the consuls of the preceding year, were the first censors, this dignity being unanimously conferred upon them, to make them amends for the short duration of their consulate ^a.

The censorship established.
Year of the flood 2561.
Before Christ 438.
Of Rome 310.

- While the consuls were thus easing themselves of the burden annexed to their office, a neighbouring city found them employment enough abroad. The *Ardeates*, who had lately renewed their alliance with *Rome*, were unhappily involved in a civil war, which arose from a very slight cause. Two citizens of *Ardea*, one of a noble family, the other of a plebeian, had fallen in love with the same young woman. As she was a plebeian, her guardians were for giving her to a man of her own rank; but her mother, an ambitious woman, was fond of matching her with a man of quality. The dispute about this marriage engaged all *Ardea*, the nobility declaring for one of the suitors, and the people for the other. At length the cause between the mother and the guardians was tried, and sentence pronounced by the judges in favour of the former, who, they said, had a right to dispose of her child to whom she pleased; but the latter, refusing to stand to this determination, had recourse to violence, gathered together some plebeians, and entering the widow's house, carried away her daughter. The nobility, on the other hand, taking the mother's part, ran to arms, fell upon the plebeians, and having killed several of them, brought the young woman back to her mother's house. Hereupon the plebeians, leaving the city in great numbers, encamped on a neighbouring hill, and from thence sent out parties to lay waste the lands of the nobility. The mutineers being joined by the *Volsci*, chose themselves a commander, named *Cluilius*, and laid siege to *Ardea*. In this distress the nobility applied to the *Romans*, and the senate sent immediately an army to their relief, under the command of the consul *Geganius*, who invested the besiegers, obliged them to surrender their arms, and made them pass under the yoke. After this, the consul returned to *Rome*, which he entered in triumph, with uncommon pomp and solemnity ^b.

A civil war among the *Ardeates*.

The Romans assist the nobility of *Ardea*.

- The succeeding consuls, *M. Fabius*, and *Posthumius Ebutius*, made the *Ardeates* some amends for the wrongs the *Romans* had done them, on occasion of their contest with the *Aricians*; for they sent a colony to re-people their city, much depopulated by the civil war, and privately agreed, that no lands, except those formerly in dispute, should be divided among the new colony, and even of those only a small part; and that the rest should be restored to their ancient proprietors. As this was disannulling the judgment of the people, *Agrippa Menenius*, *F. Clatius*, and *M. Ebutius*, who had put the decree in execution, were cited to appear before the people; but these three patricians, to avoid the prosecution, declared themselves citizens of *Ardea*, and continued there. The following year, when the government was in the hands of *C. Furius* and *M. Papirius*, proved a year of peace. But in the succeeding consulate of *Proculus Geganius* and *L. Menenius*, great disturbances arose, occasioned by a *Roman* knight, named *Sp. Mælius*, who had the confidence to aspire to the sovereign power. A dreadful famine happening in *Rome*, the people, to prevent the evil consequences of it, created, with the consent of the senate, an extraordinary magistrate, with the title of *Superintendent of provisions*. The person they named for this office, was one *L. Minucius*, an active and prudent man, who immediately sent his agents into the neighbouring countries to buy corn, but with little success, *Sp.*

Sp. Mælius aspires to the sovereign power.

^a Liv. l. iv. c. 9. Cic. de Leg. l. iii

^b Liv. ibid

Mælius, who was one of the richest men in *Rome*, having been before-hand with him ^a at the markets. The corn *Mælius* bought, was, by his order, distributed among the meaner people; so that his house quickly became the place of refuge for the poor, the idle, and those who had undone themselves by debauchery. *Minucius*, who was continued in his office under the new consuls *T. Quinctius Capitolinus* the sixth time, and *Agrippa Menenius*, found out, that *Mælius*, under cover of an extraordinary liberality, formed assemblies at his house, and that great quantities of arms had been conveyed thither by night. Upon this intelligence, he inquired further into the matter, and at length discovered, that a conspiracy was formed to subvert the present government; that *Mælius* aspired to the sovereign power; that the people were to take arms in his favour; and that even some of the tribunes had consented to sell ^b the public liberty. *Minucius*, without loss of time, gave an account of his discoveries to the senate; and the senate, following the advice of *Quinctius Capitolinus*, empowered him to name his brother *Quinctius Cincinnatus* dictator. It was thought necessary to take this step in so critical a juncture, to prevent *Mælius* from escaping the punishment due to his wicked attempt. He might have appealed from the consuls to the people, who, as they were intirely devoted to him, would have saved him; but from the dictator there was no appeal. *Cincinnatus*, being then past fourscore, would have declined the office; but the consuls and the whole senate insisting upon his charging himself with the care of the commonwealth, he at length acquiesced, and named *Servilius Abala* to be his general of the horse, and the next day ^c placed guards in all the quarters of the city. This precaution surprized those who knew nothing of the conspiracy; but *Mælius*, and his associates, being well apprised, that the power of the supreme magistrate was wholly bent against them, used their utmost endeavours to engage the multitude in their favour. Hereupon the dictator, having caused his tribunal to be carried into the forum, sent his master of the horse to cite *Mælius* to appear before him. *Mælius*, instead of obeying the summons, attempted to make his escape. Whereupon *Servilius* commanded a lictor to seize him; and his orders were put in execution: but the multitude having rescued him out of the lictor's hands, he was very near making his escape, when *Servilius*, throwing ^d himself into the crowd, overtook him, and killed him on the spot. This action pleased the dictator, who, on seeing his master of the horse all sprinkled with the blood of the criminal, told him, that to him *Rome* was indebted for her liberty. He then convened a general assembly of the people, and having acquainted them with the conspiracy, declared, that *Mælius* had been justly slain. His house was, by the dictator's orders, razed to the ground, and the prodigious quantities of corn found in it, sold to the people at low rates. As for *Menenius*, a statue was erected to him without the gate *Trigemina*, as a reward of his vigilance; but three of the tribunes, provoked at the murder of *Mælius*, made loud complaints in the assembly of the people, and obstinately opposed the election of the consuls; insomuch that the patricians, to avoid a tumult, were forced to consent, that military tribunes should be ^e chosen for the next year. The tribunes hoped, that the people would now divide the government between the patricians and plebeians; but they chose only three patricians, viz. *Mamercus Æmilius*, *L. Quinctius*, the son of the dictator, and *Julius Julius*. During their administration, the city of *Fidenæ*, not only revolted from *Rome*, but putting themselves under the protection of *Tolumnius* king of the *Veientes*, murdered four ambassadors sent by the senate to ask the reason of their conduct. As a war was unavoidable, it was thought more proper to chuse consuls than military tribunes for the next year; and accordingly *M. Geganius* a third time, and *L. Sergius*, were elected. It fell to the latter to make war upon the *Veientes*; but though he gained some advantages over them, he lost a great number of men; which determined the senate to remove him from the command of the army, and to create a dictator in his room. The consuls named *Mamercus Æmilius* for that dignity, who chose young *Quinctius Cincinnatus* for his general of the horse, and appointed *Quinctius Capitolinus*, and *M. Fabius Vibulanus*, two great commanders, his lieutenant generals. He soon after took the field, came to an engagement with the united forces of the *Falisci*, *Fidenates*, and *Veientes*, and gave them a total overthrow. *Tolumnius* himself was slain in the battle by *Cornelius Cossus*, a legionary tribune, who stripped him of his armour and royal robes, and carried these spoils, called *spolia opima*, on his shoulders ^f

Quinctius Cincinnatus dictator.

Mælius is slain.

Fidenæ revolts from the Romans.

Mamercus Æmilius dictator.

The spoils opima.

- a in the dictator's triumph. When the triumph was over, he deposited them in the temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, they being the second of the sort known in *Rome*. In the following consulate of *M. Cornelius* and *L. Papirius*, one *Sp. Malius*, a tribune of the people, and a near relation of the famous *Malius*, cited *Minucius*, and *Servilius Abala*, to answer for his death. Some historians tell us, that these prosecutions served only to bring the tribune into contempt; but the greater part say, that *Servilius* was condemned to banishment, and afterwards recalled. As for *Minucius*, we do not find any punishment inflicted upon him.

- THE *Veientes* and *Fidenates* renewed the war in the following consulate of *Julius Julus* the second time, and *L. Virginus*, while the *Romans* were greatly distressed by a plague; but *Q. Servilius Priscus* being created dictator, gave them battle near *Numentum*, routed them, and took the city of *Fidenæ*. This success was followed by a census of the *Roman* people, which, after the establishment of the censors, never failed to be renewed every five years. The following year *Mamercus Æmilius* was named to the dictatorship a second time, upon a report, that all *Hetruria* was preparing for war; but these fears proving vain, *Æmilius*, who had no hopes of gaining glory abroad, resolved to do something remarkable at home, and proposed to the people the shortening the duration of the censorship, and reducing it from five years to eighteen months. This motion was received with applause, and passed into a law. Then *Æmilius*, to shew the dislike he had to magistracies of long continuance, resigned his own, and retired to his house, amidst the loud acclamations of the multitude. However, this wise law cost him dear; the censors, who were the inspectors of the manners of the people, struck him out of the roll of his tribe, took from him the privilege of voting, deprived him of all the rights of a *Roman* citizen, and loaded him with a tribute eight times greater than he used to pay; but this persecution gave him a new lustre, and stirred up the people against his persecutors, *Furius* and *Geganus*, to such a degree, that they would have tore them in pieces, if *Æmilius* had not been so generous, as to use his interest with the multitude to save them. The tribunes of the people, by renewing their ordinary harangues against the electing of consuls, prevailed to have military tribunes chosen for the next year. However, the people raised to that dignity only three patricians, *M. Fabius*, *M. Fastius*, and *L. Sergius*. Nothing memorable happened during their administration, but a plague, which ceased in the following year, when the republic was again governed by three military tribunes, all patricians, viz. *L. Pinarius*, *L. Furius*, and *Sp. Posthumus*. Hereupon the rich plebeians complained of the poorer sort, for not chusing any but patricians to that magistracy, notwithstanding the law, which allowed three plebeians to be elected. They met at the houses of the tribunes of the people to consult upon this matter, and there resolved to propose a law, forbidding any pretenders to the superior offices to go about in garments of an extraordinary whiteness, to solicit the votes of the people. It was customary for those, who aspired to any office, to shew themselves to the people on market-days in a habit of an extraordinary whiteness, and, in that dress, to court the meanest of the citizens, to call them by their names, to shake hands with them, &c. From this habit they were called *candidati*, or *candidates*, a word derived from the *Latin candidus*, signifying *white*. As this way of canvassing for offices was used only by the nobility, the principal plebeians undertook the abolishing of such a custom, hoping thereby to put an end to the various arts used by the patricians to gain the favour of the people. The law prohibiting the use of white garments passed, in spite of the opposition of the patricians, who seeing the people highly incensed against the nobility, began to fear, that they would no longer refuse their voices to the chief plebeians for the military tribuneship; wherefore, to avert this danger, they turned their thoughts on getting consuls chosen for the next year, the formidable preparations which the *Æqui* and *Volsci* were making at this time for war, favouring their design. As no plebeians had ever commanded armies, the people were quite indifferent, whether consuls or military tribunes were chosen; for they were determined to give their suffrages to none but old captains, and consequently to patricians. Thus the election being left to the senate, the consulship was restored, and *T. Quinctius*, the son of *Lucius*, and *C. Julius Mento*, were promoted to that dignity. They were both officers of great experience and courage; but a misunderstanding arising between them, they were defeated by the enemy near mount *Algidus*. Hereupon the senate thought it necessary to name a dictator; but the consuls obstinately refusing to comply with their desire in this particular, as being piqued

Fidenæ taken by the Romans.

A law prohibiting the use of white garments.

at the diffidence they shewed of their abilities, the senators had recourse to the tribunes of the people, exhorting them to interpose their authority, and oblige the consuls to name a dictator. The tribunes, who were then in the senate, charmed with a motion, which tended to increase their authority, having withdrawn a while to consult, returned with this declaration, that it was the pleasure of the tribunes, that the consuls should obey the senate, or be led to prison, if they persisted in their disobedience. Hereupon the consuls submitted; but justly reproached the senators with betraying the interests of their own body, and subjecting the consular authority to the tribunitian power. Another difficulty still remained: the consuls could not agree about the person who should be dictator; so that they were obliged to draw lots for the privilege of nominating. It fell to *Quintilius*, and he named his father-in-law *Posthumius Tubertus*, who appointed *L. Julius Vopiscus* to be his general of the horse. The dictator soon raised an army, with which he marched against the enemy, and having defeated them in a bloody battle, returned in triumph to Rome, and laid down his employment *P*.

*Posthumius
Tubertus dic-
tator defeats
the Æqui and
Volsci.*

THE next year, when *C. Papirius* and *L. Julius Vopiscus* were consuls, the *Æqui* desired to enter into an alliance with the Romans, on the same foot with the *Latins* and *Ilernici*; but all they could obtain was a truce for eight years. Nothing remarkable happened at Rome during the present consulship, but the making a law to settle the value of oxen and sheep paid by way of fines for disobedience to magistrates. The fines were ordered to be paid in money for the future, each ox being valued at an hundred asses of brass, and each sheep at ten. The tribunes were the first projectors of this new law; but the consuls having notice of their design, proposed the new regulation themselves, and by that means gained the favour of the people. The next year the republic enjoyed a profound peace, under the administration of *L. Sergius* a second time consul, and *Hosius Lucretius*, which was not disturbed even by the tribunes. The next year, when *T. Quintilius* a second time, and *Cornelius Cossus*, were raised to the consulate, was remarkable for nothing but an extraordinary drought, which occasioned a famine, that was followed by a dreadful plague. On this occasion the Romans had recourse to deities unknown, and introduced new superstitions; but the senate, apprised of the danger of innovations in religion, ordered the ædiles to take care, that no gods were worshipped, but those of the country; and by this means a stop was put to all foreign superstitions. The *Veientes* had obtained a truce for eight years, after their defeat near *Nomentum*, as we have related above; but, before the time was expired, had ravaged the lands of the republic. The senate therefore, in the consulate of *L. Papirius* a second time, and *Servilius Abala*, resolved to punish them; but a dispute arising between the people and the senate concerning the right of declaring war, those enemies of the republic escaped vengeance this year. The next, the tribunes insisted upon having the government placed in the hands of military tribunes; and accordingly four patricians were chosen, *T. Quintilius Cincinnatus*, *C. Furius*, *M. Posthumius*, and *A. Cornelius Cossus*. The latter staid at Rome, and the other three marched against the *Veientes*; but as they did not act in concert, they were routed, and obliged to keep within their camp. The people, upon the news of their defeat, insisted upon their being deposed, and a dictator appointed in their room; but as there were then no consuls, whose prerogative it was to nominate a dictator, recourse was had to the augurs, who declared, that *Cossus*, who had had no share in the late shameful disaster, might nominate a dictator. Accordingly he named *Mamercus Æmilius*, who had been in the same post twice before, and whom the censors had degraded. The new dictator appointed *Cossus* his general of the horse, and soon after took the field against the *Veientes*, whom the *Fidenates* had joined, after having massacred the Roman colony in their city. The dictator coming up with them near the city of *Fidenæ*, gained a complete victory over their united forces, and made himself master both of the city of *Fidenæ*, and of the camp of the *Veientes*. We are told, that the left wing of the Roman army was at first greatly terrified, and put into confusion by the enemy's new manner of fighting; for the *Fidenates*, having all on a sudden opened one of the gates of their city, sent out some soldiers with lighted torches in their hands, and dressed like furies. These running through the Roman battalions, and threatening them with fire and sword at the same time, occasioned no small disorder; but the dictator upbraiding his men with cowardice, What,

*The Romans
defeated by the
Veientes.*

*The Veientes
and Fidenates
defeated by
Mamercus Æ-
milius dictator.*

a said he, are you as much afraid of smoke, as a swarm of bees? Make use of your swords to wrest the torches out of the enemies hands, and then go and set fire to their city with them. These words inspired the *Romans* with new courage; and *Cossus* falling upon the enemy at the same time with his cavalry, the latter were intirely defeated. This glorious expedition being finished in sixteen days, *Amilius* led back his troops to *Rome*, had the honours of a triumph, and then laid down his employment ⁹.

NOTWITHSTANDING the ill conduct of the last military tribunes, the tribunes of the people prevailed so far, as to have the same government continued the two following years; but had still the mortification to see patricians only elected. These
b were the first year, *A. Sempronius*, *L. Furius*, *L. Quin. ius*, and *L. Horatius*; the second, *Ap. Claudius*, *Sp. Nautius*, *L. Sergius*, and *Sex. Julius*. The tribunes of the people used their utmost endeavours to dissuade them from this preference of the patricians to them in the elections. The richest and most eminent men among the plebeians gave out, that, if they could be once chosen, they would not fail to get the public lands divided among the poor citizens. This made no small impression upon the multitude; but the patricians, who were then in possession of the military tribuneship, to avoid the shame of having plebeians for their successors, agreed among themselves to lead out of *Rome* those, who aspired to that dignity, under pretence of making an incursion into the territory of the *Volsci*. In their absence, *Appius Claudius*, son of the decemvir, and one of the military tribunes, held an assembly for electing consuls, when *C. Sempronius Atratinus*, and *C. Fabius Vibulanus*, were chosen. They had scarce entered upon their office, when news was brought to *Rome*, that the *Volsci* had taken the field with a very numerous army, and were advancing towards the frontiers, with a design to lay waste the lands of the republic. The consul *Sempronius*, a man of greater courage than conduct, was sent against them; but he, desiring an enemy whom the *Romans* had so often vanquished, and attacking them with the infantry alone, was surrounded on all sides, and would have been cut off with all his men, if one *Tempanius*, an old officer of the horse, had not taken upon him the command of the cavalry. This brave officer, observing the danger the legions were in,
d leaped from his horse, and addressing himself to his companions, Follow my lance, said he, as if it were a standard, and let us shew the enemy, that we can fight on foot as well as on horse-back. At these words the whole body of horse dismounted, and following their leader, fell upon the enemy with incredible fury. The general of the *Volsci* ordered his men to retire in good order to a neighbouring hill; but *Tempanius*, after having rescued the legions from the danger they were in, continued to press the enemy with such vigor, that they could no longer withstand him. Then the *Volscian* commander, who was a man of great experience in war, sent orders to his troops to open their ranks, and give passage to the troops *Tempanius* led, and then to close again, in order to separate them from the rest of the *Roman* army. His
e orders were obeyed, and *Tempanius* rushing still forwards, found himself at last cut off from the *Roman* main body. He did his utmost to force his way through the enemy's ranks; but not being able to break their order, he retired to an eminence, and there drawing up his men in a circle, defended himself with incredible bravery, till night coming on, put an end to the conflict. The brave *Roman* did not doubt but the enemy would renew the attack as soon as the darkness was dispelled, and therefore encouraged his men to behave like *Romans*, and since they must perish, to sell their lives dear; but he was much surprized, when at day-break he saw neither friends nor enemies. He could not imagine what was become of the two great armies, which, a few hours before, had covered the plain. He went down with a few of his men
f to take a view, first of the *Volscian*, and afterwards of the *Roman* camp. Not a man was to be seen in either, except such of the wounded as had not been able to follow the main body of their respective armies. Both the *Romans* and *Volscians* had fought till night, and being equally afraid to renew the fight the next morning, had quitted their camps, leaving many of their wounded, and a great part of their baggage behind them, and retired to the nearest mountains. *Tempanius*, not knowing to what place the consul was retired with his troops, took up the wounded *Romans*, and marched freight to *Rome*, where he found the people actually assembled. Some runaways having got to the city before him, had given out, that the consul was

A bloody battle
between the
Romans and
the Volsci.

¹ Liv. l. iv. c. 31.—33. Flor. l. i. c. 12.

defeated,

defeated; and the whole body of cavalry cut in pieces. The tribunes of the people, ^a thinking this to be a favourable opportunity of humbling a consul, obliged *Tempanius* to appear in the assembly, before he set foot in his own house, and asked him aloud several questions concerning the conduct of *Sempronius*. *Tempanius* answered, That it did not become a private officer to judge of the capacity and behaviour of his general; that he had seen him fight at the head of his legions with great bravery; and that, by what appeared to him upon a view of the field of battle, he could assure them, that the *Volsi* had lost at least as many men as the *Romans*. Notwithstanding this favourable testimony of *Tempanius*, *L. Hortensius*, one of the tribunes of the people, cited *Sempronius*, as soon as the year of his consulate was expired, to answer ^b for his conduct in the late battle; but when he appeared upon his trial, *Tempanius*, who had been chosen tribune of the people, with three other officers of the horse, in reward of their services, generously made themselves his advocates, and asked their colleague, why he prosecuted a brave general, whom he could reproach with nothing but bad fortune? *Sempronius*, said they, was our general and our father; and therefore, like true children, we will appear in the habit of criminals as well as he, and, as we have shared his fortune, partake of his disgrace, if any befalls him. No, replied *Hortensius*, that shall never be; the *Roman* people shall never see their tribunes in mourning. I have done; I have nothing further to say against a general, who ^c understood so well how to gain the affection of his soldiers: and thus he dropped his accusation. *Sempronius*, and his colleague *Fabius*, had been succeeded by military ^e tribunes, *L. Manlius*, *Q. Antonius*, *L. Papirius*, and *L. Servilius*; but this year *Rome* having such moderate tribunes of the people, returned to her ancient form of government, and chose, without any disturbance, *T. Quinctius Capitolinus*, son of the famous *Quinctius Capitolinus*, and *Numerius Fabius*, consuls.

Sempronius
cited to answer
for his conduct
in the battle.

The accusation
is dropped.

New distur-
bances about
the quaestorship.

An inter-*rex*
chosen.

C. Sempronius
is again cited,
and condemned
in a fine.

THE peace, which continued this year, gave the new tribunes an opportunity of raising disturbances about the quaestorship. Hitherto there had been only two quaestors, and those chosen annually from among the patricians. Their office was to collect the taxes, defray the expences of the war, and to keep exact accounts of the receipts and disbursements of the public money, for which they were accountable. To this time they had never stirred out of *Rome*; the consuls therefore proposed, ^d that two new quaestors should be added, to attend the generals in the field, take account of the spoils, sell the booty, and, above all, provide for the subsistence of the army. This motion was received with great applause both by the senate and people; but when it came to be passed into a law, the tribunes demanded, that two of those magistrates should always indispensibly be plebeians. The senate was willing, that, in the election of quaestors, as in that of military tribunes, the people should, if they thought fit, chuse as many plebeians as patricians; but the tribunes obstinately requiring, that the people should not be left at liberty to chuse plebeians or patricians, the senate thought it adviseable, rather than submit to this, to drop the motion. The tribunes, by way of revenge, protested against holding the comitia for electing ^e consuls, and insisted on having military tribunes for the next year. The obstinacy of the two parties threw the republic into a kind of anarchy, the tribunes opposing even the senate's meeting to name an inter-*rex*. After warm disputes, the tribunes agreed to the naming of an inter-*rex*; and the senate chose for that office *L. Papirius Mugellanus*, who, by expostulations and soft persuasions, brought the contending parties to this compromise, that the senate should suffer the people to chuse military tribunes instead of consuls; and that the tribunes of the people should allow the tribes to bestow the quaestorship on patricians or plebeians, as they thought fit. Notwithstanding all the cabals and seditious harangues of the tribunes of the people, not only the military tribunes, but the quaestors too, were chosen out of the patricians only, tho' one ^f of the tribunes had proposed his brother, and the other his son. The tribunes, enraged at this preference, were for accusing *A. Sempronius*, who had presided at the election, of some unfair dealing in taking the votes; but, as he was a man of known probity, and then one of the military tribunes, they turned all their fury against *C. Sempronius* his cousin-german, who had not been acquitted on his former trial, tho' the prosecution had been dropped at the request of *Tempanius*. He was again cited to appear at the end of twenty-seven days, during which time he constantly attended the senate, and zealously opposed the request of the tribunes concerning the distribution

^f Liv. *ibid.* c. 41. VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 5.

- a of lands. With the same steadiness he behaved on his trial, and pleaded his cause with great eloquence. But notwithstanding all the solicitations of the senate in his favour, and the favourable testimonies of many officers, who had served under him, he was fined fifteen thousand asses of brass. Soon after a vestal, who, by her levity, and too free airs, had brought herself under a suspicion of incontinency, was tried before the pontifices, and acquitted; but the *pontifex maximus* admonished her to be more reserved for the future. In the following military tribuneship of *Agrippa Menenius*, *Sp. Nautius*, *P. Lucretius*, and *C. Servilius*, a plot was formed by the slaves to set fire to the city, and seize the capitol; but the secret being discovered by some of the conspirators, the evil consequences of it were prevented. The next year, when
- b the republic was governed by three military tribunes only, *M. Papirius*, *C. Servilius*, and *L. Sergius*, *Labicum*, a city of *Latium*, about fifteen miles distance from *Rome*, *Labicum* revolted, and entered into an alliance with the *Æqui*, who, after having pillaged the territory of *Tusculum*, encamped at the foot of mount *Algidus*. Hereupon two of the military tribunes were ordered to take the field, and the third to remain in *Rome*; but each of the three, thinking himself the most capable of commanding the army, despised the less glorious employment of governing the city. The senate was highly offended to see three magistrates, whose duty it was to take care of the interest of the public, sacrifice it to their private ambition; but no one of that body had weight enough to put an end to the dispute. At length *Q. Servilius*, who had been formerly
- c dictator, interposing his paternal authority, commanded his son *C. Servilius* to stay at home; and *Caius*, tho' very desirous of commanding the army, and raised above his father by the office he then bore in the republic, obeyed, without shewing the least reluctance, and remained in *Rome*. But the two generals agreeing no better in the field than they had done in the city, the army under their command was drawn into an ambush, and intirely defeated. Hereupon the senate ordered a dictator to be created; and young *Servilius* nominated his father, who appointed him his general of the horse. The father and son, leaving *Rome*, at the head of a new army, encamped within two miles of the enemy, and, a few days after, attacked them, put their army to flight, took *Labicum* their place of refuge by storm, and returning to *Rome* eight
- d days after he had left it, laid down his office. The republic enjoyed a profound peace both at home and abroad under the succeeding military tribunes, *P. Lucretius*, *L. Servilius*, *Agrippa Menenius*, and *Sp. Veturius*. But the next year, when *A. Sempronius*, *M. Papirius*, *Q. Fabius*, and *Sp. Nautius*, governed the republic, the tribunes of the people revived the old quarrel about the distribution of lands. *Sp. Mæcilius*, and *Sp. Metilius*, who were at the head of the factious, pretended, that the patri-
- e cians had usurped the lands they enjoyed, and therefore proposed a new division of them between the nobility and the plebeians. The senate met frequently to concert measures for defeating this proposal; *Appius Claudius* proposed gaining over some of the college of the tribunes, as the only remedy against their tyranny. His advice was received with great applause, and put in execution with success; for the fathers applying themselves to the tribunes, by entreaties and remonstrances, won over six of the ten to oppose the promulgation of the law; so that *Mæcilius* and *Metilius* were obliged to drop their petition. The same good understanding was maintained the next year between the senate and some of the tribunes, when *Cornelius Cossus*, *Quintilius Cincinnatus*, *Valerius Volusus*, and *Fabius Vibulanus*, were military tribunes. But in the military tribuneship of *Q. Fabius*, *Cn. Cornelius*, *P. Posthumius*, and *L. Valerius*, the affair of the *Agrarian* law was revived. The *Æqui* having retaken *Bola*, a little town, which the *Romans* had lately seized, *P. Posthumius*, one of the military tribunes, was sent with an army to recover it. After some skirmishes with the enemy in the field,
- f he sat down before the place, and, to encourage his men, promised to distribute the plunder among them, if they took the town. The place was soon after carried by assault; but the general, who hated the plebeians, of whom the greatest part of his army consisted, breaking his word, put all the spoil into the hands of the quaestors, and thereby alienated the hearts of the army from him. In the mean time *Sextius*, one of the tribunes of the people, having brought on anew the affair of the *Agrarian* law, *Posthumius* was sent for to *Rome*, to assist his colleagues in opposing the tribunes. As he was an obstinate, wrong-headed man, on his arrival, he let many inconsiderate expressions drop in the presence of the curiæ. One day *Sextius* having proposed a decree for dividing the city of *Bola*, and its territory, among the soldiers then in the
- g field, who had made that conquest, *Posthumius*, in a violent passion, cried out, Wo

Labicum re-
volts.

The Roman
army defeated
by the Æqui.

The old quarrel
about the di-
stribution of
lands revived.

The soldiers
mutiny in the
camp.

And kill their
general.

Of the four
quæstors three
are chosen out
plebeians.

The Volsci re-
new the war.

be to my men, if any such thing be done. *Sextius*, perceiving by this the hasty temper of the general, took pleasure in exasperating him, and making him say many things offensive to the people and soldiers. Then the crafty tribune, turning to the people, upbraided them for thinking such a brute more worthy of the military tribuneship than their own tribunes, whose whole business was to procure them lands, houses, and a comfortable retreat in their old age. His artful discourse much lessened the partiality of the people for the nobility in the elections; but when the threats of *Posthumius* were related in the camp, the soldiers began to mutiny; and because *P. Sextius*, one of the quæstors, ordered a lictor to seize a soldier, who was more mutinous than the rest, his companions not only rescued him, but one of them wounded the quæstor with a stone. *Posthumius*, informed of this tumult, hastened to the camp; but, instead of appeasing the sedition, increased it by his unseasonable severity. He commanded the most guilty of the mutineers to be thrown into a shallow water, to be there covered with hurdles, and then pressed to death, by heaping stones upon them. As this was a slow kind of death, which made the criminals cry out in an affecting manner, the soldiers flocked about them, and rescued them out of the hands of the executioners. Hereupon the general, in a transport of rage, came down from his tribunal, broke through the crowd, and being attended by his lictors, endeavoured to disperse the multitude; but the soldiers, forgetting their duty, opposed force with force, and being worked up to fury, threw stones at their general, and killed him on the spot. This was the first instance of a commander killed by his troops from the foundation of Rome.

THE senate, fearing lest the people, in order to screen the murderers, should chuse military tribunes for the next year out of the plebeians, used their utmost endeavours to get consuls elected, and, after warm debates, prevailed. *A. Cornelius Cossus*, and *L. Furius Medullinus*, were raised to that dignity. As they were both men of great prudence and moderation, they were unanimously named by the senate, people and army, to prosecute the soldiers, who had murdered their general; which they did with such circumspection, for fear of driving the army to an open revolt, that those few who died, fell by their own hands, and not by the axes of the lictors. Nothing remarkable, except a plague and famine, happened in the three following consulates of *Q. Fabius* and *C. Furius*, of *M. Papirius* and *C. Nautius*, of *M. Æmilius* and *C. Valerius*. But in the consulate of *Cn. Cornelius*, and *L. Furius* a second time, the tribunes of the people, especially three of the *Scilii* family, who were more active than the rest, prevailed upon the people to make use of the liberty allowed them by the laws, and to chuse three plebeians into the quæstorship. The *Scilii* having carried this point, encouraged the plebeians to oppose the election of consuls, hoping, that some of their body might be raised to the military tribuneship, as they had been to the quæstorship. The disputes on this head grew warm, when news was brought, that the *Æqui* and *Volsci* were again in motion, and had retaken *Carventum*. It was therefore necessary to raise forces, in order to stop their further progress; but the tribunes obstinately opposed the levies, till the senate consented to the election of military tribunes; but, to disappoint the *Scilii*, they added this clause to their decree, that none of the tribunes of the people should either be chosen military tribunes, or continued in their office the next year. As the tribunes could not object to this, without discovering their ambition, troops were raised without opposition; and tho' *Carventum* was not recovered, the city of *Verrugo* was taken from the *Volsci*, and some other advantages gained over them. In the mean-time the election of the military tribunes coming on, the patricians engaged some plebeians of no merit or weight to stand candidates. The plebeians, disgusted with their meanness, and ashamed to see them stand in competition with senators and consulars of the first rank, gave all their suffrages to the nobles, and chose three patricians, *C. Julius Iulus*, *P. Cornelius Cossus*, and *C. Servilius Ahala*. During their administration, the *Volsci* renewed the war, and having engaged some of the new allies of the republic to join them, encamped near *Antium*. The senate, apprehending the republic to be in great danger, ordered a dictator to be nominated; but as the three military tribunes had already drawn lots for the command of the army, which had fallen to *Iulus* and *Cornelius*, those two generals, offended at the distrust the fathers had shewed of their conduct, refused to name a dictator. Hereupon the senate complained to the tribunes of the people, as they had done before

* Liv. l. iv. c. 49. ZONAR. annal. l. vii.

- a upon the like occasion, and desired them to interpose their authority : but they gave them a scornful answer ; Who are we, said they, but contemptible plebeians, scarce to be reckoned in the number of men, much less of *Roman* citizens ? When the honours and dignities of the republic shall be made common to us with the patricians, we shall take care, that no proud magistrate disobey the decrees of the senate. Till then you must expect nothing from us, but do your own business the best you can. This refusal greatly perplexed the senate ; but at length *C. Servilius*, the third military tribune, extricated them out of the present difficulty, by taking upon him to act alone, and to name a dictator. The person he raised to that high station was *P. Cornelius Rutilus*, P. Cornelius Rutilus dictator gains a complete victory over the Volsci who appointed him to be general of the horse. The dictator took the field, gained a complete victory over the *Volsci*, and returning to *Rome*, laid down his office. Upon his resignation, the military tribunes resumed the functions of their employment, and to be revenged on the senate for the treatment they had met with, without consulting the fathers, ordered the centuries to assemble for the election of military tribunes against the ensuing year. The patricians, alarmed at this step, had recourse to a new artifice, to prevent the government from falling into the hands of the plebeians. They obliged the most illustrious members of their own body to stand candidates ; so that, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the tribunes, four patricians of distinguished merit were chosen, viz. *C. Valerius*, *C. Servilius*, *Lucius Furius*, and *Fabius Vibulanus* ^a.
- c THE truce with the *Veientes* being at this time ended, the *Romans* sent *feciales* to demand satisfaction for the injuries they had formerly done the republic ; but the *feciales* meeting on the road envoys from *Veii*, at their request proceeded no farther. These envoys being admitted into the senate, represented, that their city, being at present disturbed by domestic broils, was not in a condition to give the *Romans* satisfaction. These dissensions gave the *Romans* a favourable opportunity of falling upon their old enemies ; but they had too much generosity, as *Livy* observes, to take advantage of the misfortunes of a rival state, and therefore did not disturb them this year. The *Volsci* retook *Verrugo* from the *Romans* the same year, and put the garrison to the sword ; but the military tribunes having surprized the *Volsci*, while they were dispersed about the country in quest of booty, cut them all to pieces. In the following tribuneship of *C. Cornelius*, *L. Valerius*, *Cn. Cornelius*, and *Fabius Ambustus*, all patricians, the *Veientes*, having insulted the *Roman* ambassadors, and driven them out of their city with contempt, the senate ordered a declaration of war against them to be immediately proposed to the people ; but the tribunes opposed the levies, making the old affair of the *Agrarian* law their pretence. However, it was agreed, that three of the military tribunes should lead an army against the *Volsci*, who, at the approach of the legions, betook themselves to flight, and left the country open to be pillaged. Hereupon the *Roman* generals, having divided their army into three bodies, made incursions into it on three different sides. *Fabius* laid siege to *Ansur*, and having taken it by storm, divided the spoil equally among the soldiers of all the three armies. This piece of generosity paved the way for a reconciliation between the nobility and the people, which was intirely completed by a decree of the senate, that for the future the *Roman* infantry should be maintained in the field at the public expence. Hitherto all the citizens had been obliged to serve in war at their own cost and charges, which was an exorbitant burden on the poorer plebeians, and frequently ruined their families. The senate therefore, pitying their condition, and reflecting on the many disorders, which were occasioned by their refusing to list themselves even for the most necessary wars, of their own accord decreed, that the foot should have pay out of the public money ; and that, to furnish this expence, a new tax should be raised, from which no citizen whatsoever should be exempt. What pay was given at this time to each soldier, we find no-where recorded ; but in *Polybius*'s time, that is, in the time of the second *Carthaginian* war, each foot-soldier was allowed two *oboli* a day, a centurion double that pay, and a horseman treble. Two *oboli* were about the third part of an *Attic* drachma, which was worth seven pence three farthings of our money ^b. Upon the first news of this decree, the people, transported with joy, ran in crowds from all parts to the senate-house, and kissing the senators hands, called them the true fathers of the people, protesting at the same time, that they would spill the last drop of their blood for their country, which they

^a Liv. ibid. c. 58.

^b Vide præfat. præfix. Vol. I.

now looked upon as a tender mother ; but the tribunes of the people, not liking this union of the two orders, which hindered them from making a figure in the state, endeavoured to lessen the value of the favour. They insinuated to the people, that this pay was to come out of their own pockets ; that it was not just to make those citizens, who had completed the time of their service at their own charge, contribute to the support of the new soldiers ; that they would protect all those, who should refuse to pay the tax, &c. However, as the senators began by laying great sums on themselves, which they paid readily, according to the real value of their estates, the common people followed their example, without shewing the least uneasiness ^w.

The Romans
invest Veii.

AND now the senate, finding themselves in a condition to maintain an army abroad, as long as they pleased, began to form great designs. All opposition to the levies ^b being over, they resolved to besiege *Veii* itself, one of the strongest places of *Italy*, in hopes of making themselves masters of a new city and territory larger than their own. Before they embarked in this great undertaking, the people being assembled, all voted for a war, and chose for the first time six military tribunes, all patricians, viz. *C. Julius Iulus*, *C. Æmilius Mamercinus*, *T. Quinctius Capitolinus*, *L. Furius Medullinus*, *Q. Quinctius Cincinnatus*, and *A. Manlius Vulso Capitolinus*. Some of these remained at home, while others took the field against the *Veientes*, who declining a battle, shut themselves up in their city. The Romans invested it ; but there was little action this year, and less the following, when *P. Cornelius Maluginensis*, *Sp. Nautius Rutilus*, *Cn. Cornelius Cossus*, *C. Valerius Potitus*, *C. Fabius Ambustus*, and *M. Sergius Fidenas*, were military tribunes. These were obliged to divide their army into two bodies ; one of which continued before *Veii*, and the other marched against the *Volsi*, defeated them, took and razed the city of *Artena*, and then rejoined the forces left at the siege. The succeeding military tribunes, *M. Æmilius*, *M. Furius*, *Ap. Claudius*, grandson of the decemvir, *L. Julius*, *M. Quinctius*, and *L. Valerius*, pushed on the siege with great vigour. In the mean time the *Veientes*, changing their form of government, chose themselves a king ; which so displeased the other states of *Hetruria*, that they refused to send them any succours. It was at this siege that the Romans are thought to have first invented lines of circumvallation and contravallation ; at least, this is the first time we find them mentioned in history. They fortified their camp both on the side of the city they invested, to prevent sallies, and on the side of the country, to guard themselves against any succours, which the *Hetrurians* might send to the besieged. The military tribunes, considering likewise, that *Veii* could not be taken but after a long siege, and then not so much by force as by famine, resolved, as the troops were now more at their command, to keep the army in the field all winter in wooden barracks covered with skins. To this design the soldiers made no opposition, chusing rather to live in the camp at the expence of the public, than in *Rome* at their own ; but the tribunes of the people, disliking a project, which kept great numbers of their adherents out of *Rome*, and consequently lessened the strength of their party in the comitia, assembled the tribes, and inveighed bitterly against the military tribunes, accusing them of ambitious designs and cruelty, in keeping the troops all winter in the field. *Appius*, whom the other military tribunes had left at *Rome*, in a long speech, which he made to the people, exposed the seditious and unreasonable conduct of the tribunes. The people gave no great heed to *Appius's* remonstrances ; but a loss, which the besiegers sustained before the place, animated the plebeians, more than his prudent discourse, to pursue the siege with vigour. The *Veientes* in a sally surprized the Romans, slew a great number of them, set fire to their machines, and ruined in a few hours the work of many days. This misfortune, instead of sinking the spirits of the Romans, inspired them with new courage. The citizens, who had wealth enough to be placed in the first class among the knights, but had not yet received horses from the republic, which ceremony was necessary to make a man a knight, went in a body to the senate, and offered to mount themselves at their own expence, and serve at the siege of *Veii*. The fathers accepted the offer ; and the people, following the example of the new knights, declared themselves ready to serve, and supply the places of the soldiers who had been killed. The senate ordered the same pay to be given to the volunteers as to the rest of the army, and decreed at the same time, that for the future the cavalry likewise should receive pay out of the public treasury ^f.

The Roman
army kept in
the field all
winter.

The cavalry
receive pay.

^w Liv. ibid. c. 61. ZONAR. l. vii. PLIN. l. xxxiii. c. 3. ^{*} Liv. l. v. c. 3.

- a** THE election of new military tribunes furnished the army with new generals. The six chosen were, *C. Servilius*, *Q. Sulpicius*, *Q. Servilius*, *A. Manlius*, *L. Virginius*, and *Manius Sergius*. The siege of *Veii* was carried on by the two latter; but as these two generals could not agree, each of them had a body of troops under his command, and, as it were, a separate army. *Sergius* commanded the attack, and *Virginius* covered the siege. While the army was thus divided, the *Falisci* and *Capenates* fell upon *Sergius*, and at the same time the besieged sallying out, attacked him on the other side. The *Romans* under his command, thinking they had all the forces of *Æturia* to deal with, began to lose courage, and retire. *Virginius* could have saved his colleague's troops; for his forces were ranged in order of battle at a small distance: but *Sergius* was too proud to send to him for succour; and *Virginius*, tho' well apprised of his danger, resolved not to send him any, unless he asked it. Thus the public good was sacrificed to a private pique. The enemy made a dreadful slaughter of the *Romans* in their lines; but *Sergius* himself having the good luck to escape, fled to *Rome*, not so much to justify his own conduct, as to complain of that of his colleague's. Hereupon *Virginius* was recalled, and both commanders ordered to give an account of their conduct to the senate, where they inveighed against each other with great acrimony. The conscript fathers, to quiet the matter, thought it advisable to make a decree, that all the military tribunes of that year should lay down their dignity, and the people immediately proceed to a new election. The four, who had been guilty of no fault, made no opposition to the decree; but the two, on whose account it had been made, protested against it, declaring, that they would not resign their authority before the ides of *December*, the due time for its expiration. The tribunes of the people, thinking this a favourable opportunity for them to appear again, and make some figure, threatened, with an air of authority, to send the two refractory magistrates to prison, if they did not obey the senate. But *Servilius Abala*, one of the military tribunes, after having severely reprimanded the tribunes of the people for treating his colleagues in so haughty a manner, declared, that if *Sergius* and *Virginius* continued obstinate, he would name a dictator. Hereupon the two magistrates, finding it fruitless to resist any longer, abdicated their magistracy, and the people chose six new tribunes, viz. *L. Valerius*, *L. Julius*, *M. Æmilius*, *Cn. Cornelius*, *Cæso Fabius*, and *Furius Camillus*. These new magistrates were ordered to begin anew the siege of *Veii*; but when the troops came to be raised, the tribunes of the people kindled fresh broils, by dissuading the old soldiers, left in *Rome* to guard it, from paying the taxes, as if they were exempted from that burden by being enlisted. The disturbances raised on this occasion were so great, that the tribes could not agree in the choice of more than eight new tribunes of the people; however, the majority of these eight named two more, in defiance of the *Trebonian* law, which gave *C. Trebonius*, one of the present tribunes, an opportunity of drawing the hatred of the people upon three of his colleagues; but they diverted the hatred of the public from themselves, by turning it against *Sergius* and *Virginius*, the two generals of the last year, who were both cited to appear before the people, and condemned to pay a great fine for misconduct. This prosecution had the designed effect; for the people were so intent upon it, that they forgot the *Trebonian* law, and their quarrel with the three tribunes*.

The Romans
routed before
Veii.

All the military
tribunes of
this year forced
to abdicate.

- f** THE tribunes, encouraged by the success that attended them in the prosecution of *Sergius* and *Virginius*, renewed the domestic broils, and proposed two laws; the first requiring a partition of the lands as formerly; the second excusing the people from any more contributions towards the soldiers pay; and, in fact, they would not suffer them to pay the taxes: so that the legions, being deprived of their subsistence, began to mutiny. But at length all was quieted, by chusing a plebeian into the military tribuneship. His name was *P. Licinius Calvus*. The other five were, *P. Mælius*, *P. Mænius*, *Sp. Furius*, *L. Titinius*, and *L. Publilius*. *Licinius*, tho' a plebeian, was an old senator; for some time since the considerable plebeians had begun to be admitted into the senate. The tribunes of the people were so much rejoiced to see a plebeian raised to the supreme magistracy, that they dropped their opposition to the tax; so that the soldiers, receiving their pay again, took new courage, made themselves masters of *Anxur*, which belonged to the *Volsci*, and carried on the siege of *Veii* with great resolution and perseverance, tho' they suffered much from the severe cold of the winter.

A plebeian cho-
sen military
tribune.

* Idem, c. 12.

Five plebeians military tribunes. Licinius having discharged his trust with universal approbation, the centuries chose ^a for the year following five military tribunes out of the plebeians, and only *M. Veturius* out of the patricians. The five were, *C. Duilius*, *L. Atinius*, *Cn. Genucius*, *M. Pomponius*, and *Volero Publilius*. Their administration proved very glorious; for they carried on the siege of *Veii* with great vigor, and intirely defeated the confederate forces of the *Falisci* and *Capenates*, who came to the relief of the besieged city; but the extreme cold of the weather, changing of a sudden to excessive heat, occasioned a mortality both among men and cattle. Hereupon the *Sybilline* books being consulted, the *duumviri* pretended to find there a new sort of expiation. Three beds were placed in a temple round a plentiful table, and the statues of *Apollo*, *Latoa*, *Diana*, *Hercules*, *Mercury*, and *Neptune* taken down from their niches, laid on the beds, and served ^b with magnificent repasts for eight days together. These public ceremonies were imitated in private families; every one kept open house for friends, strangers, and even enemies; all law-suits, disputes and animosities were suspended, and the very prisoners released to partake of the public rejoicings ^c.

The ceremony of the lectisternum.

In the mean time the patricians, taking advantage of the present state of affairs to recover the chief offices of the republic, and knowing the superstition of the people, attacked them on that side, and gave out, that the uncommon severity of the winter the last year, and the present year's plague, were punishments from the gods, who were displeased to see all distinctions of families confounded, and plebeians placed in the highest offices. By this means, and by proposing only such candidates to the centuries as were of superior merit, they disposed them to favour the nobility; and accordingly they restored the military tribuneship to the patrician order, raising to that office *L. Valerius*, *L. Furius*, *M. Valerius*, *Q. Servilius*, *Q. Sulpitius*, and the famous *Camillus*, all patricians. During their administration, *Rome* was astonished with a prodigy. It happened to be a very dry summer; but nevertheless the lake of *Alba* ^d swelled on a sudden to such a height, as to cover the tops of the rocks which surrounded it; whereas it had never before reached to the foot of them. This strange accident was much talked of in the camp before *Veii*; and as in long sieges the soldiers on both sides frequently become acquainted, they talked of the prodigy from their different camps; but an old soldier of the *Veientes* one day, while the others were making merry with the prodigy, cried out in an enthusiastic manner, *Veii* shall never be taken, till all the water is run out of the lake of *Alba*. A Roman centinel, who had great faith in divination, hearing him, asked, who the old man was? and being informed that he was a diviner, made him prisoner by a stratagem, and carried him before the Roman general, who sent him to the senate. The old man declared, that what he had said was agreeable to an ancient tradition written in some prophetic books of his country; and that, if the Romans could draw the water out of the lake, *Veii* would be taken: but he advised them to take particular care, that the drains, which should be made to carry it off, did not convey it to the sea. Tho' the senate was unwilling to trust the bare word of the diviner, yet they thought the matter of ^e such consequence, as to send a deputation of three patricians to *Delphos*, to consult the oracle. These returned the next year, while *L. Julius*, *L. Furius*, *L. Sergius*, *A. Posthumius*, *A. Manlius*, and *P. Cornelius*, all patricians, were military tribunes. The answer of the oracle was, to the great surprize of the senate and people, perfectly agreeable to the advice and prediction of the old man. The senate therefore immediately sent out pioneers to make a canal, which might carry off the waters of the lake, and convey them all over the fields in trenches. This wonderful work subsists to this day, and the waters of the lake *Albano* run through it ^f. The election of the present military tribunes being defective with regard to the auguries, they all abdicated, and, after a short inter-regnum, were succeeded by six new ones, all plebeians, viz. *L. Atinius*, *P. Maelius*, *L. Titinius*, *P. Manius*, *Cn. Genucius*, and *P. Licinius*. *Atinius* and *Genucius* marched with some troops to oppose a great body of *Hebrurians*, who were coming to attack the Roman entrenchments before *Veii*; but the two tribunes falling into an ambush, *Genucius* was killed, and his colleague driven out of the field. The news of this defeat so terrified the senate, that they had recourse, as usual in such cases, to a dictator. *M. Furius Camillus* was accordingly raised to that supreme dignity. He named *P. Cornelius Scipio* for general of the horse, and ordered new troops to be raised. The people strove who should first list themselves

The lake of Alba overflows.

Canals are made to drain the lake.

M. Furius Camillus dictator.

* Liv. l. v. c. 10. SIGONTUS & PIGHIUS in fast. Capitol. * Vide KIRCHER. vet. Lit. l. iii.

- a under the banners of so renowned a commander. The *Latins* and *Hernici* of their own accord sent him a strong supply of their choicest youth. On his first taking the field, he came to a battle with the united forces of the *Falisci*, *Capenates*, and *Hetrurians*, and having intirely defeated them, sat down before *Veii*, and pushed on the siege with incredible vigor; but the besieged defending themselves with more courage than ever, *Camillus*, despairing to carry by assault a place, which had a whole army for its garison, had recourse to mines and sapping. His pioneers, whom he divided into six companies, relieving one another, and the work continually advancing without interruption, a passage under ground was opened to the very castle. The dictator then thinking himself sure of conquest, sent to the senate, to know how they would have the spoils of the city disposed of. The question was debated with great warmth; *Appius Claudus* was for having the rich plunder of *Veii* made a fund for the payment of the troops; but *Licinius*, thinking that this would give rise to endless murmurs and seditions, proposed, that the spoils should be divided between the army and those citizens, who should be in the camp when the town was taken. This advice prevailed, and a decree was made, giving leave to all the citizens to go to the camp, and take their share of the booty. Accordingly vast numbers flocked thither well armed, and joined the dictator's troops in the attack. The signal being given for the assault, part of the army scaled the walls, while the soldiers in the mine sallied out, and spread themselves in several bodies through the town. One fell upon those who were defending the walls; another broke down the gates, and the whole Roman army entering the city, put all those to the sword, who did not surrender their arms. Thus was the rich city of *Veii* taken, like a second *Troy*, after a ten years siege. The booty, which was exceeding rich, was divided among the soldiers; but the prisoners of free condition were sold to the best bidder, and the money arising from thence put into the public treasury; but, tho' this was the only part of the spoil from which the public reaped any benefit, the people murmured at it, and inveighed both against the senate and the dictator. The displeasure of the multitude was increased with regard to *Camillus*, by some singularities in the pomp of his triumph; for he entered the city in a stately chariot, drawn by four horses all milk-white, and coloured his face with vermilion. White horses, since the expulsion of the kings, had been allowed only to *Jupiter* and the sun; and the statues of the gods were commonly painted with vermillion. The people therefore, in the midst of the praises which they gave the dictator, could not, without a secret indignation, behold him affecting a pomp, which, in a manner, put him upon a level with the gods. What still more incensed the people against him, was his demanding back from them a tenth part of the spoil of *Veii*, to discharge a vow, which he had made to *Apollo* just before the assault, and afterwards forgot. This contribution at a wrong time irritated the people against him, and the tribunes gladly seized so favourable an occasion of inveighing against him. In the mean time it was proposed to buy such a vase of gold with the produce of what the soldiers returned, as might shew *Greece* the magnificence of the *Roman* republic; but there being little gold to be found in the city, the ladies, of their own accord, contriouted all their toys and ornaments, of which a vase with two handles was made, weighing eight talents; and three senators were sent to *Delphos* with it. In return for the ladies generosity, the republic granted them two favours, 1. That funeral orations should be made for illustrious women, as for great men. 2. That they should have leave to ride in chariots at the public games ^b.
- THE next year, the republic being under the government of six military tribunes, viz. *P. Cornelius Cossus*, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, *M. Valerius*, *Cassius Fabius*, *L. Furius*, and *Q. Servilius*, all patricians, *Sicinius Dentatus*, a tribune of the people, proposed, that half of the senators, knights and people of *Rome*, should remove to *Veii*, and settle there. The affair, according to custom, was carried before the senate; and the fathers, especially *Camillus*, opposed it with great warmth. They feared, that two such cities would, by degrees, become two different states, which, after a destructive war with each other, would at length fall a prey to their common enemies. They therefore protested, that they would sooner die than consent to so unreasonable a law. By this means, *Camillus* and the other senators, after much struggle, brought this project to nothing. Notwithstanding the opposition made by *Camillus* to this law, he was chosen one of the six military tribunes for the year following. His col-

Veii taken, after a ten years siege. Year after the flood 2608. Before Christ 391. Of Rome 357.

Sicinius Dentatus proposes, that half of the senators, knights, &c. should remove to Veii.

^b PLUT. in Camillo. LIV. l. v. c. 21.—25.

legues were, *L. Furius*, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, *C. Æmilius*, *Sp. Posthumius*, and *L. Valerius*. The conduct of the war against the *Falisci* being committed to the care of *Camillus*, he besieged *Falerii*, their capital city, and surrounded it with lines; but at so great distance from the walls, that there was sufficient room for the besieged to take the air without danger. The *Falisci* had brought from *Greece* the custom of committing all their children to the care of one man, who was to instruct them in all the branches of polite literature, to take them out a walking with him, and see them perform the exercises proper for their age. The children had used often to walk with their master without the walls of the city before the siege; and their fears of an enemy, who kept quiet, and at such a distance, were not great enough to make them discontinue that exercise afterwards. But the present school-master proved a traitor; he at first led the youth only along the walls; then he carried them a little farther; and at length, when a favourable opportunity offered, he led them through the guards of the *Roman* camp, quite to the general's tent. As they were the children of the best families in the place, their treacherous leader, when he came into *Camillus's* presence, addressed him thus: With these children I deliver the place you besiege into your hands. They were committed to my care and tuition; but I prefer the friendship of *Rome* to my employment at *Falerii*. *Camillus*, struck with horror at the treachery, ordered his lictors to strip the traitor, to tie his hands behind him, and to furnish the youth with rods to whip him back again into the city. The *Falisci*, moved by this generous action, immediately sent a deputation to *Camillus* to treat of a surrender, tho' they had a little before protested, that they would rather undergo the fate of the *Veientes*, than submit to *Rome*. *Camillus*, out of modesty, referred the deputies to the senate, which they addressed in the following manner: *Rome*, conscript fathers, has just now gained a victory over us, which can never be shameful to us in the sight either of gods or men. We submit to you, out of a persuasion, that we cannot live more happily, than under the laws of a republic, in which justice and probity reign. The *Romans* and *Falisci* are this day giving two great examples to posterity; you in preferring justice to victory; we, in rather yielding to the charms of virtue, than to the force of arms. We surrender ourselves into your hands. Command the *Falisci* to lay down their arms, to give you hostages, and to receive a *Roman* garison, and we will obey, and open our gates. We shall never repent of subjecting ourselves to your government; nor shall you ever have reason to complain of our being unfaithful to you. The senate heard this discourse with pleasure; but left to *Camillus* the terms of the peace which was to be made with the *Falisci*, not as a conquered people, but as with a nation, which voluntarily submitted to the dominion of the republic. He therefore entered into an alliance with them, and demanded only the expences of the present campaign. He then led back his army to *Rome*, where his soldiers increased the number of his enemies. They had promised themselves great riches from the plunder of *Falerii*, and thinking *Camillus* had given the *Falisci* better terms than they deserved, they looked on their general as an enemy to the people, and as one who was no ways inclined to promote their interest; so that the hatred of the multitude to this hero increased as fast as his reputation.

The *Falisci*, overcome by the generosity of *Camillus*, submit to *Rome*.

The *Æqui* defeated.

WHILE *Camillus* was thus employed, two of his colleagues, *Æmilius* and *Posthumius*, having united their forces, defeated the *Æqui* in a pitched battle; but while the arms of the republic prospered abroad, new disturbances were raised at home. When the time came for electing tribunes of the people, the multitude was for continuing those who had proposed the law for going to *Veii*; and the patricians were for re-electing those who had opposed it; but the former prevailing in the comitia, by tribes, the promoters of the law were re-chosen. Hereupon the patricians, in revenge, resolved, if possible, to restore the consular government; and accordingly, in the comitia by centuries, where they had most sway, *L. Lucretius Flavius*, and *Severus Sulpitius Camerinus*, were chosen consuls. During their administration, *Sicinius* the tribune used his utmost endeavours to get the law passed for removing half of the people and senate to *Veii*. *A. Virginius* and *Q. Pomponius*, two of the tribunes of the people for the last year, who had opposed it, were cited to appear before the tribes, and fined ten thousand asses of brass. The whole senate was offended at this sentence, but especially *Camillus*, who advised the conscript fathers to appear in the comitium, when the tribes assembled to determine the affair, as men prepared to defend their

* PLUT. *ibid.* LIV. I. v. c. 27.

- a temples, their household gods, and their country. Accordingly the patricians, by tears, entreaties, and the more powerful arguments drawn from religion, prevailed to have the law rejected, tho' it was only by a majority of one tribe. And now the senate was so well pleased with the people, that the very next morning a decree was passed, assigning six acres of the lands of *Veii*, not only to every father of a family, but to every single person of free condition. On the other hand, the people, delighted with this liberality, made no opposition to the election of consuls. *L. Valerius Potitus*, and *M. Manlius Capitolinus*, were raised to the consulate, and began their year by performing the vow made by *Camillus*, when dictator, to celebrate the great games. Of these there were two sorts, the one celebrated every year in the month of September, in honour of *Jupiter*, *Juno* and *Minerva*; the other, called votive, or extraordinary, had no fixed day, and was celebrated in honour of *Jupiter* only. This year the *Volscii*, one of the twelve *Ittrurian* nations, alarmed at the fate of *Veii* and *Falerii*, took arms against *Rome*, and being joined by the *Salpinctes*, made incursions into the *Roman* territory; but a contagious distemper made the republic suspend her revenge. The two consuls being seized with it, the superstitious multitude imagined they had been inauspiciously chosen. They were therefore ordered by the senate to resign. Upon their resignation an inter-regnum ensued, during which the republic was governed by three presidents, *Valerius Potitus*, (not the consul) *Camillus*, and *Cornelius Scipio*, who succeeded each other for a few days. *Valerius* held an assembly for the election of six military tribunes, which sort of government was now re-established, that, in case some of the supreme magistrates were infected with the contagion, there might still be others to take care of the public welfare. By a census taken this year, it appeared, that the number of citizens able to bear arms, amounted to one hundred fifty-two thousand five hundred and eighty-three. No wonder therefore that numerous armies were often raised within the walls of *Rome* itself. The troops, since their receiving pay, were more obedient than formerly to their commanders, who kept them in the field summer and winter. They had never had a more gallant or experienced commander than *Camillus*. The frontiers of the republic were now extended above sixty miles beyond the *Tiber*; and the people seemed to be in a settled tranquillity, and perfectly reconciled to the senate; but this unusual prosperity was interrupted by the *Gauls*, a memorable event, which almost ruined the *Roman* nation.

Consuls created
in place of mili-
tary tribunes.

An inter-reg-
num.

Military tri-
bunes elected a-
new.

- Gaul* was anciently divided into three parts, viz. *Gallia Belgica*, *Gallia Celtica*, and *Gallia Aquitanaica*. The first reached from the *British* sea to the *Seine*; the second comprehended all the country between the *Seine* and the *Garonne*, quite to the *Alps*; the third contained all that tract of ground, which lies between the *Garonne*, the *Pyrenees*, and the western ocean. The *Celtae*, or the inhabitants of *Gallia Celtica*, were the only *Gauls*, who, at different times, crossed the *Alps*, and settled in *Italy*. The first invasion of *Italy* by the *Gauls* happened about the year of *Rome* 160, during the reign of *Tarquinius Prius*; when *Ambigatus*, king of the *Celtae*, finding his dominions overstocked, sent away vast numbers of his subjects to seek their fortune, under the command of his two nephews, *Segovesus* and *Bellovesus*. The former took his way through the *Hircinian* forest, and settled in a canton of *Germany*, ever since called *Bohemia* or *Boiemia*, from the word *Boii*, the greatest part of his followers being of that *Celtic* nation, which was so named; but these being afterwards driven from thence by the *Marcomani* or *Sclavonians*, retired into that country, which lies between the *Inn* and the *Iser*, and which from them took the name of *Boiaria*, or *Bavaria*. As for *Bellovesus*, he crossed the *Rhone*, and passing the *Alps*, possessed himself of those countries, which are at present known by the names of *Piedmont* and *Lombardy*, after having driven out the *Ittrurians*, who then held them. A second irruption into *Italy* was made by the *Cenomani*, or those people of *Gallia Celtica*, who dwelt between the mouths of the *Seine* and the *Loire*, under the conduct of one *Elitovis*. These new adventurers settled in the present *Bresciano*, *Cremonese*, *Mantuan*, *Carniola*, and the territories now subject to the republic of *Venice*. The *Læves* or *Lævi*, and the *Ananes*, made the third irruption into *Italy*; the former seized the country of *Novara*, on the north side the *Po*; and the latter that of *Piacenza*, on the south side of the same river. The fourth transmigration of the *Gauls* into *Italy*, was when the *Boii* and *Lingones* passed the *Alpes Penninae*, and settled on the south side the *Po*, between *Bologna* and *Ravenna*. Two hundred years after the invasion by *Bellovesus*, the *Senones*, who possessed that part of *Gaul*, which lies between *Paris* and *Meaux*,

Several inva-
sions of Italy by
the Gauls.

made a fifth irruption into *Italy*; which was occasioned by the following accident: *a*
Arunx, one of the chief men of *Clusium* in *Hetruria*, had been guardian to a young
Leucumo, or lord of a leucumony, and had educated him in his house from his infancy.
The *Leucumo*, as soon as he was of an age to feel the force of a passion, fell in love
with his guardian's wife, and, upon the first discovery of their intrigue, conveyed her
away. *Arunx* endeavoured to obtain reparation for the injury he had received; but
the *Leucumo*, by his interest and money, gained over the magistrates; so that the
injured guardian, finding no protectors in *Hetruria*, resolved to make his applica-
tion to the *Gauls*. The people, among all the *Celtic* nations, to whom he chose to
address himself, were the *Senones*; and in order to engage them in his quarrel, he
acquainted them with the great plenty of *Italy*, and made them taste of some *Italian* *b*
wines. Upon this the *Senones* resolved to follow him; and a numerous army was
immediately formed, which passing the *Alps*, under the conduct of their *Hetrurian*
guide, and leaving the *Celtæ* in *Italy* unmolested, fell upon *Umbria*, and possessed
themselves of all the country from *Ravenna* to *Picenum*. They were about six years
in settling themselves in their new acquisitions, while the *Romans* were carrying on
the siege of *Veii*. At length *Arunx* brought the *Senones* before *Clusium*, in order to
besiege that place, his wife and her lover having shut themselves up there. The
Romans, notwithstanding the daily conquests made by the *Gauls*, seem to have been
under no apprehension of any danger from them; for at this time the great *Camillus*,
the only general they had capable of making head against such formidable neighbours, *c*
was accused by *Apuleius*, one of the tribunes of the people, of having applied to his
own use some spoils taken from the *Hetrurians*, particularly a brass door brought from
Veii. His friends, not finding themselves strong enough to protect him, promised
to pay the fine, which should be laid upon him; but *Camillus*, having too great a
soul to bear the affront of a public condemnation, retired from *Rome*, and went of
his own accord into banishment. He was no sooner gone, than envoys arrived from
the *Clusini*, imploring the assistance of the *Romans* against the *Senones*. The senate,
being unwilling to engage in an open war with a nation, which had never offended
them, sent an embassy of three young patricians, all brothers, and of the *Fabian*
family, to bring about an accommodation between the two nations. These embas- *d*
sadors being arrived at the camp of the *Gauls*, and conducted into the council, offered
the mediation of *Rome*, and demanded of *Brennus*, the leader of the *Gauls*, What
injury the *Clusini* had done him? or what pretensions any people from a remote
country could have upon *Hetruria*? *Brennus* answered proudly, that his right lay in his
sword, and that all things belonged to the brave; but that, without having recourse
to this primitive law of nature, he had a just complaint against the *Clusians*, who,
having more lands than they could cultivate, had refused to yield to him those they
left untilled: And what other motives had you yourselves, *Romans*, said he, to con-
quer so many neighbouring nations? You have deprived the *Sabines*, the *Albans*, the
Fidenates, the *Æqui* and the *Volsci* of the best part of their territories. Not that we *e*
accuse you of injustice; but it is evident, that you thought this to be the prime and
most ancient of all laws, to make the weak give way to the strong. Forbear there-
fore to interest yourselves for the *Clusini*, or allow us to take the part of the people
you have subdued. The *Fabii* were highly provoked at so haughty an answer; but
dissembling their resentment, desired leave to go into the town, under pretence of
conferring with the magistrates. But they were no sooner there, than they began to
stir up the inhabitants to a vigorous defence; nay, forgetting their character, they
put themselves at the head of the besieged in a sally, in which *Q. Fabius*, the chief
of the ambassadors, slew with his own hand one of the principal officers of the *Gauls*.
Hereupon *Brennus*, calling the gods to witness the perfidioulness of the *Romans*, and *f*
their violating the law of nations, immediately broke up the siege of *Clusium*, and
marched leisurely to *Rome*, having sent a herald before him to demand, that those
ambassadors, who had so manifestly violated the law of nations, should be delivered
up to him. The *Roman* senate was greatly perplexed between their regard for the
law of nations, and their affection for the *Fabii*. The wisest of the senate thought the
demand of the *Gauls* to be but just and reasonable; however, as it concerned persons
of great consequence and credit, the conscript fathers referred the affair to the people
assembled by *curiæ*. As the *Fabian* family was very popular, the *curiæ* were so far
from condemning the three brothers, that, at the next election of military tribunes,
they were chosen the first. *Brennus*, looking upon the promotion of the *Fabii* as an *g*
high

*Clusium de-
troyed by the
Gauls.*

*A malicious
accusation
brought against
Camillus, who
banishes him-
self.*

*Brennus's an-
swer to the Ro-
man envoys.*

*The imprudent
behaviour of
the Roman
ambassadors.*

- high affront on his nation, hastened his march to *Rome*. As his army was very numerous, the inhabitants of the towns and villages, through which he passed, left their habitations at his approach; but he stopped no where, declaring that his design was only to be revenged on the *Romans*. The six military tribunes, viz. *Q. Fabius*, *Cæ. Fabius*, *Caius Fabius*, *Q. Sulpicius*, *Q. Servilius*, and *Sextus Cornelius*, marched out of *Rome* at the head of forty thousand men, without either sacrificing to the gods, or consulting the auspices, essential ceremonies among a people, that drew their courage and confidence from the propitious signs, which the augurs declared to them. As most of the military tribunes were young, and men of more valor than experience, they advanced boldly against the *Gauls*, whose army was seventy thousand strong. The two armies met near the river *Allia* about sixty furlongs from *Rome*. The *Romans*, that they might not be surrounded by the enemy, extended their wings so far as to make their center very thin. Their best troops, to the number of twenty-four thousand men, they posted between the river and the adjoining hills; the rest they placed on the hills. The *Gauls* first attacked the latter, who being soon put into confusion, the forces in the plain were struck with such terror, that they fled without drawing their swords. In this general disorder most of the soldiers, instead of returning to *Rome*, fled to *Veii*; some were drowned as they endeavoured to swim cross the *Tiber*; many fell in the pursuit by the sword of the conquerors, and some got to *Rome*, which they filled with terror and consternation, it being believed there that all the rest were cut off. The day after the battle *Brennus* marched his troops into the neighbourhood of *Rome*, and incamped on the banks of the *Anio*. Thither his scouts brought him word, that the gates of the city lay open, and that not one *Roman* was to be seen on the ramparts. This made him apprehensive of some ambuscade, it being unreasonable to suppose, that the *Romans* would abandon their city to be plundered and sacked without making any resistance. On this consideration he advanced slowly, which gave the *Romans* an opportunity to throw into the capitol all the men who were fit to bear arms. They carried into it all the provisions they could get; and that they might last the longer, admitted none into the place, but such as were capable of defending it. As for the city, they had not sufficient forces to defend it, and therefore the old men, women, and children, seeing themselves abandoned, fled to the neighbouring towns. The *Vestals*, before they left *Rome*, took care to hide every thing appropriated to the gods, which they could not carry off. The two palladiums and the sacred fire they took with them. When they came to the *Janiculus*, one *Albinus*, a plebeian, who was conveying his wife and children in a carriage to a place of safety, seeing the sacred virgins bending under their load, and their feet bloody, made his family alight, put the priestesses and their gods into the carriage, and conducted them to *Cære*, a city of *Uetruria*, where they met with a favourable reception. The *Vestals* remained at *Cære*, and there continued to perform the usual rites of religion; and hence those rites were called *ceremonies*. But while the rest of the citizens at *Rome* were providing for their safety, about fourscore of the most illustrious and venerable old men, rather than fly from their native city, chose to devote themselves to death by a vow, which *Fabius* the high pontiff pronounced in their names. The *Romans* believed, that by these voluntary devotements to the infernal gods, disorder and confusion was brought among the enemy. Of these brave old men some were pontifices, others had been consuls, and others generals of armies, who had been honoured with triumphs. To complete their sacrifice with a solemnity and pomp becoming the magnanimity and constancy of the *Romans*, they dressed themselves in their pontifical, consular, and triumphal robes, and repairing to the forum, seated themselves there in their curule chairs, expecting the enemy and death with the greatest constancy^d.
- A length *Brennus*, having spent three days in useless precautions, entered the city the fourth day after the battle. He found the gates open, the walls without defence, and the houses without inhabitants. *Rome* appeared to him like a mere desert; and this solitude increased his anxiety. He could not believe either, that all the *Romans* were lodged in the capitol, or that so numerous a people should abandon the place of their nativity. On the other hand, he could no where see any armed men but on the walls of the citadel. However, having first secured all the avenues to the capitol with strong bodies of guards, he gave the rest of his soldiers leave to disperse themselves all over the city, and plunder it. *Brennus* himself advanced into the forum with

The Romans
defeated by the
Gauls on the
banks of the
Allia.

The city of
Rome abandoned
by its in-
habitants.

Brennus enters
Rome.

^d PLUT. in Camill. LIV. l. v. c. 37.

the troops under his command, in good order ; and there he was struck with admiration a at the unexpected sight of the venerable old men, who had devoted themselves to death. Their magnificent habits, the majesty of their countenances, the silence they kept, their modesty and constancy at the approach of his troops, made them take them for so many deities. For they continued as motionless as statues, and saw the enemy advance without shewing the least concern. The *Gauls* kept a great while at an awful distance from them, being afraid to come near them. But at length one soldier, bolder than the rest, having out of curiosity touched the beard of *M. Papirius*, the venerable old man, not being used to such familiarity, gave him a blow on the head with his ivory staff. The soldier in revenge immediately killed him, and the rest of the *Gauls*, following his example, slaughtered all those venerable old men without mercy. After b this the enemy set no bounds to their rage and fury. They plundered all places, dragging such of the *Romans* as had shut themselves up in their houses, into the streets, and there putting them to the sword without distinction of age or sex. *Brennus* then invested the capitol, but being repulsed with great loss, in order to be revenged of the *Romans* for their resistance, he resolved to lay the city in ashes. Accordingly, by his command, the soldiers set fire to the houses, demolished the temples, and public edifices, and razed the walls to the ground. Thus was the famous city of *Rome* intirely destroyed ; nothing was to be seen in the place where it stood but a few little hills covered with ruins, and a wide waste, in which the *Gauls*, who invested the capitol, were incamped. *Brennus*, finding he should never be able to take a place, which nature c had so well fortified, otherwise than by famine, turned the siege into a blockade. But in the mean time his army being distressed for want of provisions, he sent out parties to pillage the fields, and raise contributions in the neighbouring cities. One of these parties appeared before *Ardea*, where the great *Camillus* had now spent two years in a private life. Notwithstanding the affront he had received at *Rome*, the love he bore his country was not in the least diminished. The senate of *Ardea* being met to deliberate on the measures to be taken with relation to the *Gauls*, *Camillus*, more afflicted at the calamities of his country, than at his own banishment, desired to be admitted into the council, where with his eloquence he prevailed upon the *Ardeates* to arm their youth in their own defence, and refuse the *Gauls* admittance into their city. d Hereupon the *Gauls* incamped before the city ; and as they despised the *Ardeates* after they had made themselves masters of *Rome*, they preserved neither order nor discipline in their camp, but spent whole days in drinking. Hereupon *Camillus*, having easily persuaded the youth of the city to follow him, marched out of *Ardea* in a very dark night, surprized the *Gauls* drowned in wine, and made a dreadful slaughter of them. Those, who made their escape under the shelter of the night, fell next day into the hands of the peasants, by whom they were massacred without mercy. This defeat of the enemy revived the courage of the *Romans* scattered about the country, especially of those who had retired to *Veii* after the unfortunate battle of *Allia*. There was not one of them who did not condemn himself for the exile of *Camillus*, as if he had been the author of it ; and looking upon that great man as their last resource, they resolved to chuse him for their leader. Accordingly, they sent without delay ambassadors to him, beseeching him to take into his protection the fugitive *Romans*, and the wrecks of the defeat at *Allia*. But *Camillus* would not accept of the command of the troops, till the people assembled by curiæ had legally conferred it upon him. He thought the public authority was lodged in the hands of those who were shut up in the citadel, and therefore would undertake nothing at the head of the *Roman* troops, till a commission was brought him from thence. To do this was very difficult, the place being invested on all sides by the enemy. However, one *Pontius Cominius*, a man of mean birth, but bold, and very ambitious of glory, under- f took it. He put on a light habit, and providing himself with cork to keep the longer above water, threw himself into the *Tiber* above *Rome* in the beginning of the night, and suffered himself to be carried down with the stream. At length he came to the foot of the capitol, and landed at a steep place, where the *Gauls* had not thought it necessary to post any centinels. There he mounted with great difficulty to the rampart of the citadel, and having made himself known to the guard, he was admitted into the place, and conducted to the magistrates. The senate being immediately assembled, *Pontius* gave them an account of *Camillus's* victory, and in the name of all the *Romans* at *Veii* demanded that great captain for their general. There was not much time spent in debates : the curiæ being called together, the act of condemnation, which g had

Rome burnt
by the Gauls.
Year of the
flood 2614.
Before Christ
385.
Of Rome 363.

Camillus at
the head of
the Ardeates
makes a great
slaughter of
the Gauls.

Camillus no-
minated dic-
tator.

- a had been passed on *Camillus*, was abrogated, and he named dictator with one voice. *Pontius* was immediately dispatched with the decree, and the same good fortune, which had attended him to the capitol, accompanied him in his return. Thus was *Camillus*, from the state of banishment, raised at once to be sovereign magistrate of his country. He was indeed proclaimed dictator in his absence, contrary to custom. But this was a small defect in point of form only, which the necessities of the state made very excusable. His promotion to the command was no sooner known, but soldiers flocked from all parts to his camp; insomuch that he soon saw himself at the head of above forty thousand men, partly *Romans*, and partly allies, who all thought themselves invincible under so great a general *.
- b WHILE he was taking proper measures to raise the blockade of the citadel, some *Gauls*, rambling round the place, perceived on the side of the hill the print of *Pontius's* hands and feet. They observed likewise, that the moss on the rocks was in several places torn up. From these marks they concluded, that somebody had lately gone up to, and returned from, the capitol. The *Gauls* immediately made their report to *Brennus* of what they had observed; and that experienced commander laid a design, which he imparted to nobody, of surprising the place by the same way that the *Roman* had ascended. With this view he chose out of his army such soldiers as had dwelt in mountainous countries, and been accustomed from their youth to climb precipices. These he ordered, after he had well examined the nature of the place, to ascend in the night the same way that was marked out for them, climbing two abreast, that one might support the other in getting up the steep parts of the precipice. By this means they advanced with much difficulty and more danger from rock to rock, till they arrived at the foot of the wall. They proceeded with such silence, that they were not discovered or heard, either by the centinels, who were upon guard in the citadel, or even by the dogs, that are usually awaked and alarmed at the least noise. But though they eluded the sagacity of the dogs, they could not escape the vigilance of the geese. A flock of these birds was kept in a court of the capitol in honour of *Juno*, and near her temple. Notwithstanding the want of provisions in the garrison, they had been spared out of religion; and as these creatures are naturally quick of hearing, they were alarmed at the first approach of the *Gauls*; so that running up and down with their cackling and beating of their wings, they awaked *Manlius*, a Manlius/awakes the capitol. gallant soldier, who some years before had been consul. He sounded an alarm, and was the first man who mounted the rampart, where he found two *Gauls* already upon the wall. One of these offered to discharge a blow at him with his battle-ax; but *Manlius* cut off his right hand at one blow, and gave the other such a push with his buckler, that he threw him headlong from the top of the rock to the bottom. He in his fall drew many others with him; and in the mean time the *Romans*, crowding to the place, pressed upon the *Gauls*, and tumbled them one over another. As the nature of the ground would not suffer them to make a regular retreat, or even to fly, most of them, to avoid the swords of the enemy, threw themselves down the precipice, so that very few got safe back to their camp f.
- As it was the custom of the *Romans* at that time not to suffer any commendable action to go unrewarded, the tribune *Sulpicius* assembled his troops the next morning, in order to bestow the military rewards on those, who the night before had deserved them. Among these *Manlius* was first named, and in acknowledgment of the important service he had just rendered the state, every soldier gave him part of the corn, which he received sparingly from the public stock, and a little measure of wine out of his scanty allowance. An inconsiderable present indeed in itself, but very acceptable at that time to the person, on whom it was bestowed. The tribune's next care was to punish the negligent; accordingly, the captain of the guard, who ought to have had an eye over the centinels, was condemned to die, and, pursuant to his sentence, thrown down from the top of the capitol. The *Romans* extended their punishments and rewards even to the animals. Geese were ever after had in honour at *Rome*, and a flock of them always kept at the expence of the public. A golden image of a goose was erected in memory of them, and a goose every year carried in triumph upon a soft litter finely adorned; whilst dogs were held in abhorrence by the *Romans*, who every year empaled one of them on a branch of elder g.

* PLUT. *ibid.* LIV. l. v. c. 46, 47.
& PLIN. de Fort. Rom.

f LIV. l. v. c. 48. PLUT. *ibid.* & de Fortuna Rom.

g PLUT.

Both the Gauls
and Romans
reduced to great
straits.

THE blockade of the capitol had already lasted seven months; so that the famine ^a began to be very sensibly felt both by the besieged and the besiegers. *Camillus*, since his nomination to the dictatorship, being master of the country, had posted strong guards on all the roads; so that the *Gauls* dared not stir out for fear of being cut to pieces. Thus *Brennus*, who besieged the capitol, was besieged himself, and suffered the same inconveniencies, which he made the *Romans* undergo. Besides, a plague raged in his camp, which was placed in the midst of the ruins of the demolished city, his men lying confusedly among the dead carcases of the *Romans*, whom they had slain, and not buried. So great a number of them died in one quarter of the city, that it was afterwards called *Busta Gallica*, or the place where the dead bodies of the *Gauls* were burnt. But in the mean time the *Romans* in the capitol were more pinched with want than the *Gauls*. They were reduced to the last extremity, and at the same time ignorant, both of the lamentable condition to which the enemy's army was brought, and of the steps *Camillus* was taking to relieve them. That great general only waited for a favourable opportunity to fall upon the enemy; but in the mean time suffered them to pine away in their infected camp, not knowing the extreme want the *Romans* endured in the capitol, where they were so destitute of all sorts of provisions, that they could no longer subsist. Matters being brought to this sad pass on both sides, the centinels of the capitol, and those of the enemy's army, began to talk to one another of an accommodation. Their discourses came at length to the ears of their leaders, who were not averse to the design. The senate, not knowing what was become of ^c *Camillus*, and finding themselves hard pinched by hunger, resolved to enter upon a negotiation, and empowered *Sulpicius*, one of the military tribunes, to treat with the *Gauls*, who made no great difficulty in coming to terms, they being no less desirous than the *Romans* to put an end to the war. In a conference therefore between *Brennus* and *Sulpicius*, an agreement was made, and sworn to. The *Romans* were to pay to the *Gauls* a thousand pound weight of gold, that is, forty-five thousand pounds sterling, and the latter were to raise the siege of the capitol, and quit all the *Roman* territories. On the day appointed *Sulpicius* brought the sum agreed on, and *Brennus* the scales and weights; for there were no gold or silver coins at that time, metals passing only by weight. We are told, that the weights of the *Gauls* were false, and their scales untrue, which ^d *Sulpicius* complaining of, *Brennus*, instead of redressing the injustice, threw his sword and belt into the scale, where the weights were; and when the tribune asked him the meaning of so extraordinary a behaviour, the only answer he gave was, *Ve victis, Woe to the conquered*. *Sulpitius* was so stung with this haughty answer, that he was for carrying the gold back into the capitol, and sustaining the siege to the last extremity; but others thought it adviseable to put up that affront, since they had submitted to a far greater one, which was to pay any thing at all. During these disputes of the *Roman* deputies among themselves, and with the *Gauls*, *Camillus* advanced with his army to the very gates of the city, and being there informed of what was doing, he commanded the main body to follow him slowly, and in good order, while he, ^e with the choicest of his men, hastened to the place of the parley. The *Romans*, overjoyed at his unexpected arrival, opened to make room for him, as the supreme magistrate of the republic, gave him an account of the treaty they had made with the *Gauls*, and complained of the wrong *Brennus* did them in the execution of it. They had scarce done speaking, when *Camillus* cried out, *carry back this gold into the capitol, and you, Gauls, retire with your scales and weights. Rome must not be redeemed with gold, but with steel*. *Brennus* replied, that he contravened a treaty, which was concluded and confirmed with mutual oaths. *Be it so*, answered *Camillus*, *yet it is of no force, having been made by an inferior magistrate without the privity or consent of the dictator. I, who am invested with the supreme authority over the Romans, declare the contract void*. At these words *Brennus* flew into a rage, and both sides drawing their swords, a confused scuffle ensued among the ruins of the houses, and in the narrow lanes. The *Gauls*, after an inconsiderable loss, thought fit to retire within their camp, which they abandoned in the night, not caring to engage *Camillus's* whole army, and having marched eight miles, encamped on the *Gabinian* way. *Camillus* pursued them as soon as it was day, and coming up with them, gave them a total overthrow. The *Gauls*, according to *Livy*, made but a faint resistance, being disheartened at the loss they had sustained the day before. It was not, says that author, so much a battle as a slaughter. Many of the *Gauls* were slain in the action, more in the pursuit; but the greater number were cut off, as they wandered up and down in the fields, by the ^g inhabi-

*Camillus sur-
prizes Brennus,
and drives the
Gauls from
Rome.*

- a inhabitants of the neighbouring villages. In short, there was not one single Gaul left to carry his countrymen the news of this fatal catastrophe. The camp of the barbarians was plundered; and *Camillus*, loaded with spoils, returned in triumph to the city, the soldiers in their songs stiling him *Romulus*, father of his country, and second founder of Rome ^b.

*The Gauls all
to a man cut
off.*

- As the houses of *Rome* were all demolished, and the walls razed, the tribunes of the people renewed with more warmth than ever, an old project, which had occasioned great disputes. They had formerly proposed a law for dividing the senate and government between the cities of *Veii* and *Rome*. Now this law was revived, nay, most of the tribunes were for intirely abandoning their old ruined city, and making *Veii* the sole seat of the empire. The people were inclined to favour this project, *Veii* offering them a place fortified by art and nature, good houses ready built, a wholesome air, and a fruitful territory. On the other hand, they had no materials for rebuilding a whole city, were quite exhausted by misfortunes, and even their strength was greatly diminished. This gave them a reluctance to so great an undertaking, and emboldened the tribunes to utter seditious harangues against *Camillus*, as a man too ambitious of being the restorer of *Rome*. They even insinuated, that the name of *Romulus*, which had been given him, threatened the republic with a new king. But the senate took the part of *Camillus*, and being desirous to see *Rome* rebuilt, continued him, contrary to custom, a whole year in the office of dictator; during which time he made it his whole business to suppress the strong inclination of the people to remove to *Veii*. Having assembled the curiæ, he expostulated with them upon the matter, and by arguments drawn from prudence, religion, and glory, prevailed upon them to lay aside all thoughts of leaving *Rome*. As it was necessary to have the resolution of the people confirmed by the senate, the dictator reported it to the conscript fathers, leaving every one at free liberty to vote as he pleased. While *L. Lucretius*, who was to give his opinion the first, was beginning to speak, it happened, that a centurion, who with his company had been upon guard, and was then marching by the senate-house, cried out aloud, *Plant your colours, ensign. This is the best place to stay in.* These words were considered as dictated by the gods themselves, and *Lucretius*, taking occasion from them to urge the necessity of staying at *Rome*, a happy omen, cried he, I adore the gods who gave it. The whole senate applauded his words, and a decree was passed without opposition for rebuilding the city ^c.

*Camillus con-
tinued dictator.*

- THOUGH the tribunes of the people were defeated by *Camillus* in this point, they resolved to exercise their authority against another patrician, who had indeed deserved punishment. This was *Q. Fabius*, who had violated the law of nations, and thereby provoked the Gauls, and occasioned the burning of *Rome*. His crime being notorious, he was summoned by *G. Martius Rutilius* before the assembly of the people to answer for his conduct in his embassy. The criminal had reason to fear the severest punishment; but his relations gave out that he died suddenly, which generally happened when the accused person had courage enough to prevent his condemnation, and the shame of a public punishment. On the other hand, the republic gave a house situate on the capitol to *M. Manlius*, as a monument of his valor, and of the gratitude of his fellow-citizens. *Camillus* closed this year by laying down his dictatorship; whereupon an interregnum ensued, during which he governed the state alternately with *P. Cornelius Scipio*, and it fell to his lot to preside at the election of new magistrates, when *L. Valerius Poplicola*, *L. Virginus Tricostus*, *P. Cornelius Cossus*, *A. Manlius Capitolinus*, *L. Æmilius Mamercinus*, and *L. Posthumus Albinus* were chosen. The first care of these new magistrates was to collect all the ancient monuments of the religion and civil laws of *Rome*, which could be found among the ruins of the demolished city. The laws of the twelve tables, and some of the laws of the kings had been written on brass, and fixed up in the forum; and the treaties made with several nations, had been engraved on pillars erected in the temples. Pains was therefore taken to gather up the remains of these precious monuments; and what could not be found was supplied by memory. The pontifices on their part took care to re-establish the religious ceremonies, and made also a list of lucky and unlucky days. ^d

*Q. Fabius is
cited before the
people, but lays
violent hands
on himself.*

AND now the governors of the republic applied themselves wholly to rebuild the city. *Plutarch* tells us, that as the workmen were digging among the ruins of the temple of *Mars*, they found *Romulus's* augural staff untouched by the flames;

^b *Plut. ibid. Liv. l. v. c. 49.*

^c *Plut. ibid. Liv. l. v. c. 51.*

and that this was looked upon as a prodigy, from whence the *Romans* inferred, that a their city would continue for ever. The expence of rebuilding private houses was partly defrayed out of the public treasure. The *ædiles* had the direction of the works, but so little taste for order or beauty, that the city, when rebuilt, was even less regular than in the time of *Romulus*. And though in *Augustus's* time, when *Rome* became the capitol of the known world, the temples, palaces, and private houses, were built in a more magnificent manner than before, yet even then these new decorations did not rectify the faults of the plan, upon which the city had been built after its first demolition.

C H A P. IV.

From the rebuilding of Rome to the first Punic or Carthaginian war.

Camillus a
third time
named dictator.

Defeats the
Volsci and
Latins.

ROME was scarce restored, when her citizens were alarmed by the news that all a her neighbours were combining to her destruction. The *Æqui*, the *Volsci*, the *Hetrurians*, and even her old allies the *Latins* and the *Hernici*, entered into an alliance against her, in hopes of oppressing her before she had recovered her strength. The republic under this terror nominated *Camillus* dictator a third time. This great commander, having appointed *C. Servilius* to be his general of horse, summoned the citizens to take arms, without excepting even the old men. He divided the new levies into three bodies. The first under the command of *A. Manlius*, he ordered to encamp under the walls of *Rome*; the second he sent into the neighbourhood of *Veii*, and marched himself at the head of the third to relieve the tribunes, who were closely besieged in their camp by the united forces of the *Volsci* and *Latins*. He, finding the enemy incamped near *Lanuvium* on the declivity of the hill *Marcus*, posted himself behind the hill, and by lighting fires, gave the distressed *Romans* notice of his arrival. The *Volsci* and *Latins*, when they understood that *Camillus* was at the head of an army newly arrived, were so terrified, that they shut themselves up in their camp, which they fortified with great trees cut down in haste. The dictator observing, that this barrier was of green wood, and that every morning there arose a great wind, which blew full upon the enemy's camp, formed the design of taking it by fire. With this view he ordered one part of his army to go by break of day with fire-brands to the windward side of the camp, and the other to make a brisk attack on the opposite side. By this means the enemy was intirely defeated, and their camp taken. *Camillus* then ordered his men to extinguish the flames, in order to save the booty, with which he rewarded his army, a bounty the more agreeable, because unexpected from the rigid dictator. He then left his son in the camp to guard the prisoners, and entering the country of the *Æqui*, made himself master of their capital city *Bola*. From thence he marched against the *Volsci*, whom he intirely reduced after they had waged war with the *Romans* for the space of a hundred and seven years. Having subdued this untractable people, he penetrated into *Hetruria*, in order to relieve *Sutrium*, a town in that country in alliance with *Rome*, and besieged by a numerous army of *Hetrurians*. But notwithstanding all the expedition *Camillus* could use, he did not reach the place before it had capitulated. The *Sutrini* being greatly distressed for want d of provisions, and exhausted with labour, had surrendered to the *Hetrurians*, who had granted them nothing but their lives, and the cloaths on their backs. In this destitute condition they had left their own country, and were going in search of new habitations, when they met *Camillus* leading an army to their relief. The unfortunate multitude no sooner saw the *Romans*, but they threw themselves at the dictator's feet, who, moved at this melancholy sight, desired them to take a little rest, and refresh themselves, adding, that he would soon dry up their tears, and transfer their sorrows from them to their enemies. He imagined, that the *Hetrurians* would be wholly taken

- a taken in plundering the city, without being upon their guard, or observing any discipline. And herein he was not mistaken. The *Hetrurians* did not dream that the dictator could come so speedily from so great a distance to surprize them; and therefore the *Roman* army passed through the territory of *Sutrium*, without finding any advanced guards, or meeting any scouts, and even entered the city before the enemy had any notice of their approach. In a word, he surprized the *Hetrurians*, who were wholly employed, either in plundering the houses, and carrying off the booty, or feasting on the provisions they had found in them, put many of them to the sword, made an incredible number of prisoners, and restored the city to its ancient inhabitants, who had not waited in vain for the performance of the dictator's promise. And
- b now after these glorious exploits, which were finished in so short a time, the great *Camillus* entered *Rome* in triumph a third time. This honour was decreed him for having conquered the *Volsci*, made himself master of the capital city of the *Æqui*, and retaken *Sutrium* from the *Hetrurians*. The greatest part of the captives, who graced his triumph, were sold, and by that means money enough raised to pay all the *Roman* ladies, for the jewels they had formerly contributed to make a present to *Apollo*. With the remainder were bought three vases of gold, which with *Camillus's* name inscribed on them were placed at the feet of *Juno* in the temple of *Jupiter*. Thus did the glory of *Camillus* eclipse that of all his rivals. Envious men had hitherto ascribed the greatest part of his victories to chance. But after these three last expeditions against three different nations, envy itself was silent^k.
- c *Camillus* having resigned his dictatorship, the republic chose six new military tribunes, *Q. Quinctius*, *Q. Servius*, *L. Julius*, *L. Aquilius*, *L. Lucretius*, and *Ser. Sulpitius*. During their administration the country of the *Æqui* was laid waste, in order to put it out of their power to revolt anew, and the two cities of *Cortuosa* and *Contenebra* in the lucumony of the *Tarquinienses* taken from the *Hetrurians*, and intirely demolished. At this time it was thought proper to repair the capitol, and add new works to that part of the hill, where the *Gauls* had endeavoured to scale the citadel. These orks were esteemed very beautiful, as *Livy* informs us, even in the time of *Augustus*, after the city was adorned with most beautiful decorations^l.
- d AND now *Rome* being reinstated in her former flourishing condition, the tribunes of the people, who had been for some time quiet, began to renew their seditious harangues, and revive the old quarrel about the division of the conquered lands. The patricians had appropriated to themselves the *Pomptin* territory lately taken from the *Volsci*, and the tribunes laid hold of this opportunity to raise new disturbances. But the citizens being so drained of their money, that they had not enough left to cultivate new farms, and stock them with cattle, the declamations of the tribunes made no impression upon their minds, so that the tribunes project vanished. As for the military tribunes, they owned, that their election had been defective, and lest the irregularities of the former comitia should be continued in the succeeding ones, they voluntarily laid down their office. So that after a short interregnum, during which *M. Manlius*, *Ser. Sulpicius*, and *L. Valerius Potitus* governed the republic, six new military tribunes, *L. Papirius*, *C. Sergius*, *L. Æmilius*, *L. Menenius*, *L. Valerius*, and *C. Cornelius*, were chosen for the ensuing year, which was spent in works of peace. A temple, which had been vowed to *Mars* during the war with the *Gauls*, was built, and consecrated by *T. Quinctius*, who presided over the affairs of religion. As there had hitherto been but few *Roman* tribes beyond the *Tiber*, which had a right of suffrage in the comitia, four new ones were added, under the name of the *Stellatina*, *Tramontina*, *Sabatina* and *Arniensis*, so that the tribes were now in all twenty-five, which enjoyed the same rights and privileges.
- f THE expectation of an approaching war induced the centuries to chuse *Camillus* one of the military tribunes for the next year. His colleagues were *Ser. Cornelius*, *Q. Servilius*, *L. Quinctius*, *L. Horatius*, and *P. Valerius*. As these were all men of moderation, they agreed to invest *Camillus* with the sole management of affairs, in time of war, and accordingly in full senate transferred all their power into his hands; so that he became in effect dictator. It had been already determined in the senate to turn the arms of the republic against the *Hetrurians*; but upon advice that the *Antiates* had entered the *Pomptin* territory, and obliged the *Romans*, who had taken possession of it, to retire, it was thought necessary to humble them before the republic

Recovers Sutrium from the Hetrurians

The cities of Cortuosa and Contenebra taken by the Romans, and demolished.

^k PLUT. *ibid.* LIV. l. vi. c. 2. & 3. MACROB. part. 1. c. 2. EUTROP. l. ii. ^l LIV. l. vi. c. 4.

engaged in any other enterprise. The new dictator, if we may so call him, allotted ^a to each of the five military tribunes an employment suitable to his rank. He joined *P. Valerius* with himself in the command of the army, which he was to lead against the *Antiates*. *Q. Servilius* was placed at the head of a body of troops, which was to continue in *Rome*, and be in a continual readiness to march against the *Hetrurians* or *Latins*, and *Hernici*, in case they took the field. The third army wholly consisted of old men, and such citizens as were excused on account of their infirmities from taking the field. The command of these was given to *L. Quinctius*, who was appointed to guard the walls of the city. *L. Horatius's* province was to supply the troops with arms, ammunition, and provisions. Lastly, the superintendency of civil affairs, the comitia, the laws and religion, were committed to the care of *Ser. Cornelius*. So that ^b none of the military tribunes, who had in some measure divested themselves of their power in favour of *Camillus*, was left without an employment: they all readily accepted the provinces, which *Camillus* assigned them, only *Valerius* refused to be upon an equal foot with *Camillus*, *You shall be my dictator*, said he, *and I will serve under you as your general of the horse*. The *Antiates* had joined the *Latins* and *Hernici* near *Satricum*, so that the *Romans*, being terrified at their prodigious numbers, shewed themselves very backward to engage; which *Camillus* perceiving, he instantly mounted his horse, and riding through all the ranks of the army, fellow-soldiers, cried he, Why don't I see that joy and desire of fighting in your looks, which you used to have? Have you forgot, who I am, who you yourselves, and who your enemies are? Have not the *Volsci* ^c and the *Latins* been the occasion of your gaining immortal fame? Have you not conquered *Veii*, defeated the *Gauls*, and delivered *Rome* under my command? Am I not *Camillus*, because I have not the title of dictator? Do you but attack the enemy, and we shall succeed as usual. You will conquer, and they will fly. Having uttered these words, he dismounted, took the next standard bearer by the hand, led him towards the enemy, and cried out, *Soldiers advance*. The soldiery was ashamed not to follow a general, who exposed himself to the first attack, and therefore having made a great shout, they fell upon the enemy with incredible fury, *Camillus*, in order to increase their eagerness still more, commanded a standard to be thrown into the middle of the enemy's battalions, which made the soldiers, who were fighting in ^d the first ranks, exert all their resolution to recover it. The *Antiates*, not being able any longer to make head against the *Romans*, gave way, and were intirely defeated. The *Latins* and *Hernici* separated from the *Volsci*, and returned home. The *Volsci*, seeing themselves thus abandoned by their allies, took refuge in the neighbouring city of *Satricum*, which *Camillus* immediately invested, and took by assault. The *Volsci* threw down their arms, and surrendered at discretion. He then left his army under the command of *Valerius*, and returned to *Rome* to solicit the consent of the senate, and to make the necessary preparations for undertaking the siege of *Antium*. But while he was proposing this affair to the senate, deputies arrived from *Nepes* and *Sutrium*, two cities in alliance with *Rome* in the neighbourhood of *Hetruria*, demanding succours ^e against the *Hetrurians*, who threatened to besiege these two cities, which were the keys of *Hetruria*. Hereupon the expedition against *Antium* was laid aside, and *Camillus* commanded to hasten to the relief of the allied cities, with the troops, which *Servilius* had kept in readiness at *Rome*, in case of an emergency. *Camillus* immediately set out for the new war, and upon his arrival before *Sutrium* found that important place not only besieged, but almost taken, the *Hetrurians* having made themselves masters of some of the gates, and taken possession of all the avenues leading to the city. However, the inhabitants no sooner heard that *Camillus* was come to their relief, but they recovered the courage, and by barricadoes made in the streets prevented the enemy from making themselves masters of the whole city. *Camillus* in the mean ^f time having divided his army into two bodies, ordered *Valerius* to march round the walls, as if he designed to scale them, while he with the other undertook to charge the *Hetrurians* in the rear, force his way into the city, and shut up the enemy between the besieged and his troops. The *Romans* no sooner appeared, but the *Hetrurians* betook themselves to a disorderly flight through a gate, which was not invested. *Camillus's* troops made a dreadful slaughter of them within the city, while *Valerius* put great numbers of them to the sword without the walls. From reconquering *Sutrium*, *Camillus* hastened to the relief of *Nepes*. But that city being better effected to the *Hetrurians* than to the *Romans*, had voluntarily submitted to the former. Wherefore *Camillus*, having invested it with his whole army, took it by assault, put all the ^g *Hetrurian*

The *Antiates*,
Latins, and
Hernici de-
feated by *Ca-*
millus.

Camillus re-
lieves *Su-*
trium,

And takes *Nep-*
es by assault.

- a *Hetrurian* soldiers, without distinction, to the sword, and condemned the authors of the revolt to die by the axes of the lictors. Thus ended *Camillus's* military tribuneship, in which he acquired no less reputation, than he had done in the most glorious of his dictatorships.

- But as well established as *Camillus's* reputation was in *Rome*, yet he was not without a rival; *M. Manlius*, who had saved the capitol, could not bear to see his glory eclipsed by that of *Camillus*. He was indeed one of the bravest soldiers *Rome* had ever produced; but his ambition and vanity were yet greater than his valour. However, he did not attempt any thing till *Camillus's* fourth military tribuneship was expired. But no sooner was the government put into the hands of six new military tribunes, *A. Manlius*, *P. Cornelius*, *T. Quinctius*, *L. Quinctius*, *L. Papirius*, and *C. Sergius*, than he began to vent his spleen, and endeavour to darken the glory of a man, whom he looked upon as his rival. After all, *Camillus's* chief glory, said he, is his having recovered *Rome* out of the hands of the *Gauls*, which he could never have done, had I not first saved the capitol. So that his glory is founded upon mine. Nor did he conquer the *Gauls*, till they had been tired with a long siege. But I repulsed them from the capitol, when they were most flushed with success. A whole army shared *Camillus's* glory with him; but *Manlius* had no companion in his. By these and such-like speeches, he gave vent to his envy; but finding himself unable by noble actions to outshine *Camillus* in reputation, in order to satisfy his ambition, he began to court the multitude, and even entered into the faction of the tribunes of the people. Though a patrician by birth, he inveighed against the nobility, and espoused the cause of the people in the affair of the distribution of lands. He even opposed the rich, whenever they seized their debtors, and set at liberty those who were already in chains. So that he was always attended by a kind of guard made up of those whom he had so assisted. The senate, alarmed at *Manlius's* proceeding, thought it necessary to create a dictator, in order to prevent the evil consequences of his too great popularity, and to crush the rising faction. The army, which the *Volsci* had just then raised, furnished them with a specious pretence for taking such measures. The dictatorship was given to *A. Cornelius Cossus*, who named *T. Quinctius Capitolinus* to be general of the horse. The dictator came to an engagement with the *Volsci* in the *Pomptin* territory, and intirely defeated them, though much more numerous than the *Romans*. Among the prisoners, were found many *Latins* and *Hernici* of distinction, who being examined, confessed that they had acted by authority. Hereupon the dictator kept his army in the field, not doubting but he should be soon employed against those faithless allies. But the disturbances raised by the factious *Manlius*, called him back to the city without delay. It was necessary to examine into the designs of that ambitious man, whose popularity was become dangerous. A creditor had lately seized a centurion for debt, who was a man of great courage, and had distinguished himself on many occasions. As the officer was leading him to prison, according to his sentence, *Manlius* and his seditious company met them. Upon which the factious patrician began to inveigh against the pride of the nobility, and the cruelty of the rich, who lent money upon interest; but above all, expatiated on the merit of the insolvent centurion; what signifies my having saved the capitol, said he, if more cruel enemies than the *Gauls* are suffered to rob me of a brave and faithful companion in battle, and reduce him to slavery? Having uttered these words, in the presence of the officer and five witnesses, he paid the debt, admitting the prisoner, as soon as he was delivered out of his creditor's hands, to be one of the guard, that always attended him. This gave great umbrage in a republican state, where the magistrates were always upon their guard against any thing that tended to monarchy. But soon after *Manlius* increased their apprehensions by a yet more extravagant act of popularity. He had some lands in the territory of *Veii*, which were his paternal estate. These he sold by auction, and declared to the people, that he designed to apply the whole to the paying of the debts of insolvent debtors. These bounties made so strong an impression on the multitude, that they seemed ready to back him in any enterprize he should undertake. Besides, all his discourses in his own house tended only to decry the patricians and the senate. He gave out, that the nobility, not content to rob the people of their right to a share in the conquered lands, had concealed, with an intent to appropriate it to their own use, the gold, which was to have been given to the *Gauls*,

*Manlius is
peaked of as pre-
siding at the im-
prime power.*

*Cornelius Cos-
sus dictator.*

and had been raised by the voluntary contributions of all the citizens, who were then a in the capitol: a treasure, which alone would be sufficient to discharge all the debts of the poor plebeians. He even promised to shew them in due time the place where this treasure was concealed; so that the whole care of the populace was to draw those riches out of the hands of the patricians ^b.

SUCH was the posture of affairs at Rome, when the dictator *Cossus* returned thither. He therefore postponed his triumph, till such time as he had re-established the public tranquillity. He made it his first business to assemble the senate, and finding the fathers inclined to suppress *Manlius's* insolence, he ordered his tribunal to be placed in that part of the forum, where the comitia were held, and sent a lictor to cite *Man-*
Manlius cited
to appear before
the dictator, *lius* to appear before him. *Manlius* obeyed the summons, but attended with his ^b usual guards, whom he exhorted to stand by him. The assembly looked like two armies drawn up in battalia against each other. Silence being made, the dictator challenged *Manlius* to declare, as he had promised, the persons who had concealed the pretended treasures, and the place, where they were hid; otherwise he threatened to send him to prison as an incendiary and slanderer. *Manlius*, instead of answering directly, extolled his own merit, and reproached the patricians with avarice and cruelty. He concluded his speech with saying, that as to the secreted treasure, the senators, who had concealed it, were better qualified than he, to discover the place. But this being only an evasion, the dictator pressed him anew, either to perform his promise to the people, or to confess that he had caluminated the senate. *Manlius* ^c replied, that his thus pressing him to declare the place, where the gold was hoarded, was a convincing proof that the senate had removed it beyond the reach of the most curious enquiry. Hereupon the dictator immediately ordered him to prison. We ^d have on this occasion a surprising instance of the ready submission of the Romans to the command of a lawful magistrate. The people, however seditiously devoted to *Manlius*, took no one step to hinder the execution of the sentence. There was not an angry expression heard, or a threatening look seen in the whole assembly. The tribunes themselves did not shew disrespect to the dictator. Only *Manlius*, when the lictors laid hold of him, cried out, addressing his complaints to the Gods, O Jupiter, best and greatest, O Juno, queen of heaven, Minerva, and all ye other gods and goddesses, ^e who reside in the capitol, will you suffer your champion and defender to be thus treated by his enemies? Shall this right hand, with which I drove the Gauls from your sanctuaries, be locked in chains? But these lamentations raised no disturbances among the multitude. His most zealous adherents expressed their concern only by habits of mourning, neglecting to cut their hair and beards, crouding about the doors of the prison, and there lamenting his misfortune. In this time of affliction the dictator *Cossus* received the honours of a triumph. But the multitude expressed nothing but a deep concern on that day of joy; some were even heard to say, that *Cossus* did not so much triumph over the *Volsci*, as over an oppressed citizen. Nothing, said they, remains to complete the general's triumph, but to have the unfortunate *Manlius* led before his chariot ^f in chains. In order therefore to appease the people, the senate thought it necessary to shew them some indulgence. They assembled, and of their own motion, ordered a colony of Roman citizens to be sent to *Sutrium*, where they allotted to every man two acres and a half of arable land. But this unexpected bounty was so far from satisfying the malecontents, that it increased their rage and jealousy. For they looked upon this liberality of the senate as an artifice to induce the citizens to abandon *Manlius*. So that the sedition gained ground, and the fury of the populace increased still more, as soon as *Cossus's* dictatorship was expired. The multitude, being now free from the dread of an uncontrollable magistrate, no longer kept within any bounds. The people surrounding the prison day and night, threatened to break it open. The senate, ^f fearing lest the incensed populace in their fury should execute what they threatened, and that *Manlius* being set at liberty by such violent means, should carry his fury farther than ever, thought fit to put an end to the disturbance, by releasing him them-
But is set at
liberty: selves. But this timorous proceeding only gave the seditious a leader provoked by the shame of his imprisonment, and incapable of following sober counsels.

DURING these seditions ambassadors arrived from the *Latins*, the *Hernici*, and from the cities of *Circei* and *Veitra*, demanding that the prisoners, taken by the dictator in the late action with the *Volsci*, might be delivered up to them. The different recep-

^b PLUT. *ibid.* LIV. I. vi. c. 11.

a tion they met with shews the distinction, which the *Romans* always made between nations in alliance with them and *Roman colonies*. *Circaï* and *Velitra* were upon the foot of colonies, but the *Latins* and *Hernici* only in alliance with *Rome*: the latter enjoyed their own laws; the former were subject to the laws of *Rome*. The ambassadors therefore of the *Latins* and *Hernici* were received, though their demand was rejected, nor did the *Romans* dispute their right of sending an embassy. But the deputies of *Circaï* and *Velitra* were ordered immediately to depart, and not appear before the people, since they had no right to send ambassadors.

b WHEN new magistrates came to be elected for the next year, the great *Camillus* was chosen military tribune a fifth time, the republic wanting a governor of his reputation to stem the tide of the present troubles. With him were joined *Ser. Cornelius*, *P. Valerius*, *Ser. Sulpicius*, *C. Papirius*, and *T. Quinctius*. The confidence of *Manlius*, and the strength of his faction, were now much increased by the timorousness of the senate. The mutineers met at *Manlius's* house, which was crowded with them day and night. There he spoke his mind without reserve, exhorting the multitude to shake off the yoke they groaned under, to abolish dictatorships and consulates, to establish an exact equality among all the members of one and the same republic, and to make themselves a head, who would govern and keep in awe the patricians as well as the people. If you judge me worthy of that honour, said he, the more power you give me, the sooner you will be in possession of what you have so long wished for.

Renews his
factious in-
trigues.

c I desire authority with no other view, but to make you all happy. It is said, that a plot was formed to seize the citadel, and declare him king; but it is not certain that he imbarqued in so difficult an undertaking, or how far he carried his ambitious views. The senate, alarmed at the danger which threatened the republic, assembled frequently to deliberate on the best method to avert the blow. A decree was made, injoining the military tribunes to be watchful, that the republic received no damage; a form of words, which was never used but in the greatest dangers of the state, and which invested those magistrates with an authority almost equal to that of a dictator. After this different means were proposed for defeating the evil designs of *Manlius*. All, except the tribunes of the people, were for assassinating the author of the sedition.

d But as such an attempt would have occasioned the shedding of much blood, two of those tribunes, *M. Manius*, and *Q. Publilius*, thought it more advisable to take him off by the usual forms of law. They offered to prosecute him before the comitia, not doubting but the people, when they saw their tribunes become his accusers, would immediately desert him.

This advice was approved, and *Manlius* summoned to his trial before the comitia by centuries. The crime laid to his charge was his aiming at the sovereign power; and as this was a capital crime, the accused appeared before his judges in deep mourning. But neither his own brothers, nor any of his relations, changed their dress, or solicited the judges in his behalf, as was usually done by the friends of a person accused; so much did the love of liberty prevail in the hearts of

Impeached by
two of the tri-
bunes of ironson.

e the *Romans* over all the ties of blood and kindred. *Livy* tells us, that he could not find in any author what direct proofs the tribunes brought of *Manlius's* aspiring to the regal power. However, he supposes that they had sufficient proofs, since nothing but the circumstance of the place, where he was tried, prevented his immediate condemnation. They could see the capitol, which *Manlius* had preserved, from the *campus Martius*, where his sentence was to be pronounced; and this sight alone abated the resentment of the centuries against the criminal; so that the people, who could neither resolve to condemn, or acquit him, put off pronouncing sentence more than once, and every time postponed this affair for three market-days. In the mean time *Manlius* omitted nothing that could move his judges to compassion. He produced above four hundred

f plebeians, whose debts he had paid, and whom he had delivered out of the hands of their creditors. He shewed the people thirty suits of armour, the spoils of thirty enemies, whom he had slain in single combat. He had been the first *Roman* who had deserved a mural crown by fighting on horseback. He had been honoured with eight civic crowns, for having saved in battle the lives of so many citizens, and had been seven and thirty times rewarded by his generals for his extraordinary valor. He had saved in battle the life of *C. Servilius*, when general of the horse, and had received two wounds on that occasion. But his greatest glory was his having defended the capitol against the attack of the *Gauls*. This important piece of service supported the

° Liv. l. vi. c. 17.

criminal, notwithstanding the evident proofs of his crime. Looking often at the capitol, he called upon *Jupiter* and the other gods for succour, conjuring the people to turn their faces to that sanctuary, and think of the gods, who resided there, when they were going to pronounce judgment. The people, having before their eyes the very place, where, by fighting so valiantly against the *Gauls*, he had saved *Rome*, could not resolve to find him guilty. The tribunes, perceiving this, deferred the decision of the affair to another day, and appointed the place of the assembly to be in the *Peteline* wood, without the gate *Flumentana*, whence the capitol could not be seen. Then the object, which had saved *Manlius*, no longer dazzling the eyes of his judges, they forgot his glory, and remembered only his crime. The public welfare gained the ascendant over their gratitude, and the unhappy *Manlius* was condemned to be thrown headlong from the capitol itself. The sentence was no sooner pronounced than put in execution: the house, where he had held his private cabals, was razed to the ground, and it was decreed that no patrician should thenceforth dwell on the capitol, lest the advantageous situation of a fortress, that commanded the whole city, should suggest and facilitate the design of enslaving it. The *Manlian* family also came to a resolution among themselves, that no member of it should ever bear the prænomens of *Marcus*. But how inconstant is the multitude! *Manlius* was scarce dead, when his loss was generally lamented, and a plague, which soon followed, ascribed to the anger of *Jupiter* against the authors of his death.

Condemned and
thrown head-
long from the
capitol.

Wars carried
on with the
Prænestini and
Volsci.

THE punishment of the seditious *Manlius* neither brought any discredit upon his relations, or lessened their interest. On the contrary, his brother *A. Manlius* was chosen one of the military tribunes at the very next election. His colleagues were *L. Valerius*, *Ser. Sulpicius*, *L. Lucretius*, *L. Æmilius*, and *M. Trebonius*. During their administration, the *Volsci* threatened the republic with a new war; the cities of *Circei* and *Velitrae* continued in their revolt; *Lanuvium* itself, ever before faithful to *Rome*, declared against her, and all the cities of *Latium* seemed ready to rise in their turns. And to add to the misfortunes of the republic, the plague still raged in the city. However, the senate judged it necessary to engage the people to consent to a war. In order to this, they promised to divide the *Pomptin* territory among them, and nominated five commissioners to regulate the distribution of the lands, and three others to lead a colony to *Nepes*. But this design was not put in execution till nine years after. However, the comitia by tribes being assembled, it was decreed, that a war should be declared with the several enemies of *Rome*, notwithstanding the opposition of the tribunes of the people. Accordingly, an army was raised, but the plague continuing to rage, the military tribunes could not lead their troops into the field. In the mean time the inhabitants of *Præneste*, following the example of the other colonies, revolted, and committed great devastations in the territories of the *Gabini*, *Tusculani*, and *Laticani*, who continued steady in their alliances with *Rome*. Though these faithful allies brought complaints to the senate of the hostilities committed in their districts, yet the fathers pretended not to believe them, chusing rather to dissemble with them, than to take up arms in their present unhappy situation. But the *Romans*, who scarce ever suffered any attempt against their republic to escape unpunished, only suspended their resentment. For in the following military tribuneship of *Sp. Papirius*, *L. Papirius*, *Ser. Cornelius*, *Q. Servilius*, *Ser. Sulpicius*, and *L. Æmilius*, the two *Papiri* being sent against the *Veliterni*, defeated them, though joined by great numbers from *Præneste*, and obliged them to shelter themselves within the walls of their city. However, the generals did not think it adviseable either to attempt a doubtful siege, or to carry hostilities so far as to exterminate a *Roman* colony. The senate also judged it more necessary to pursue the war with vigor against the *Prænestini*, who had farther provoked the *Romans*, by assisting their irreconcilable enemies the *Volsci*.

THESE expeditions therefore, which were to be undertaken, made the assembled centuries cast their eyes on *Camillus*, and raise him a sixth time to the military tribuneship. He was indeed very unwilling to imbarque again in public affairs, being now very infirm, and apprehensive of the vicissitudes of fortune. He therefore endeavoured to decline the honour which the people had conferred upon him, pleading his age and infirmities. But the people would not hearken to his representations. We don't expect, said they, that *Camillus* should personally engage either on foot, or on horseback, or that he should join the bravery of the private soldier to the wisdom of the general. All

- a we now desire of him is, to assist our armies with his counsel, and command them; this is enough to make them invincible. *Camillus* could not help complying with their request; he accepted the military tribuneship, in which he had the following colleagues, *A. Posthumius*, *L. Posthumius*, *L. Furius*, *L. Lucretius*, and *M. Fabius Ambustus*. The command of the army, which was to be employed against the *Volsci*, was decreed to *Camillus* by the senate; but it fell by lot to *L. Furius* to be joined with him in the command. The two generals commanded an army of four legions, consisting of four thousand men each, which marched to *Sutrium*, where the *Volsci* and *Prænestini* had formed a camp, and waited without fear for the *Romans*, being far more numerous than they, and flushed with their late success against *Satricum*, which they had taken, and put most of the inhabitants to the sword. *Camillus*, whether he waited to recover his health, for he was greatly indisposed, or to receive a reinforcement of troops, was not in haste to come to a battle. But in the mean time the *Volsci* appearing drawn up in battle, and provoking the *Romans*, the latter could hardly be restrained from sallying out of their camp, and falling upon them. Their ardor for fighting was increased by the rash discourses of young *Furius*, who imputed the prudent delays of his colleague to his age, which, he said, had chilled his blood. At length the *Volsci* not only marched out their men on their own ground near their camp, but advanced into the open fields, and carried on their lines almost to the *Roman* camp. This was such an insult, as neither *Furius* nor the legions could bear. The young general therefore addressing himself to *Camillus*, reproached him, that he was the only person in the army for delaying the engagement, and urged him to comply with the desires of the soldiers. *Camillus* answered with an air of superiority, but with great temper, that hitherto *Rome* had not been dissatisfied either with his conduct or success. But nevertheless, if the impetuosity, which hurried the soldiers on to an engagement, could not be restrained, he wished them success, but desired to be excused on account of his age from engaging in the foremost ranks. *Furius* drew up his troops in order of battle; but *Camillus* made it his business to prepare a *corps de reserve* to assist his colleague in case of distress: *Furius* charged with great vigor, and the *Volsci*, feigning to give way, drew the *Roman* legions half way up the hill, on which their camp was situated; then sallying out with fresh troops, by the advantage of the ground, obliged the *Romans* to retire in great disorder. The *Volsci* pursued them close to the very gates of their camp, which those brave legions, a little before so desirous of fighting, strove by a shameful flight to regain. *Camillus*, though greatly indisposed, no sooner heard that the *Romans* were defeated, than he quitted his tent, and hastening to the gate of the camp with his body of reserve, cried out to the flying legions, Is this then, *Romans*, the victory, you were so sure of? What god or man can you blame, but yourselves? You are come to seek for shelter in that camp, which you were so desirous to abandon. But you shall not enter it till you have repulsed the enemy. Having uttered these words, he put himself at the head of the troops, which he had kept with him in the camp, and encouraging the legions that had fled to return with him to the engagement, he obliged the enemy to retire, which was all he could do that day. But the next day he drew up his troops in the plain, and challenged the enemy to a second engagement. *Furius*, whom *Camillus* had placed at the head of the cavalry, behaved himself in the battle, which ensued, with uncommon valor. For the infantry being hard pressed, he prevailed upon his cavalry to dismount, and came so opportunely to the relief of the foot, that the numerous army of the *Volsci* was entirely routed, their camp taken, and their chief commanders either slain or made prisoners. Among the captives were found some *Tusculans*, who, as their city was in alliance with *Rome*, were separated from the rest, and brought before the generals. Upon examination, they declared, that they had taken arms with the consent and by the orders of their magistrates. This alarmed *Camillus*, who thought it necessary to go in person to *Rome* with the prisoners, and lay the matter before the senate. During his absence, he left the army under the command of *Furius*, who was now grown prudent by the ill success of his late attempt. However, it was generally believed both in the camp and the city, that the general's chief business at *Rome* was to accuse his colleague, whose rash conduct had like to have destroyed the army. The senate therefore was surprised to hear him speak of nothing but the revolt of the *Tusculans*. He was charged to punish their defection in an exemplary manner, and allowed to chuse which of his five colleagues he pleased to command with him in this new expedition. Upon which they all made interest to attend him, in order to learn the art of war under so great a general.

But

A remarkable
proof of mode-
ration in Ca-
millus.

But the generous *Camillus*, to the great surprise both of the senate and army, preferred ^a *Furius* to all the rest, being more desirous to conceal the shame of one, who had personally affronted him, than to pursue the dictates of revenge. An instance of moderation, which gained him no less esteem and veneration than all his victories. The two generals began their march; and either the artifice of those faithless allies, or their true repentance, gave the wife *Camillus* a fresh opportunity of signalizing his moderation. For when he entered their territories, he found the husbandmen at work in the fields as in times of the profoundest peace, the magistrates of the city sent him provisions, and came out to meet him. When he entered the city, he found the citizens with their wives and children walking about the streets without betraying the least fear or surprise. The schools and shops were open, the markets full, and not ^b the least sign of war. The general, pleased to find the *Tusculans* returned to their duty, assembled the chief men of their republic, and having told them that they had found out the true secret of disarming the resentment of the *Romans*, advised them to send a deputation to *Rome*, and apply to the senate, who were the proper judges, whether their present conduct was a sufficient atonement for their past defection. Deputies were accordingly dispatched, who habited in mourning, and with their dictator at their head, addressed the conscript fathers in a suppliant manner. The senate readily forgave them, and soon after even granted them the privileges of *Roman* citizens (Q). Thus ended the sixth military tribuneship of the incomparable *Camillus* ^c.

THE military tribunes chosen to succeed him and his colleagues were, *L. Valerius*, *P. Valerius*, *L. Menenius*, *C. Sergius*, *Sp. Papirius*, and *Ser. Cornelius*, whose administration was disturbed by domestic seditions, and a foreign war. *Sp. Posthumus*, one of the censors, died; whereupon the other laid down his office, as the law directed, and the *Romans* proceeded to a new election. But as the patricians were afraid of a census, which must of course discover their riches, and excessive usury, they pretended, that there was some defect in the election, and thence took occasion to declare, that it was against the will of the gods that *Rome* should have any censors that year. On the other hand, the tribunes of the people used their utmost endeavours to bring on ^d a new election of censors as soon as possible. This occasioned great disturbances, during which the *Prænestins* entered the *Roman* territory, and advanced to the very gates of the city. However, the tribunes would suffer no levies to be made, till the senate had recourse to the usual expedient, in great extremities. *Titus Quinctius* was in all haste nominated dictator, and he appointed *A. Sempronius* to be his general of horse. The *Prænestins* no sooner understood that *Rome* had created a dictator, but they removed farther off, and troops were raised in the city without opposition. The enemy, hoping that the banks of the *Allia* would prove always unlucky for the *Romans*, encamped there. But their hopes proved vain, the dictator pursued them, and gave them a total overthrow. They fled to *Præneste*, but the dictator coming up with them before they reached that place, defeated them in a second engagement, ^e took all their strong-holds in a few days, and then appeared before *Præneste* itself, which capitulated. *Quinctius*, having thus reduced the enemy, returned to *Rome*, and brought with him from *Præneste* the statue of *Jupiter Imperator*, which, as an eternal monument of his glory, was placed in the capitol between *Jupiter Capitolinus* and *Minerva*. The dictator entered *Rome* in triumph, and then laid down his office, which had lasted but twenty-five days ^f.

Titus Quinc-
tius dictator,

Defeats the
Prænestini,
and takes Præ-
neste.

^a PLUT. in Camillo. LIV. l. vi. c. 26.

^f LIV. l. vi. c. 29.

(Q) He only was a *Roman* citizen, in the most extensive signification of the expression, who had a right of having a house in *Rome*, of giving his suffrage in the comitia, and of standing candidate for any office; and consequently, who was incorporated into one of the tribes. The freed-men did not enjoy all these privileges, for in the times of the republic they were excluded from dignities. The municipal towns, and *Roman* colonies, enjoyed the right of citizenship, which had sometimes more, sometimes fewer privileges annexed to it. The municipal cities enjoyed this privilege by a particular grant from the senate and people, without being obliged to change their own form of government. But there was this

difference between them, that some of them could, others could not, either give their votes, or stand candidates for offices. This account of the municipia, and the difference between them, is agreeable to *Livy*, who tells us, that the inhabitants of *Cære* were made *municipes* with the right of suffrage; and elsewhere speaking of *Fundi* and *Formia*, says, that these two cities did not obtain the right of suffrage, without much application, though they had already the right of citizenship. As for the *Roman* colonies, they enjoyed more or fewer privileges and exemptions peculiar to *Roman* citizens, in proportion to their fidelity, and the services they rendered the republic.

- a** THE complaints of the insolvent debtors, which still continued, occasioned this year an alteration in the government. Whether the assembled centuries divided the military tribuneship between the patricians and plebeians of their own accord, or by constraint, is uncertain; but we are told by all the ancients, that three military tribunes were chosen out of the nobility, and three out of the people. The patricians were, *P. Manlius*, *C. Manlius*, and *L. Julius*; the plebeians, *C. Sextilius*, *M. Albinus*, and *L. Antistius*. *Diodorus Siculus* reckons up eight military tribunes for this year, as he did for the preceding; but herein he is as much mistaken, as he is in changing *Caius Sextilius's* name into that of *Caius Sextius*. The two *Manlii*, without drawing lots, were appointed to command the army against the *Volsci*; but Rome had on occasion to repent of the choice she had made, for the two tribunes having divided their army, and incamped near each other, they sent out their cavalry to forage, without being well acquainted with the country. The enemy did not think proper to intercept, as they might, the foragers, but by a stratagem found means to draw the whole Roman army into an ambuscade. They sent to the Roman camps a Latin foldier, disguised like a Roman, to acquaint the generals, that their foragers were surrounded by the enemy, and must be inevitably cut off, if not relieved, without delay. This was giving a general alarm; the two commanders without so much as thinking of detaining the messenger, who brought this false news, marched out of their camps with precipitation, and in disorder, hurrying their troops into narrow passes, where the *Volsci* lay in wait for them. The Romans, though in disorder, fought with incredible bravery, and were by their desperate courage alone preserved from total destruction. But while they were wholly intent on defending themselves against one body of the enemy's forces, the other took and plundered the two Roman camps without resistance. The ill conduct of the *Manlii* made the senate deliberate whether a dictator should be nominated; but the enemy attempting nothing farther, it was resolved to recall the army, and its commanders. During these misfortunes abroad, a profound peace reigned at home, which, no doubt, was owing to the share the plebeians had in the government.

Three military tribunes chosen out of the people.

The Roman camp taken and plundered by the Volsci.

- THE ensuing year the centuries chose only patricians, viz. *Sp. Furius*, *Q. Servilius*, *C. Licinius*, *P. Clælius*, *M. Horatius*, and *L. Geganius*. The people therefore renewed their ancient complaints, and in order to free themselves from the oppressions of the rich, got at length two censores chosen, *Servilius Priæcus*, and *Clælius Siculus*, who took an exact account of the people and their effects, and concluded the census with a lustrum, which the *Fæsti Capitolini* call the nineteenth from its institution. So that nothing now remained for the censores to do, but to put an end to the disputes between the patricians and plebeians, by relieving the poor debtors, who were oppressed by the excessive usury of their avaricious creditors. But in the mean time news being brought to Rome, that the *Volsci* had entered the Roman territory, and were committing ravages there, the censores suspended this work, under pretence, that it was of more consequence to the state to guard against hostilities abroad, than dissensions at home. But the tribunes of the people pursued their point, and playing their usual game, opposed the levies; so that the senate was obliged to issue a decree, that no person should be disturbed for debt, or even the payment of the usual taxes, during the campaign. The levies were then made without opposition, and two armies raised, which marching by different ways into the country of the *Volsci*, laid it waste, and returned to Rome with an immense booty, the enemy not daring to appear in the field. The patricians no sooner found themselves free from the terror of a foreign war, but they cited their debtors to appear before the judges as usual, the tribunes of the people not being able to lend them any assistance, so long as peace continued abroad.

The country of the Volsci laid waste.

- f** THE following year the centuries chose six patrician military tribunes, viz. *L. Æmilius*, *S. Sulpicius*, *P. Valerius*, *L. Quinctius Cincinnatus*, *C. Veturius*, and *C. Quinctius*. During their administration, the *Latins* and *Volsci*, entering into a new confederacy against the republic, took the field, and incamped near *Satricum*. It is surprising, that the tribunes of the people should not lay hold of the opportunity, which the discontents and complaints of the debtors gave them, to oppose the raising of troops. The patricians had in all likelihood at this time the ascendant over the plebeians; for three armies were raised without the least opposition; one to guard the walls; another to be ready to march on the first notice; and the third, which was the most numerous, to attack the enemy in the neighbourhood of *Satricum*, under the command of *P. Valerius*, and *L. Æmilius*. These two generals found the *Latins*

The Latins and Volsci defeated.

and *Volsci* advantageously posted; but nevertheless did not delay giving them battle, which lasted till it was interrupted by so violent a rain, that neither party could keep the field. It was renewed next day, and at first with pretty equal success on both sides, the *Latins*, who had been long in alliance with the *Romans*, having learnt of them the art of war. At length the *Latin* battalions were broke, and put in disorder by the *Roman* cavalry, which occasioned the defeat of the whole confederate army. The fugitives retired in great disorder first to *Satricum*, about two miles from the field of battle, and from thence to *Antium*, with a design to secure themselves in that city. But the *Antiates*, not thinking their city to be in a condition to hold out a long siege, were for surrendering to the *Romans* on honourable terms. The rest of the *Volsci*, being also weary of the war, expressed an inclination to peace. Hereupon the *Latins*, obstinately bent upon pursuing the war, separated from them in a great rage, which they vented upon *Satricum*, though belonging to the *Volsci*, and the very place, which had served them for a retreat after their overthrow. They reduced the place to ashes, sparing only a temple of the goddess *Matuta*, whom the *Greeks*, as *Plutarch* informs us, worshipped under the name of *Leucothea* or *Ino* the daughter of *Cadmus*. From *Satricum* they marched into the country of the *Tusculans*, surprised their city, and put all the inhabitants they met with to the sword for having renounced the *Latin* confederacy, and accepted the privileges of *Roman* citizens. Great numbers of the *Tusculans* retired with their wives and children into the citadel, and from thence sent to acquaint the *Romans* with their misfortune and surprize. Hereupon an army, which had been kept ready against any unforeseen accident, was immediately sent to their relief under the command of *L. Quinctius* and *Ser. Sulpicius*, two of the military tribunes, who took the place by assault, and put all the *Latins* within the walls of *Tusculum* to the sword, not one of them escaping. The tribunes, having thus recovered the city, led back their army to *Rome*.

The lower sort of people oppressed by the rich.

THE peace concluded with the *Antiates*, and the defeat of the *Latins*, gave the republic an interval of rest from foreign wars. But at home the avarice of the patricians increased the misery of the poorer sort of people. As all the debtors were pressed to pay their debts at the same time, one friend could not assist the other; so that most of them, becoming insolvent, were delivered up to their creditors, and reduced to slavery; which melancholy scene so depressed the spirits, not only of the meaner plebeians, but even of the most considerable of that order, that far from standing in competition with the nobles for the military tribuneship, they even neglected to sue for the plebeian magistrates. Inasmuch that the patricians seemed to have engrossed to themselves for ever the whole administration of public affairs. But at this very crisis a trifling accident gave the plebeians an opportunity of shaking off the yoke they groaned under, of raising their drooping spirits, and carrying their pretensions higher than ever. *Fabius Ambustus*, an illustrious patrician, but very popular, had two daughters, of whom the elder was married to *Ser. Sulpicius*, a patrician, and at this time military tribune; the younger to *Licinius Stolo*, a rich plebeian. It happened, that while the younger sister was paying a visit to the elder, *Sulpicius* came home from the forum, where he had been discharging the duties of his office, attended by a croud of clients, and by the lictors, who, thundering at the door with the staff of the fasces, as was usual, gave notice that the magistrate was coming. This noise, to which the wife of *Licinius* was not accustomed, put her into a fright, which her sister taking notice of, could not forbear laughing at her, seeming much to wonder at her ignorance. This laughing, how innocent soever, was construed by the younger sister as an insult upon her on account of the ignoble family into which she was married. This imaginary affront greatly provoked her, and her uneasiness was increased by the croud of people that came to pay their court to her sister, and receive her commands. Her father happening to see her, and perceiving by her countenance, that something troubled her, kindly asked what it was, and whether all was well at home. At first he could get no satisfactory answer from her, but at length prevailed upon her with soft words to disclose the secret: You have married me, said she, into a family, which is excluded from enjoying the chief honours of the republic. What a vast difference is there between my sister's condition and mine? Her father, who was very fond of her, did all that lay in his power to comfort her; Don't be uneasy, said he; you shall soon see as much state at your own house, as you was surprized to find at your

The vanity of a woman sets three patricians at work to raise the fortune of the plebeians.

- a sister's. From this time he entered into an association with *Licinius*, his son-in-law, and *L. Sextius*, a young plebeian of extraordinary parts, who wanted nothing but a nobler birth to qualify him for the highest offices of the republic. Their design was to abolish the military tribuneship, restore the consulship, procure for the plebeians a share in that supreme dignity, and in short, to put the patricians and plebeians upon an equal foot. To compass this design, it was thought expedient, that *Licinius* and *Sextius* should begin, by getting the plebeian tribuneship for the next year, which would enable them to pave themselves a way to the highest dignities. The two candidates were accordingly admitted; and having carried that first point, they immediately bent all their thoughts and power to destroy the grandeur of the patricians, and promote the interest of the people. The first step they took was to propose a law for suppressing the military tribuneship, restoring the consulate, and requiring that of the two consuls to be annually chosen, one should always be a plebeian. In order to engage the people to pass this law, they added two others to it relating to the debts and the conquered lands. The first was this; let the interest already paid be reckoned as a discharge of so much of the principal; and let the remainder of it be paid at different equal payments. The second restrained any Roman citizen from possessing more than five hundred acres of land. Whatever lands any one held beyond that restriction, were to be taken from him, and divided among the poorer citizens. The patricians, alarmed and terrified, frequently met in order to deliberate on the most proper means to avert the impending evil; but could fix upon no other except that of dividing the tribunes of the people, and engaging one part of the college to oppose the attempts of the other. Accordingly, they gained over the other eight: *Licinius* and *Sextius* assembled the tribes several times, in order to get their law passed; but were always opposed by their colleagues, who, as soon as the law began to be read, never failed to cry out, *We protest against it*. These protests of one part of the tribunes against the other were often repeated at different comitia; insomuch that the two popular tribunes were not able to get their laws heard by the people. Being therefore at length tired with such frequent disturbances and interruptions, they resolved to protest in their turns. Very well, said *Sextius* to his colleagues, since you are so delighted with hearing the word *Veto*, *I forbid or protest*, we shall soon find occasion to repeat it too, and to the advantage of the people. Accordingly, when the centuries assembled to elect military tribunes for the next year, *Sextius* and *Licinius* cried out in their turns, *We protest against it*, which put a stop to all proceedings. As these two were continued in the plebeian tribuneship, they renewed the same opposition for five years successively; so that the republic fell into a kind of anarchy, none but plebeian officers being elected, that is, tribunes and ædiles. Thus the patricians were intirely excluded from the government; and this intermission of superior magistrates placed *Licinius* and *Sextius*, who were at the head of the tribunes of the people, in some degree at the head of the republic. So that *Fabius's* promise to his daughter may be said to have been performed from this time.

- In the sixth year *Licinius* and *Sextius* were just elected tribunes of the people a sixth time, when the inhabitants of *Velitræ* declared war against *Rome*, over-ran the lands of the republic, and even laid siege to the city of *Tusculum*. As the *Tusculans* had long been allies, and lately admitted citizens of *Rome*, *Sextius* and *Licinius*, ashamed to refuse them assistance, waved their opposition, and suffered an assembly to be held by an inter-*rex* for electing military tribunes. Six patricians were chosen, viz. *L. Furius*, *P. Valerius*, *A. Manlius*, *Ser. Sulpicius*, *C. Valerius*, and *Ser. Cornelius*. These having made the necessary levies, marched against the enemy, defeated them, raised the siege of *Tusculum*, and invested *Velitræ*. But as the generals, who began the siege, could not make themselves masters of the place before their year expired, six new military tribunes were created, without the least opposition, to pursue the war with the *Veliterni*, till their city was reduced. It happened very unfortunately for the patricians, that *Fabius Ambustus*, the father-in-law of *Licinius Stolo*, was chosen military tribune. His five colleagues were, *Q. Servilius*, *M. Cornelius*, *C. Veturius*, *Q. Quinctius*, and *A. Cornelius*. The promotion of *Fabius* encouraged the tribunes to pursue their point with more vigor than ever. They found means to gain over three of their colleagues; so that of the ten tribunes five were now for the publication of the laws, and five against it. *Licinius* and *Sextius* were now the eighth year in office; and as they were by long habit thoroughly practised in the art of managing the people, they held frequent assemblies, and in the presence of the multitude, asked the patricians the following

following questions : Whether they did not think it unreasonable, that they should a possess above five hundred acres of land, whilst a great number of the plebeians had scarce ground enough whereon to build themselves a small habitation to live in, or a sepulchre for their family ? How can you, patricians, said they, even in point of interest, account for your making your miserable debtors languish in chains, and absolutely putting it out of their power to pay you, by keeping them in prison ? And yet what is more common than to see these wretched citizens delivered up into the hands of their creditors by your courts of justice ? Are not the houses of the patricians become so many prisons ? When they perceived that these inquiries made a great impression b on the minds of the people, they immediately added, and what remedy can be provided against these misfortunes ? Since our tribunes are not able to protect us, we must introduce some of the plebeians into the highest offices. Nor will it be sufficient that plebeians be qualified by law to be consuls. Was not the number of military tribunes increased on purpose that the plebeians might have a share in that magistracy ? and yet how few have been raised to it ? And how much easier will it be for the patricians, when there are but two places to be filled, to secure them both to themselves ? It is therefore necessary, that a law be passed, laying *Rome* under a necessity of chusing one of her supreme governors out of the people. From that very day, and not till then, may the *Roman* people be deemed to have banished kings from *Rome*, and established liberty on a lasting basis. When the tribunes found that the people listened to these discourses with great pleasure, they added a fourth law to the three already mentioned, importing, that c decemviri should be elected instead of duumviri, to preserve and interpret the *Sybilline* books, and that five of them should be always plebeians. However, all proceedings on this, as well as on the other regulations, were suspended, till the reduction of *Velitra*, that the soldiers employed in that siege, who made so great a part of the people, might not be excluded from giving their votes, when such important innovations were on foot.

Camillus dictator.

THE year expiring before the return of the army, for the siege went on but slowly, the republic chose six new military tribunes, *L. Quinctius*, *Sp. Servilius*, *Serv. Cornelius*, *L. Papirius*, *Serv. Sulpicius*, and *L. Veturius*. As for the tribunes of the people, *Licinius* and *Sextius* were still continued in their employment, the people being eager to d have these two opposers of the patrician party carry on their designs, and complete them. The *Roman* army was no sooner returned from the siege of *Velitra*, than *Licinius* and *Sextius* summoned the people once more, declaring that they would proceed to the publication of the law without any regard to the opposition of their colleagues. The patricians, seeing their case desperate, had recourse to the last refuge, which was to nominate a dictator. The man, who seemed most proper to sit at the helm of affairs in so tempestuous a season, was *Camillus*, and accordingly the fathers with unanimous consent raised him to that dignity the fourth time. *Camillus* was not very forward to accept the charge, being unwilling to quarrel with those very men, whose valor he had so often employed in war. As affairs then stood, he could expect e nothing, but either to disoblige the commons, if he succeeded, or to contribute to the ruin of his party, if he did not. However, that zealous patriot did not refuse to assist his country, when it so much stood in need of his authority. From the day he was nominated dictator, the power of the tribunes of the people ought to have been suspended. But *Licinius* and *Sextius*, without paying any regard to the dictator, continued still to assemble the people, who being met in the forum on the day appointed, the four laws were read to them. The tribes had already begun to give their suffrages in order, and the first tribe had actually voted in favour of the laws, when the dictator, full of anger and indignation, and attended by a great body of patricians, repaired to the assembly, and there seated himself in his tribunal. As the f tribunes were divided among themselves, some declaring for the laws, and others protesting against them, the dictator rising up, declared that he was come to support the privileges of the people, and that he would never suffer one part of the tribunes to deprive the other of their right of opposition. The two heads of the tribunes laughed at this artful speech, and pursuing their measures with great steadiness, continued to take the suffrages of the people, which so provoked *Camillus*, that he ordered his lictors to drive away the tribes from their respective places, threatening at the same time, that if they did not disperse immediately, he would assemble them in the *campus Martius*, inlist them, and make them march into the field without delay. On the other hand, the tribunes, to encourage the people, had the boldness g to

- a to threaten the dictator, that as soon as his dictatorship was expired, they would get him condemned in a fine of fifty thousand drachmæ, if he prevented the people from giving their suffrages. However, the tribes, terrified at the menaces of a magistrate, who had power of life and death, retired, and the comitia were postponed to another day. But *Camillus*, seeing the people too much enraged to be brought to any terms either by authority or persuasion, withdrew to his own house, and soon after laid down his office. Lays down his office. Some authors are of opinion, that remembering his exile, he was intimidated by the threatenings of the tribunes, and did not care to venture himself again in an affair of so much heat. But *Livy* tells us, that he was informed there had been some defect in the ceremony of taking the auspices, when he was created dictator, and that on this account he would not, as he was very scrupulous in these matters, retain a dignity conferred upon him contrary to the laws of his religion. The senate, after a short inter-regnum, named *P. Manlius* to succeed *Camillus*. *Manlius* presently discovered himself to be a great favourer of the people; for the first thing he did was to name a plebeian, *C. Licinius*, not *Licinius* the son-in-law of *Fabius*, for his general of the horse. *Sextius* and *Licinius* no longer doubted but they should be able to bring their designs to a happy conclusion under the administration of a dictator, who favoured them, and the protection of his general of horse, provided they could get themselves continued in the tribuneship. In order to this, they pretended, that they would no longer serve, representing to the people, that they were grown old in the tribuneship to no purpose, and that after struggling nine years with the senate for the good of the people, the only recompence they had met with was neglect and ingratitude. Shall our laws, said they, wholly tend to your benefit, and we receive no manner of advantage from them ourselves? Is it consistent with modesty for you to ask great advantages by our means, while you resolve to leave us without honour, or even the hopes of honour? To be plain then, the laws we have proposed are inseparable. If you are resolved to pass them conjointly, then continue us in the tribuneship. We shall in that case make use of the authority you shall invest us with, to finish the work we have begun. But if you are determined to pass those laws, which concern usury, and the conquered lands, without any regard to our interest, we will accept of the tribuneship no longer; and be assured that you shall not obtain your desires. The people were very earnest to pass the laws concerning the debts and conquered lands; but as to the other two laws, relating to the re-establishment of the consulate, on condition that one of the consuls should always be a plebeian, and the changing of the duumviri into triumviri, the people did not give themselves much concern about them, being well apprised, that the endeavours of the tribunes, to open a way for the plebeians to arrive at the consulate, were chiefly intended for their own private interest. The tribunes therefore would not by any means suffer the laws to be proposed separately. *Appius Claudius*, grandson to the famous decemvir, made a long speech, full of invectives against the two tribunes, expatiating on the insolence of the declaration they had made, viz. that the people should not be allowed to pass such laws as they approved, unless they would at the same time pass others, which they did not approve. But notwithstanding his harangue, the two tribunes were chosen the tenth time, the multitude being afraid of losing such able and zealous defenders. Not long after their re-election, they obtained the passing of that law, which related to the care of the *Sibylline* books. This advantage contented the people for the present; and six military tribunes, all patricians, were created for the next year without the least disturbance, viz. *A. Cornelius*, *L. Veturius*, *M. Cornelius*, *P. Valerius*, *M. Geganius*, and *P. Manlius*. In the very beginning of their administration, the tribunes used their utmost efforts to get the other laws passed, and the debates were carried to such a height on both sides, that the citizens were upon the point of taking up arms against each other, when news was brought to *Rome*, that a numerous army of *Gauls* was in full march from the coasts of the *Adriatic*, with a design to revenge the defeat of their countrymen. The approach of so dreadful an enemy suspended the divisions of the commonwealth. The common danger united both patricians and plebeians, and prompted them to name a dictator. The great *Camillus* was raised to this dignity the fifth time. He was indeed now fourscore years old, and had very lately laid down the dictatorship before the usual time. Camillus dictator for the fifth time. But nevertheless, his zeal for the welfare of his country induced him to sacrifice the remaining part of his life to the public good. He did not now plead infirmity, as he formerly had done, to decline the charge, but readily undertook it; and having made the necessary levies, marched out of *Rome* with all the vivacity of a

Defeats the
Gauls on the
banks of the
Anio.

young man, after he had named *T. Quinctius* to be his general of the horse. As soon as he came near the camp of the *Gauls*, which was on the banks of the *Anio*, he posted the smallest part of his army upon a hill of easy ascent, and concealed the rest in the vallies, and behind the rocks. The poor appearance of the *Roman* troops made the *Gauls* so confident, that they pillaged the country quite up to his very trenches, which *Camillus*, in order to increase their confidence, suffered them to do for several days together, keeping himself quiet within his camp, which was well fortified on all sides. At length, perceiving that a great part of the enemy were scattered in the country to pillage, and being informed, that those who remained in the camp, did nothing night and day but drink and revel, he ordered his light-armed men to march in the night-time into the plain, and to prevent the enemy from drawing up in order of battle, when they should first sally out of their camp. Early in the morning he marched down the hill with his main body, and drew them up in battalia. The *Gauls* hastened out of their trenches, but the light-armed *Romans*, falling upon them before they could range themselves in their usual order, obliged them to begin the fight in confusion. In the mean time *Camillus* charged them with his heavy-armed legions, and made such a slaughter in the foremost ranks, that the rest fled, and dispersed themselves over the champaign country, the *Romans* being possessed of the hills. Those who escaped the pursuit of the conquerors, fled into *Apulia*. Some writers are of opinion, that from this time the *Gauls* began to spread themselves into *Illyricum*, *Pannonia*, *Thrace*, *Greece*, and *Asia Minor*. After this victory the dictator led his victorious army against *Velitra*, the siege of which city had been interrupted. But the *Veliterni* submitted to him without making the least resistance; he returned therefore to *Rome*, where the honours of a triumph were decreed him both by the senate and people.

The tribunes
send an officer
to seize *Camillus*,
though
dictator.

BUT the republic was in too great a ferment for the senate to consent to his abdicating the dictatorship. The patricians thought, that under the shelter of his great name, and absolute authority, they should be better able to contend with their adversaries. For the people, proud of their late victory, were more obstinately bent than ever on passing the laws, so long disputed. *Sextius* and *Licinius*, seeing themselves backed and supported by the multitude, grew more audacious than ever, and took a most extraordinary step to effect their purpose. As the dictator was one day sitting on his tribunal in the forum, an officer, sent by those tribunes, commanded him to rise and follow him, laying his hand upon him at the same time, as if he designed to seize him, and carry him away by force. Hereupon such a noise and tumult arose in the forum, as never had been heard before, the patricians, who attended *Camillus*, driving back the officer, and the multitude at the foot of the tribunal crying out, *Pull him down; pull him down*. The tribunes design was by this violence to frighten *Camillus* into an abdication; but he, though at a loss what to do in this exigence, would not lay down the authority, which had been legally conferred upon him. In the midst of this uproar, he took refuge in the senate-house, whither the patricians followed him; and there the pretensions of the people and their tribunes were taken into consideration. On this occasion *Camillus* made a vow to build a temple to *Concord*, in case he succeeded in quieting these commotions. As the populace could not be prevailed upon by any means to abate of their pretensions, it was resolved, after many long and warm debates, to comply with their request, and to accept the three laws in question, as the only means to extinguish their obstinate fury. Thus the government was changed, the consulate revived, and the military tribuneship laid aside for ever.

The first ple-
beian consul.
Year of the
flood 2637.
Before Christ
362.
Of Rome 386.

THE people having thus carried their point, the comitia were held for the election of consuls, when *L. Emilius Mamercinus*, and *L. Sextius*, the plebeian tribune, were raised to that dignity. However, when the election of *Sextius* came to be confirmed by the senate, the conscript fathers absolutely refused to consent to it. The new disputes between the two parties on this occasion were carried to so great a length, that the people were ready to leave *Rome*, and separate themselves from the patricians, as they had formerly done. All the wisdom of a dictator universally esteemed was therefore necessary to bring about an accommodation; and *Camillus* found out an expedient, to which both parties agreed. The consuls, and military tribunes, who long supplied their places, were generals of the *Roman* armies, and at the same time judges of civil

* PLUT. in Camillo. LIV. l. vi. c. 40, 41.

* PLUT. ibid. LIV. l. vi. c. 41.

- a affairs; but as they could not always attend to the latter branch of their office, being commonly during the summer in the field, *Camillus's* expedient was to separate this function from the consulate, and to create a judge, with the title of *Prætor*, to whom it should be appropriated. He advised the senate to suffer one consul to be chosen annually out of the plebeians, on condition that the prætors should be alway patricians. This motion was agreed to by both parties, the election of *Sextius* was confirmed, and all feuds and dissensions in the republic laid aside (R).

- TRANQUILLITY being thus re-established, the senate, in gratitude to the gods, *The great* ordered the great games to be celebrated. These shews formerly lasted only three *games.* days; but now a fourth was added to them; and on that account their name was
b changed from *ludi magni*, or *great games*, into that of *ludi maximi*, or the *greatest games*. The present ædiles refused, for what reason we know not, to make the necessary preparations for the great games, tho' that was a branch of their office. Hereupon the young patricians cried out, That since the affair in question was to take care of the worship of the gods, they should think it no dishonour to be chosen ædiles. The dictator accepted the offer, and proposed to the people the establishing of two patrician ædileships, which they agreed to. These patrician ædiles, from the ivory chair, called *sella curulis*, had the name of *ædiles curules*, and were of greater account, *The curule* being curule magistrates, than the plebeian ædiles. Their business was to take care of *ædiles.*
c the temples, theatres, games, markets, tribunals of justice, and the repairing of the city walls, and also to see that no novelty was introduced into religion. In after-ages they examined the fables, or pieces written for the stage, and seem to have been the judges of other writings. To them the generals of armies, upon their return, delivered the corn and provisions taken from the enemy, as they did the prisoners to the prætor, and the money to the quæstor. Nothing now remained but to mark out a place for the temple of *Concord*, which *Camillus* had vowed. It was built at the *The temple of* expence of the public, upon an eminence at the foot of the capitol; so that it was seen *Concord.* from the forum, and the places where the assemblies were held, and justice was administered. Thus ended a year so glorious for *Camillus*. He had overcome the most formidable enemies of *Rome*, restored peace to the republic, and calmed the people,
d without exasperating the nobility. Full of glory therefore and of years, he laid down the dictatorship, wholly bent on spending the small remainder of his days in the repose and tranquillity of a private life.

- THE ensuing year all continued quiet both at home and abroad, except that the tribunes of the people complained, and could not bear, that for one plebeian consul granted to the people, the patricians had got three curule magistrates, *viz.* a prætor, and two ædiles. Their complaints, backed with the murmurs of the people, made an impression on the senate; and the patricians consented, that the curule ædiles should be chosen out of the plebeians every second year. Afterwards they left the people at full liberty to chuse them every year out of either body. These establish-
e ments being once made, *Rome* enjoyed a profound peace under the administration of the new consuls, *L. Genucius* a plebeian, and *Servilius Ahala* a patrician. This year a dreadful plague broke out, which swept away great numbers; among the rest one censor, three tribunes of the people, and one curule ædile; but the most fatal stroke of all was the death of the great *Camillus*, who was much regretted by all ranks *Death of Ca-*
millus.

(R) The prætorship was then looked upon as the second dignity in the republic, the prætor being elected in the comitia by centuries, and under the same auspices as the consuls; so that they were in a manner colleagues. The consul had the management of political and military affairs. The prætor was the chief magistrate concerned in the administration of justice. Before the establishment of the prætorship, the consuls were called *prætores*; nay, the dictator himself assumed the title of *prætor maximus*, the word *prætor* being derived from the Latin verb *præire*, signifying *to go before*: Hence the old Latins called their commanders *prætores*. At first one prætor only was appointed. Afterwards, that is, about the year of *Rome* 401, another was added; and then one of them applied himself to the administration of justice among the citizens, with the name of *prætor urbanus*, while the other decided the differences which arose amongst foreigners, with the title of

prætor peregrinus. Upon the taking of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, two more prætors were created to assist the consuls in the government, and as many more upon the intire conquest of *Spain*. *Sylla* increased their number to eight; *Julius Cæsar*, first to ten, and afterwards to sixteen; and the second triumvirate to sixty-four. From this time we meet sometimes with twelve prætors, and sometimes with eighteen; but, in the declension of the empire, they were reduced to three. When the number of the prætors was thus increased, the *prætor urbanus* undertook the cognizance of private causes, and the others that of crimes; whence they were also styled *Quæstiores*. Besides these, there were also *provincial prætors*, whose business it was to administer justice in the *Roman* provinces, and command the troops there in time of war, till their office, which was annual, expired.

of people. He was deservedly styled a second *Romulus*, the first having founded, ^a and he restored the city. He is said never to have fought a battle without gaining a complete victory, never to have besieged a city without taking it, and never to have led an army into the field, which he did not bring back loaded both with glory and booty. He was a zealous patriot, and tho' persecuted by his ungrateful country, would never hearken to his just resentments. The necessities of the public no sooner obliged the people to have recourse to him, than forgetting the affronts he had received, he took upon him the conduct of the most difficult and laborious undertakings. He was a patrician by descent; but not actuated by party-zeal, his love for the public being the only rule of his conduct. He favoured the plebeians, when the interest of the public required him to do so, but without flattery or self-interest. ^b He had nothing in view but to do every one justice, and put an end to the dissensions which weakened the republic; so that he left his country in the enjoyment of a perfect tranquillity at his death, by means of the equality he had wisely introduced, and the just balance he had settled between all orders of men in the republic. In short, *Rome* may be said to have furnished the world with many noble patterns of probity; but none perhaps more perfect than that of the incomparable *Camillus*.

THE *Roman* republic, at the time of *Camillus*'s death, had scarce gained any increase of territory, except on the other side of the *Tiber*, in the country of the *Hetrurians*; nor did her jurisdiction even there reach far beyond *Veii* and *Cære*; so that it was confined within six or seven leagues of the capital. Ever since the taking and ^c sacking of *Rome* by the *Gauls*, her allies had been continually wavering in their fidelity. The eternal jealousies between the nobility and people retarded their conquests, and revived the hopes of the nations they had conquered. The tribunes of the people were ever opposing the enterprizes of the consuls or military tribunes. The senate had often recourse to a dictator, and then the experience of the *Roman* troops, and their valour, made them victorious; but the return of domestic seditions gave the people, whom they had conquered, an opportunity of shaking off the yoke. Thus were the *Romans*, without interruption, running in the same round of wars against the same enemies, without reaping any advantage from their conquests. Such was the state of *Rome*, when *C. Sulpicius*, and *C. Licinius Stolo*, were raised to the consulate. ^d The first was a patrician, and the latter the famous plebeian tribune, son-in-law to *Fabius*, who, jointly with his colleague *Sextius*, had first contrived the four laws, then maintained them, and at length, in the ten years he had been tribune, obtained the publication of them. And now the promise which *Fabius* had made to his younger daughter, that she should see the same honours paid to her husband, which she had beheld with envy paid to the husband of her elder sister, was fulfilled. She had the pleasure to see for a whole year the lictors with their fasces march before her husband, and to have her house adorned with those ensigns of the supreme power and authority.

The lectisternium.

As the plague still continued to rage, the *Romans* had recourse to an old superstition ^e called *lectisternium*. This was a religious entertainment made for the gods in their own temples, where tables were spread, and beds placed round them, on which the gods, according to the *Roman* fashion, were to lie, and eat. The beds were placed near the altars, and strewed with leaves and odoriferous herbs, as well as the temples; whence this ceremony had the name of *lectisternium*, that is, a strewing of a bed. The statues of *Jupiter* and the other gods were laid upon these beds, as if they had been to partake of the feast. The goddesses were placed on chairs, after the manner of the *Roman* women, this being thought the more decent posture for their sex; but as the ceremony of the *lectisternium* did not remove the plague, the superstitious *Romans* ^f endeavoured to appease the anger of the gods, by instituting new sports, which were called *scenici*, from their being represented on a scene, that is, a stage built in the shade. The performers were brought out of *Hetruria*, in the language of which country *bister* signified a player; whence came the *Latin* word *bistrion*. These *bistriones* or actors danced to the flute, and kept time with their motions and gestures; but their dances, in these early times, were not accompanied by any verses or discourses. Afterwards the *Roman* youth imitated these foreign dances, and mixed such jokes and raillery with them, as were suitable to the gestures and postures they mimicked. This mixture of dances and merry verses were very agreeable to the people, which prompted some to undertake the composing of verses for the stage; but the first speakers fell into the corrupt taste of the *Fescennini*, a people of *Hetruria*, who threw rude and ^g

The scenic shows.

unpre-

- a unpremeditated jokes at one another, without any order or regularity. These were soon succeeded by satires written in verse, and set to the flute; which satires were repeated with suitable gestures. Some years after, *Livius Andronicus* turned the satires into regular plays; and then the farces, which had made people laugh, were despised (S).

- THE scenic plays, which were introduced at this time, were performed in a part of the *circus*, near the banks of the *Tiber*, which happening to overflow, the people concluded, that the new remedy was not efficacious to appease the wrath of heaven. They therefore revived an old religious ceremony, which was said to have proved effectual in the like calamity. This was, the driving of a nail by a dictator into that part of the wall of *Jupiter Capitolinus's* temple, which divided it from the chapel of *Minerva* under the same roof. This odd ceremony was borrowed from the *Volsinenses* in *Hebruria*, who reckoned their years by nails, which they drove into a temple of the goddess *Nortia* or *Fortune*. When *Brutus* and *Horatius Pulvillus* were consuls, immediately after the expulsion of the *Tarquins*, the *Romans* built the famous temple of *Jupiter, Juno* and *Minerva*, and resolved to mark down in it, and thereby transmit to posterity, the number of years, which had passed since the foundation of *Rome*; but as they were then unacquainted with the numeral letters, they drove as many nails into the wall of the temple, as there had passed years since their city was founded. Every year afterwards, on the ides of *September*, the chief prætor, or consul for the time being, drove a nail into this wall, which shewed the year of his consulship. *Livy* tells us, that the law, which enjoined this ceremony, was written in antique characters, and obsolete words, and fixed up in the chapel of *Minerva*, whom the *Romans* looked upon as the inventress of numbers. This ceremony of driving the nail was afterwards transferred from the consuls to dictators, as magistrates of greater dignity and power; and as it had been long discontinued, it was thought necessary to revive it at this time, some of the old people reporting, that it had formerly put a stop to a violent plague. A dictator was accordingly named for the performing of this ceremony, and the person raised to that dignity was *T. Manlius*, who, from his haughty spirit and imperious air, was surnamed *Imperiosus*. He chose *L. Pinarius Natta* for his general of the horse, and, with great pomp and solemnity, drove the nail into the wall of the temple; but the proud dictator, unwilling to have the whole business of his office confined to one religious ceremony, ordered troops to be raised, and even forced the citizens, tho' worn out with long sickness, to enlist themselves, under pretence, that the *Hernici* were preparing to shake off the *Roman* yoke; but as he had been nominated dictator to perform a religious ceremony, and

(S) However, the *Roman* youth revived these farces, and acted them at the end of their serious pieces. When the professed actors had finished their parts, some young *Romans* came upon the stage masked, and began to repeat merry verses as formerly, but such as were free from obscenity. These pieces were first brought from *Atella*, a city of *Campania*, and called *exodia*, that is, verses not belonging to the play. The *Roman* youth never suffered the professed actors to bear any part in their *exodia*, for fear of dishonouring them; so that the persons who acted these pieces, were not liable to the penalties inflicted on the *histriones*. Their names were not blotted out of the tribes, in which they were incorporated; nor were they excluded as infamous persons from serving in war. In short, they were not upon the foot of actors hired to entertain the public. The profession of an actor was indeed honourable among the *Greeks*. *Æschines* acted on the stage of *Athens* in his youth, and yet became one of the greatest orators of his time, and equalled *Demosthenes* himself (9). *Aristodemus*, tho' an actor, was sent on an embassy to *Philip* king of *Macedon*, in the name of the republic of *Athens* (10). But this was not the case with the *Romans*. *Cornelius Nepos* shews us the difference in his preface, where he says, that in *Greece* it was no dishonour to a man

to appear upon the stage in the habit of an actor; whereas among the *Romans* it was infamous, and unworthy of an honest man. Hence *Tully* says of *Roscius* the comedian, that he seemed to be the only man of his profession who deserved to be encouraged, and have a numerous audience, adding, that to mean an employment was unworthy of so honest a man, and that he deserved a more honourable station, and more suitable to his probity (11). The professed actors could not be incorporated in any tribe, and consequently had no right of suffrage. None, who acted on the stage, were capable of serving in the legions, or bearing any civil or military employment. A senator, if he acted but once on the stage, was immediately degraded; and a knight forfeited all his privileges. An actress was infamous, and subject to the same laws as common prostitutes. These punishments were decreed, and inflicted by an edict of the prætor; *As prætor*, says *Ulpian*, *Qui in scenam prodierit, infamis est* (12). But the actors of the *Atellana* were not comprised under this law, the *Roman* nobility confining the acting of these performances to themselves. If any actor in these pieces did not perform his part well, the people did not oblige him to unmask, which they had a right to do with respect to the professed actors.

(9) Vide *Demosth. in orat. de corona* apud *Quintil. l. ii. c. 17.* & *Plut. in vitis decem rhetor.* (10) *Cic. l. iv. de repub. apud S. August. l. ii. de civit. Dei.* (11) *Cic. orat. pro Quinctio.* (12) *Ulpian. l. ii. par. 5. ff. de iis qui infamia notantur.*

not to command an army, the tribunes of the people repelled force with force, and at length obliged him to lay down his office; which he had no sooner done, than he was cited by *M. Pomponius*, one of the tribunes, to answer before the people for the violence and cruelty, which he had exercised over the citizens; for he had imprisoned some, and caused others to be barbarously whipped. He was also accused of treating inhumanly one of his own sons, by name *Titus*, whom he had confined to the country, obliging him to work among his slaves, for no other reason, but because he was of slow parts, and had an impediment in his speech. This shews, that the absolute power which fathers, by the laws of *Rome*, had over their children, was kept within bounds by the superior authority of the magistrates. *Manlius* had, according to custom, a copy of the heads of his accusation given him, and the usual time of three market-days, or twenty-seven days, allowed him to prepare for his defence. All were highly exasperated against so severe a dictator, and so barbarous a father, except the son himself, who, moved with filial piety, and under the greatest concern that he should furnish matter of accusation against his father, resolved upon a most extraordinary method to deliver him. Early in the morning he left the country-house, to which he had been banished by his unnatural father, came to the city, and stopped nowhere till he got to the house of *Pomponius*, who was yet in bed. However, *Manlius* was immediately admitted by the tribune, who did not doubt but he was come to discover to him some new instances of his father's severity. After they had saluted each other, *Manlius* desired a private conference; whereupon every body was ordered to withdraw. Then the young man drawing out a poniard, and holding it close to the tribune's throat, threatened to stab him that moment, if he did not swear to desist from the prosecution he was carrying on against his father. *Pomponius* was so terrified, that he readily swore whatever the other was pleased to dictate, and thinking himself obliged even to comply with an involuntary obligation, dropped the prosecution. The people was not displeased at the bold enterprize of a son in favour of a father, by whom he had been used in the basest manner. They all extolled his piety, and not only, for his sake, pardoned the father, but the same year raised him to one of the most important posts in the *Roman* army, that of legionary tribune *.

A remarkable instance of filial piety.

This year the *Hernici* revolted; but while the *Romans* were preparing to bring them back to their duty, an unforeseen accident threw the city into the utmost consternation. The earth opened all on a sudden in the midst of the forum, probably by the violence of an earthquake. The citizens having laboured in vain to fill up the chasm by throwing abundance of earth into it, had at last recourse to the augurs, who declared, that they would never be able to compass their design, till that thing, in which the strength and power of the *Roman* people consisted, was thrown into the place; and that such a victim would secure the eternal duration of the *Roman* state. While they were all consulting about the meaning of this oracle, *M. Curtius*, a brave young patrician, having first asked them, Whether *Rome* had any thing more valuable than arms and valour? armed himself completely, and mounting a horse richly caparisoned, came to the forum, and, in the sight of the people, who were assembled in crouds, devoted himself to death for his country, and rode full speed into the gulph; an action, which some historians would willingly magnify with a miracle; for they tell us, that the ground immediately closed; but the most judicious writers own, that the opening was afterwards filled up with earth and rubbish *. After *M. Curtius* had thus devoted himself, the *Romans* did not doubt but they should soon humble the *Hernici*: but they were disappointed; for *Genucius*, the first plebeian consul, who had ever been intrusted with the command of an army, fell into an ambuscade, and was killed, after the legions, seized with a sudden fright, had abandoned him. Some historians seem to doubt, whether he did not fall by the hand of a *Roman*; at least, it is certain the melancholy news of his defeat did not so much grieve the patricians, as raise their pride. They exclaimed in all places, that the misfortunes of *Rome* were owing to the violation of human and divine rights in the consecration of a plebeian consul. To wipe off the disgrace, which *Rome* had received, it was resolved to create a dictator. *Servilius*, the surviving consul, named to that office *Appius Claudius*, the most inveterate enemy of the plebeian party, that he might repair the losses, which the republic had sustained by the mismanagement of a plebeian consul. While the dictator was raising a second army, the *Hernici*, elated with their late success, advan-

The earth opens in the forum.

Curtius leaps into the gulph.

The Romans defeated, and the consul killed by the *Hernici*.

* Liv. l. vii. c. 4. Cic. offic. l. iii. Val. Max. l. v. c. 4. c. 6. Oros. l. iii. c. 5. August. de civit. Dei, l. v. c. 18.

* Liv. l. vii. c. 6. Val. Max. l. v.

- a ced with great boldness to besiege the vanquished in their camp; but *C. Sulpicius*, who had been lieutenant to *Genucius*, and had, after the defeat and death of his general, collected the scattered troops, rallying out upon them, obliged them to return to their own intrenchments. *Appius* soon after arrived with a new army, which he had just raised in the city, and having exhorted his men to imitate the bravery of *Sulpicius*, and the soldiers under his command, prepared for a general engagement. The *Hernici*, hearing that a dictator was created to carry on the war against them, exhausted their country of men to reinforce their army, none, who were able to bear arms, being excused from taking the field. Out of this multitude they chose three thousand two hundred men, whom they divided into eight cohorts, of four hundred
- b men each. This was the flower of the enemy's troops; and their generals, to distinguish them from the rest, and by that means engage them to exert themselves in battle, not only allowed them double pay, but exempted them from all the laborious offices of the army. The dictator no sooner began to draw up his men, but the *Hernici* did the same, in a plain which lay between the two camps, and was about three miles over. This was the field of battle; and never were forces more equal, or the victory more doubtful. The *Roman* knights engaged the eight cohorts; but, notwithstanding their utmost efforts, the enemy kept both their ground and ranks. The bad success of this first onset made the *Roman* cavalry change their way of fighting. They all dismounted, and, with permission of their general, posted themselves in the first line, at the head of the infantry. The eight cohorts still made head
- c against them with incredible bravery, the rest of the soldiers in both armies being idle spectators of a battle fought by the flower of the two nations. The victory was a long time doubtful, many falling on both sides; but at length the better fortune of the *Romans*, as *Livy* expresses it, prevailed; the cohorts first retreated in good order, and then, being warmly pressed, gave way, and fled in confusion. The conquerors pursued the enemy to their camp; but night coming on hindered them from attempting to force it. The next morning the *Romans* found it abandoned, the *Hernici* having retired under the walls of their cities. This victory cost the *Romans* dear; for they are said to have lost a fourth part of their army, and a great number
- d of knights. The dictator returned to the city; but did not obtain a triumph, the people being in all likelihood unwilling to bestow that honour on the most declared enemy of the plebeian party.

The *Hernici* defeated by *Appius Claudius dictator*.

- NOTWITHSTANDING the misfortune of *Genucius*, the centuries chose another plebeian consul, viz. *C. Licinius Stolo* a second time, and with him *C. Sulpicius*, surnamed *Peticus*. As the most violent enemy of the plebeians had been nominated dictator the last year by the patricians, so the most enterprising adversary of the nobility was now raised to the highest office by the suffrages of the people. The two consuls entered the enemy's country together; but, finding no enemy in the field, they besieged and
- e took *Ferentinum*, formerly a city of the *Volsci*, which had been given up to the *Hernici* by the *Romans*. After the surrender of this place, they took the road to *Rome*; but, when they came to *Tybur*, they were surprized to find the gates of that city shut against them. Upon inquiry, they found, that the *Tyburtes* were in secret intelligence with the *Gauls*, who were again in motion. The apprehension of a war with so formidable an enemy, made them determine to create a dictator. *T. Quinctius Pennus* was the person nominated to that dignity, and he appointed *Serv. Cornelius* to be his general of the horse. While the *Romans* were preparing for the war, the *Gauls* advanced as far as the banks of the *Anio*, within three miles of *Rome*. The *Roman* army, under the command of the dictator, immediately advanced to meet them, and encamped on the opposite banks of the river. Both armies lay near one
- f of the bridges of the *Anio*, which neither of them offered to break down, lest it should seem to argue fear; so that this bridge became the scene of several combats between the champions of both parties. One day a *Gaul* of gigantic stature, advancing upon the bridge, cried out with a loud voice, *Let the bravest man in the Roman army enter the lists with me; the success of our combat shall determine which is the more valiant nation*. His extraordinary size and fierce looks struck the *Romans* with such terror, that, for a long time, not one in the whole army offered to accept the challenge. At length young *Mamilius*, who had so remarkably signalized his piety to his father, touched with a just sense of the affront offered to the *Roman* name, quitted his post, and flying

Ferentinum taken from the *Hernici*.

Young Min'us
kills in single
combat a
mighty cham-
pion of the
Gauls, who
thereupon re-
sire.

to the dictator, asked leave to encounter the *Gaul*. Tho' I were sure of victory, ^a said he, I would not fight this proud *Gaul* without your orders; but, if you will give me leave, I will make this huge beast know, that I am of the blood of that *Manlius*, whose valour proved so fatal to the *Gauls* on the capitol. The dictator, who had been very uneasy that no *Roman* had accepted the challenge before, readily complied with the request of the brave youth. Go, *Manlius*, said he, and humble the pride of this insulting enemy. Revenge the cause of the city where you first drew your breath, as successfully as you relieved him to whom you owe it. Upon this the young *Roman*, having changed his round buckler, which he wore as a *Roman* knight, for a square one, and armed himself with a short sword, fit both for cutting and stabbing, advanced against the *Gaul*, who was strutting about in his armour, and making an ostentatious ^b shew of his strength. Both *Romans* and *Gauls* retired to their respective posts, leaving the bridge free for the two champions. The *Gaul*, says *Livy*, began the combat, by discharging a great blow with his long sword at *Manlius*, which made much noise, but did no execution. Hereupon the young *Roman*, dexterously slipping under his enemy's shield before he recovered his heavy sword, stabbed him in two places; so that he soon fell, and covered, to use *Livy's* expression, a vast piece of ground with his huge body. The conqueror cut off his head, and without troubling himself about the rest of his spoils, only seized a golden collar, which he tore from his neck, and, bloody as it was, put it about his own, in token of victory; and hence he got the surname of *Torquatus*, which he transmitted to his posterity. The event of this combat ^c so discouraged the *Gauls*, that they abandoned their camp in the night, and retired into *Campania*.

The Gauls
and Hernici
defeated.

As soon as the consuls for the new year entered upon their office, the one, viz. *C. Patellius Libo*, was sent with an army to punish the *Tyburtes*; and the other, *M. Fabius Ambustus*, was ordered to march against the *Hernici*, who persisted in their revolt. The two consuls had no sooner left *Rome*, than the *Gauls* appeared again, and venturing to advance into the neighbourhood of *Rome*, blocked up the gate *Collina*. However, the senate did not think proper to recal either of the consuls. A dictator was created to make head against those dangerous enemies, and the consuls pitched upon *Servilius Abala*, who having named *T. Quinctius* to be his general of ^d horse, and armed all the youth that were left in *Rome*, came to an engagement with the *Gauls* under the very walls of *Rome*. As the *Romans* fought in sight of their parents, wives and children, who were on the ramparts, they behaved with extraordinary valor. The battle was very bloody, and the field all covered with dead bodies; but at length the *Gauls* gave way, and fled towards *Tybur*, where the consul *Patellius* fell upon them, with a design to prevent them from taking refuge in that city: but the *Tyburtes* sallying out, covered their retreat; so that they escaped, but not without great loss, the pursuit of the conquerors. On the other hand, *Fabius* fought the *Hernici* with success, and overcame them in a general action. Thus was the republic this year victorious on all sides. The honours of a triumph were chiefly ^e due to the dictator; but he either despising them out of pride, or declining them out of modesty, on his return to *Rome*, highly commended the two consuls both to the senate and people, and then, without mentioning his own exploits, abdicated the dictatorship. *Patellius* solicited for a triumph, and obtained it; but his colleague *Fabius*, who had conquered the *Hernici*, was content with an ovation.

The Hernici
subdued.

THE next year *Cn. Manlius Imperiosus* and *M. Popilius Lenas* being consuls, the *Tyburtes* came in the dead of the night to the very gates of *Rome*, and alarmed the city, the people believing that the *Gauls* were come again; but the return of light discovering only a small number of *Tyburtes*, who were come rather out of a bravado, than with any concerted design to surprize the city, the consuls marched out at two ^f different gates, and easily repulsed the bold aggressors. The consuls for the next year were, *C. Fabius Ambustus*, and *C. Plautius Proculus*. The latter marched against the *Hernici*, and totally subdued them; but the former, being sent against the *Tarquinienses*, who had entered the *Roman* territory in arms, was defeated by them. The *Tarquinienses* took three hundred and seven *Roman* prisoners, and, to shew their contempt of the republic, first treated them in a barbarous manner, and then cut their throats. The disadvantage *Fabius* had suffered, was followed by a new alarm from the *Boii*, who appeared all on a sudden in the plain of *Præneste*, and from thence

^a Liv. l. vii. c. 9. Oros. l. v. c. 6.

^b Liv. l. vii. c. 11 & 12.

- a advanced as far as *Pedum*, a city of *Latium*, between *Tybur* and *Tusculum*, and not above ten miles from *Rome*; but the *Latins*, perhaps tired with seeing their country almost every year plundered by the *Gauls*, renewed very seasonably their alliance with *Rome*, and furnished her armies with the same quota of men they had formerly stipulated to grant. With this reinforcement the republic was in a condition to make head against all her enemies. As the consuls were both employed elsewhere, *Sulpicius*, surnamed *Peticus*, was created dictator, to conduct the war against the *Gauls*. The dictator named *M. Valerius* for his general of the horse; and having chosen out the best legions in the two consular armies, he took the field, and marched against the enemy. Both armies were very impatient to come to a battle; but the dictator
- b restrained the impetuosity of his men, being well apprised, that the *Gauls* must necessarily be soon distressed for want of provisions, since they had brought none with them, nor prepared any magazines; but the soldiers began to complain of their general's conduct, and even threatened openly to attack the enemy without his leave, or to quit the camp, and march back to *Rome*. They came in crowds to the dictator's quarters, and demanded access to him, having named *Sextius Tullius* to be their speaker. *Sextius* was an officer of distinguished courage, and had been for seven years last past the first captain of the first corps of the army. The dictator was therefore surprized to see a company of seditious men headed by an officer of his rank and reputation. *Sextius*, in the name of the army, reproached the dictator with the disadvantageous opinion he seemed to entertain of his troops, and pressed him to lead them against the enemy. His discourse was followed by the acclamations of the multitude, who all cried out for leave to arm, and march to battle. The dictator could not help complying with their request, and therefore promised to lead them out against the enemy the next day. Then taking *Sextius* aside, he asked him, What could have put him at the head of a faction? The brave centurion replied, That it was not want of respect to his general, or ignorance of the martial laws; but to divert the unruly multitude from chusing a leader, who might have done something injurious to the dignity of the dictator. He then exhorted *Sulpicius* to yield to the desires of those impetuous men, who were strongly inclined to seize the first opportunity of fighting without his leave. The dictator followed his advice; and having acquainted his men that he designed to engage the enemy the next day, he ordered all the muleteers of the army to put upon their mules the furniture of war-horses, to mount them, and marching up the hills in the night-time, to conceal themselves in the woods, till they received further orders. This, as *Frontinus* informs us, was then a new stratagem; but often practised afterwards both by the *Romans* and other nations. As soon as it was day, *Sulpicius* led his troops out of their entrenchments, and marched up against the *Gauls*, who did not expect to see the *Romans* appear so soon in the field. He drew up his army so, that all the legionaries, who used to attack the enemy at the head of their legions, with a sort of darts called *pila*, succeeded one another in files. As soon as one company of them was within reach of the enemy, they discharged their darts, and instantly retired, leaving a space of ground between them and the *Gauls*. Then a second company took the place of the other, and did the same. Thus four companies succeeded one another, discharging their darts, and falling back, without suffering the *Gauls*, who depended chiefly on their long swords, to come near them. This repeated discharge of darts, which put the enemy into some confusion, was no sooner over, than the rest of the legions closed in with them sword in hand. The *Gauls*, tho' in some disorder, sustained the attack with great bravery, and even obliged the right wing of the *Romans* to give ground. Then the dictator, who was there in person, flying to the foremost ranks, Is this, said he, the effect of your promises? Will all your boldness in the camp end in a shameful flight in the field? Follow your general, if you are true *Romans*. Having thus spoke, the brave dictator advanced sword in hand at the head of his legions, which, confounded with shame, threw themselves upon the enemy's battalions, and fought like men in despair. There was indeed more of a savage fierceness than true courage in this attack; but it succeeded. The *Gauls* were put to flight, and the *Romans* pursued them; but the enemy rallied near their right wing, which kept its ground, tho' attacked with great vigor by the dictator, at the head of his victorious troops. Then *Sulpicius* sent orders to his muleteers to leave their ambuscade, appear in the plain, and march towards the camp of the *Gauls*, who no sooner saw them, than they quitted their ranks, and hastened in confusion to the defence of their camp; but *M. Valerius*,
- g

Sulpicius Peticus dictator marches against the Gauls.

Attacks them.

And gains a
complete vic-
tory.

general of the horse, who had posted himself near the enemy's camp, after the defeat of their left wing, intercepted their flight; so that they had no retreat left but to the mountains and woods. *Valerius* pursued them close with his cavalry, and put most of them to the sword, the whole plain being for some miles covered with dead bodies. This victory left the republic no enemies in *Latium*. The *Hernici* were subdued; the *Gauls* vanquished, and cut in pieces; and the *Latins* quieted. In short, *Rome* was now in as flourishing a condition as it had been before it was taken by the *Senones*. *Sulpicius*, when he had been honoured with a triumph, which he well deserved, resigned the dictatorship, and the government returned into the hands of the two consuls for the year ^b. During their administration, a law was passed, at the motion of *Paterculus* the tribune, against openly canvassing for votes; for the *novi homines*, or upstarts, more ambitious of offices than the patricians themselves, not only solicited the suffrages of the people in the forum, but even went to the country fairs and other public meetings to buy voices.

Privernum
taken by the
Romans.

UNDER the succeeding consuls *C. Marcius Rutilus*, and *Cn. Manlius Imperiosus*, the interest of money, which before was arbitrary, was, at the motion of *Duilus* and *Mænius*, two tribunes of the people, settled at one per cent. The patricians, displeased with a law, which set bounds to their avarice, in order to revenge themselves on the plebeians, cited the famous *Licinius Stolo* to answer for a breach of one of the four laws, which he himself had so zealously promoted, forbidding any citizen to possess more than five hundred acres of land. *Licinius* actually possessed a thousand; but, to cover his breach of the law, had emancipated his son, or given up his authority over him, and made him the nominal possessor of one half of them; but, as this emancipation was made purely to evade the law, he was convicted of fraud before the prætor, and fined ten thousand asses of brass, that is, about thirty-two pounds sterling ^c. This same year the consul *Marcius* defeated the *Privernates*, who had declared against *Rome* the year before, and took their city. His colleague *Manlius* marched against the *Falisci*, a people of *Hebruria*; but gained no considerable advantage over them. Nothing was talked of at *Rome*, but his attempt upon the constitution. He had ventured to assemble the tribes near *Sutrium*, and made a law in his camp, whereby it was enacted, that, for the future, the twentieth part of the price of every slave should be paid into the public treasury. The law passed by the favour of the conscript fathers, notwithstanding its irregularity; but the tribunes of the people thought this step might be of dangerous consequence to the public liberty: The tribes, said they, when assembled in a camp, and by an armed consul, are not free to vote as they please; besides, the soldiers, who are sworn to obey their generals, will of course give their suffrages as their commanders direct them. To prevent therefore these inconveniencies, the tribunes got a law passed, forbidding any magistrate to assemble the comitia any-where but in *Rome*, under pain of death. However, the law for paying the twentieth part of the price of every slave was not repealed. The two consuls for the following year, *M. Fabius Ambustus*, and *M. Popilius Lænas*, were employed, the first against the *Falisci* and *Tarquinienses*, and the latter against the *Tyburtes*. *Popilius*, not finding the enemy in the field, ravaged their country, and carried off a great booty; but *Fabius*, after having gained some advantage over the united forces of the *Falisci* and *Tarquinienses*, was obliged to retire, all *Hebruria* taking up arms against him. Upon his retreat, a numerous army of *Hebrurians* advanced as far as the salt-pits on the banks of the *Tiber*. Their approach obliged the *Romans* to have recourse to a dictator. The consul *Popilius* named him in the absence of his colleague, and, as he was a plebeian himself, he pitched upon *C. Marcius Rutilus*, the plebeian consul for the last year. The dictator likewise chose a plebeian, *C. Plantius Proculus*, for his general of horse. The patricians, highly provoked at these promotions, did all that lay in their power to prevent the dictator from having such things decreed him as were necessary for the war. But the people, on the other hand, hastened the preparations for the campaign; so that every thing being got ready sooner than usual, the dictator took the field without delay, marched straight to the enemy's camp, surprized and forced it, nothing being able to withstand the *Roman* soldiery under the conduct of a plebeian dictator, the first who had ever been raised to that high office. Historians do not tell us what number of *Hebrurians* perished in the battle; but leave us to guess at the multitude of the slain by the number of

C. Marcius
Rutilus a ple-
beian dictator.

^b LIV. l. vii. c. 15. FAST. CAPET. ^c LIV. l. vii. c. 16. VAL. MAX. l. viii. c. 6. PLIN. l. xviii. c. 3.

prisoners 3

- prisoners; for we are told, that eight thousand were taken in this famous action. This victory well deserved the honours of a triumph, which the patricians, jealous of the glory of a plebeian dictator, opposed to the utmost of their power: but the people, in spite of their opposition, did him justice; so that he entered *Rome* in triumph the day before the nones of *May*^d. *Triumphs over the Aetrurians.*

- THE time drawing near for electing new consuls, and there being none but plebeian magistrates in *Rome* to preside in the comitia, the nobility raised difficulties against holding them. They pretended, that it was not lawful for any plebeian, tho' a dictator, to preside in them. The pontifical laws, said they, require, that the election of chief magistrates should be consecrated by auguries, which belong of right only to the patricians. And for this time they prevailed: the dictator, and the consul *Popilius*, were excluded on account of their birth. As it was necessary to have some magistrate of the first rank to preside at the election, the republic had recourse to an inter-regnum, during which it was governed by six patricians, viz. *Q. Servilius Ahala*, *M. Fabius*, *Cn. Manlius*, *C. Fabius*, *Sulpicius*, and *L. Æmilius*. These governed by turns, and managed their affairs so well, that the plebeians, in the very year in which they triumphed most, were excluded from a share in the government; for *C. Sulpicius Peticius*, and *M. Valerius Poplicola*, both patricians, were raised to the consulate, tho' for the last eleven years one of the consuls had been a plebeian. The tribunes exclaimed against the election, as contrary to the laws; but *Fabius*, who presided in the comitia, silenced them, by quoting a law of the twelve tables, whereby it was enacted, that only the last edict of the people should be of force, and render all preceding ones null. From thence he inferred, that the Roman people, by giving their votes to two patricians, had repealed the law, which divided the consulate between the patricians and plebeians. The consuls of this year took *Empulum* from the *Tyburtes*; but did nothing else worth mentioning. When the time came for new elections, they declared, that they would not resign their dignity into any hands, but those from which they had received it. We hold the consulate, said they, of the senate and patricians, and therefore think ourselves bound, both in honour and gratitude, not to resign it into any hands but theirs. This extraordinary proceeding occasioned such commotions in the *campus Martius*, that the greater number of the people cried out, that they ought not only to dissolve the assembly, but leave *Rome*, as they had done formerly. Many actually retired, leaving only the least passionate behind them, who gave their suffrages for two patricians, *M. Fabius Ambustus*, and *T. Quinctius Pennus*, who took the field without delay against the *Tyburtes* and *Tarquinienfes*. The former were totally subdued by *Fabius*, and the latter defeated in a bloody battle by *Quinctius*, who, to revenge the cruelty they had formerly committed on three hundred and seven Roman soldiers, put all the prisoners to the sword, except three hundred and fifty-eight, whom he sent to *Rome*, where, by order of the senate, they were first beaten with rods, and then beheaded. These victories gained the Romans such reputation among the Italian nations, that the *Samnites* sent an embassy to *Rome*, to propose an alliance with the republic. The ambassadors were kindly received by the senate, and the alliance concluded, the *Samnites* engaging to furnish the republic with troops, when required, and the Romans promising to protect them against their enemies both at home and abroad. Thus *Rome* advanced by degrees to that immense grandeur to which at last she attained. *Empulum taken from the Tyburtes, who are totally subdued.*

- THE patricians had gained such an ascendant over the people, that they kept the consulate in their own hands, and promoted to that dignity *C. Sulpicius Peticius*, and *M. Valerius Poplicola*. The former marched against the *Tarquinienfes*, and the latter against the *Volsci*, who were anew in motion. The consuls had scarce taken the field, when *Valerius* was recalled to nominate a dictator, the senate being informed by *Sulpicius*, that the *Carites* were disposed to take part with the *Tarquinienfes*, and that the *Falisci* had already joined them. *Valerius* named *T. Manlius Torquatus* to the dictatorship, tho' he had never been consul, a necessary step to that supreme dignity; but *Valerius* regarded nothing but the merit of *Manlius* in the choice; and his nomination was not opposed, tho' contrary to law. The new dictator, having named *Cornelius Cossus* to be his general of horse, was preparing to march against the *Carites*; but they, being sensible they could not make head against the brave *Torquatus*, sent deputies from all their towns to implore the clemency of the Romans. The senate referred the *The Samnites enter into an alliance with Rome.*

^d Liv. l. vii. c. 17. OROS. l. iii. c. 6. EUTROP. l. ii. FAST. CAPIT.

deputies to the people, who being reminded by them, that *Cere* had been the asylum of the vestals, when *Rome* was taken by the *Gauls*, received them into favour, and granted them a truce for an hundred years. Then the dictator led his army against the *Falisci*; and finding no enemy in the field to contend with, laid waste their country, and returned to *Rome*, where all things continued quiet, till the time came for the new elections. The dictator, who was to preside in the comitia, had formed a design of excluding the plebeians; which the tribunes being aware of, opposed the assembling of the centuries, till the expiration of the dictatorship, which ended with the consuls year. Whereupon the republic fell into an inter-regnum; and those who then governed, found both parties irreconcilable. The disputes grew to such a height, as threatened an open revolt; which so terrified the fathers, that they suffered at length the *Licinian* law to take place, and one of the consuls to be chosen, agreeable to that law, out of the plebeians. The persons elected were, *P. Valerius Poplicola*, a patrician, and *C. Marcius Rutilus*, a plebeian, who was now raised to this office a second time ^a.

The payment of debts regulated.

THE first care of the new consuls was to regulate the payment of debts, the only obstruction to a thorough union of the patricians and plebeians. They no longer considered the relief of debtors as a private affair, but as a general concern of the public; and therefore chose out five men of known probity, and great experience, to take an account of all the debts of the plebeians. These five were called *bankers*, and had the command of the public treasury to enable them to discharge their commission; which they did to the satisfaction of both parties. Those who, out of sloth and idleness, had plunged themselves in debt, either borrowed money of these bankers, giving the treasury security for it, or deposited the value of their debts in their creditors hands in effects, which were valued by the bankers. By this means the greatest part of the debtors were relieved, without doing injury to any person, and with little loss to the public. ^b

Julius Julius dictator.

TRANQUILLITY being thus established at home, the city was suddenly alarmed with a report, that the twelve leucumonies of *Hetruria* were entered into an alliance against the republic, and ready to enter her territories. Hereupon *Julius Julius* was named dictator, and he appointed *L. Æmilius*, surnamed *Mamercinus*, to be his general of the horse; but the report proved groundless, and was in all likelihood artfully spread by the patricians, that they might have an opportunity of placing a man at the head of the republic, who was able to prevent the execution of the *Licinian* law. And indeed *Julius* made use of all his credit and authority to get two patricians chosen consuls; but he was so warmly opposed by the tribunes, that both he and the consuls went out of their office, before the comitia could be assembled for a new election. In the inter-regnum which ensued, *C. Sulpicius Peticus* and *M. Fabius* governed successively, and found means to bring the people to a compliance with the patricians. Two patricians were chosen, *Sulpicius* himself, and *T. Quinctius Cincinnatus*. During their administration, the *Tarquinienses* and *Falisci*, being quite tired out with the calamities of war, submitted to the republic, and obtained a truce for forty years. And now the peace the *Romans* enjoyed giving them a favourable opportunity to elect new censors, the day was fixed for the comitia to proceed to this new election. None but the most illustrious patricians had ever enjoyed this dignity; but nevertheless *C. Marcius Rutilus*, thinking himself, tho' a plebeian, qualified for any post in the republic, after he had been twice consul, and once dictator, stood candidate for this office, and, in spite of all opposition of the nobles, was elected, with *Cn. Manlius* a patrician. The commons being willing to give a new lustre to an office, to which a plebeian had just been promoted, *Ovinus*, one of their tribunes proposed a law, depriving the consuls of the prerogative of filling up the senate, and lodging this power in the censors. The law passed; and what is very extraordinary, this important change was made in the republic without the least disturbance. And now the censorship being open to the plebeians, the patricians, in order to secure the consulate to themselves, and prevent the *Licinian* law from being put in execution, prevailed upon the consuls to name a dictator to preside at the next election, imagining, that he would be more respected in the comitia, and have a far greater influence over the centuries, than the consuls. The person raised to this dignity, was *Fabius Ambrytus*, a man distinguished by his birth, his employments, and his personal merit. He had ^c

The censorship opened to the plebeians.

^a Liv. l. vii. c. 20, 21.

- a been thrice consul, and honoured with a triumph but three years before. He chose for his general of the horse the famous *Servilius Abala*, a man no-ways inferior to himself; but notwithstanding these precautions, *M. Popilius Lanus*, a plebeian, who had been consul twice already, was promoted to this dignity. His colleague, *L. Cornelius Scipio*, falling sick soon after his election, the plebeian consul, to the great mortification of the nobility, became the sole general of the *Roman* troops. The *Gauls* at this time having entered *Latium* anew, and laid waste their country, were advancing towards *Rome*. *Popilius* therefore ordered levies to be made; and so great a number of soldiers enlisted themselves on this occasion, that two armies were immediately raised, one to guard the city, under the command of *M. Valerius Poplicola*, who was then prætor, and the first in that employment who was seen at the head of an army.
- b *Popilius* marched with the rest of the troops to stop the progress of the *Gauls*, who, upon his first appearance, offered him battle; but *Popilius*, who was well acquainted with their temper, and therefore willing to let their first heat abate, kept within his camp. The *Gauls*, thinking the *Romans* afraid, attacked them while they were raising their works; but were repulsed with great loss. The *Gauls* however returned the same day to the charge; and, in the beginning of this second attack, *Popilius*, exposing himself too much, was wounded with a javelin, and carried out of the field to have his wound dressed. This accident suspended the ardor of the *Romans*; but as soon as their general appeared again, they renewed their courage, drove the *Gauls*
- c into the plain, and there, drawing up into the form of a wedge, penetrated into the main body of the enemy, and obliged them to retire with precipitation. The general did not think proper to pursue the fugitives; but having taken and plundered their camp, led back to *Rome* his victorious army, enriched with the spoils of the conquered enemy. He was decreed a triumph at his return, which was put off till he was recovered of his wound. As his colleague *Scipio* continued likewise indisposed, the senate desired the two consuls to name a dictator to preside at the approaching election. In compliance with the request of the conscript fathers, they named *L. Furius Camillus*, son of the great *Camillus*, to that dignity, who appointed *P. Cornelius Scipio* to be his general of the horse. These two patricians used all their interest to make the election fall only on men of their order, and carried their point; for *Camillus* himself was chosen one of the consuls, and *Appius Claudius*, surnamed *Crassus*, another patrician, was appointed his colleague ^f.

The Gauls defeated by Popilius.

- In the beginning of their consulate, the *Gauls*, who had fled for refuge to the hills of *Alba*, appeared again in great numbers on the sea-coast of *Latium*; and at the same time some *Greeks*, from what part *Livy* does not determine, made a descent on the coast, which the *Gauls* were plundering. The latter, jealous of their booty, opposed the *Greeks* at their landing, and obliged them to retire to their ships; however, they continued hovering about the coast, while the *Gauls* laid waste and plundered it from the mouth of the *Tiber* to *Antium*. The republic made the necessary preparations to drive such dangerous enemies farther off; but in the mean time *Appius*, one of the consuls, dying, the whole management of the war was committed to *Camillus*, whose
- e very name was looked upon as a good omen in a war with the *Gauls*. His first care was to raise a numerous army, consisting of ten legions, and amounting to forty-five thousand men. Of these legions he gave four to *L. Pinarius* the prætor, ordering him to guard the sea-coast against the *Greeks*; two he left to defend the city, and with the other four marched himself against the *Gauls*; but as he had no design to come to a pitched battle with them, he encamped in the *Pomptin* territory, a country full of marshes and rivers. While both armies continued inactive, a fierce *Gaul*, remarkable both for his stature and the richness of his armour, challenged the bravest man in the *Roman* legions to a single combat. *M. Valerius*, a legionary tribune, great-
- f grandson to the famous *Valerius Volusus*, accepted the challenge, and is said to have obtained the victory by means of a raven, which perching upon his helmet, and flying in the face of the giant during the fight, so blinded him with his wings, that it was easy for his rival to stab him. But the *Gauls*, despising the advantage *Valerius* had gained by the help of a bird, crowded round the body of their dead champion, to hinder the *Roman* from stripping him of his armour. Upon this the *Romans* hastened to the assistance of *Valerius*, which naturally led both armies to a battle, in which the *Gauls* were intirely defeated. Those who escaped, took their way through the country of

M. Valerius' surname Corvus.

The Gauls defeated anew.

^f LIV. l. vii. c. 23. APPIAN. Celtic.

the *Volsci*, and entering *Campania*, crossed the plains of *Falernum*, penetrated as far as *Apulia*, and retired to the coasts of the *Adriatic* sea. As for the brave *Valerius*, the general rewarded him with a crown of gold, and two oxen, a considerable present at that time. He ever after bore the name of *Corvus*, which signifies a raven, and his posterity that of *Corvinus*; which distinguished this branch of the *Valerian* family from all the rest.

Manlius Tor-
quatus dictator

THE consul, having thus freed *Latium* from the *Gauls*, joined his army to that of the prætor *Pinarius*, in order to drive away the *Greek* pirates, who infested the coast; but the obstinacy of those adventurers, who, tho' they durst not land, continued still at sea, obliged him to keep the field longer than he expected; so that in the mean while the time for electing new consuls drawing near, he was obliged to nominate a dictator to preside in the comitia. The person he promoted to that dignity was the famous *Manlius Torquatus*, who chose *Cornelius Cossus* to be his general of the horse. As the dictator was charmed with the exploit of *Valerius*, so much resembling his own, and had a great influence in the elections, he prevailed with the people to chuse him one of the consuls, tho' he was but twenty-three years of age, and too young even to have a place in the senate. His colleague was *Popilius Lænas*, who now entered upon this office the fourth time. As for *Camillus*, he continued with his army on the coast, till the *Greeks*, wanting fresh water and other necessary provisions, and not daring to come ashore, put out to sea.

A treaty of na-
vigation and
commerce made
with Carthage.

WHILE the *Romans* enjoyed a profound peace both at home and abroad, under the administration of the two consuls mentioned above, ambassadors came from *Carthage* to *Rome*. The *Carthaginians* were the first nation the *Romans* were acquainted with out of *Italy*, and with whom they entered into an alliance. As early as the first year after the expulsion of the *Tarquins*, when *Brutus* and *Valerius* were consuls, these two nations entered into a treaty, chiefly in relation to navigation and commerce. This treaty was yet to be seen in *Polybius's* time, on the base of a column in the ancient *Roman* language, which, as that writer tells us, was so different from what was spoke in his time, that those who were most conversant in the *Latin* tongue, could not, without much study and labour, understand it. The *Greek* historian has translated the words of this treaty with all possible fidelity, and transmitted it to us. It was conceived in these terms:

THERE shall be peace and friendship between the *Romans* and the allies of the *Romans*, and between the *Carthaginians* and the allies of the *Carthaginians*, on the following terms: The *Romans*, and the allies of the *Romans*, shall not sail beyond the *Fair Promontory*, unless constrained by tempest, or by an enemy. If, at any time, they shall chance to be forced ashore, they shall not be permitted to buy any thing, nor take any thing, but what they want for repairing their vessels, or for their sacrifices. None shall make longer stay ashore than five days. Those who shall come as merchants, shall pay no other duty than what is allowed to the common crier and register. These two officers shall make oath of what shall be bought and sold in their presence, as well in *Africa* as *Sardinia*. If the *Romans* shall chance at any time to visit such places in *Sicily*, as are subject to the *Carthaginians*, they shall not suffer any molestation whatsoever; but shall have justice done them in all things. The *Carthaginians* shall attempt nothing against the *Ardeates*, the *Antiates*, the *Aretini*, those of *Laurentum*, *Circii*, and *Terracina*, or, in a word, any of the *Latins* whomsoever, who shall be in subjection to the *Romans*; nor shall they attempt any of their towns that are under the *Roman* protection. And in case they should at any time make seizure of such towns, they shall restore the same to the *Romans* without any damage. They shall not build either fort or citadel in the country of the *Latins*; and in case they should at any time invade their lands in an hostile manner, they shall not remain there one night.

THE promontory here called the *Fair Promontory*, lay, according to *Polybius*, north of *Carthage*, and near it. The *Carthaginians*, as the same author observes, did not allow the *Romans* to sail beyond it, that is, to the southward of it, not caring that their coasts should lie open to all comers, lest the fruitfulness of the land, and the happy situation of the cities, should tempt them to settle there. Such was the first treaty *Rome* made with *Carthage* at the birth of the republic; and now when *Valerius Corvus* and *Popilius Lænas* were consuls, the *Carthaginians* crossed the sea,

† LIV. l. vii. c. 25. AUL. GEL. l. ix. c. 11. ZONAR. l. vii. c. 25.

- a came to *Rome*, and concluded a second treaty, differing from the former in some particulars. It was couched in the following terms: The *Romans* and their allies shall have friendship and confederacy with the people of *Carthage*, the *Tyrians*, the inhabitants of *Utica*, and their allies, on condition that they exercise no hostilities, carry on no traffic, build no towns beyond the *Fair Promontory*, *Mastia*, and *Tarseium*. If the *Carthaginians* shall take any town in the territory of the *Latins*, which is not under the protection of the *Romans*, they shall enjoy the pillage thereof; but the town shall be restored, and put into the hands of the *Romans*. If the *Carthaginians* shall make any captives among those *Latins*, who, tho' not subject to the *Romans*, are in league or amity with them, and shall bring such captives into any *Roman* port, b and these captives shall be discovered and challenged by any *Roman*, they shall be set at liberty. The *Romans* shall be treated in the same manner in the ports belonging to the *Carthaginians*. If the *Romans* shall put in at any port belonging to the *Carthaginians*, to take in water or other necessities, not any of those, who are comprised in this treaty of friendship, shall offer them any injury or molestation; if otherwise, it shall be deemed a public breach of the treaty. As to *Sardinia* and *Africa*, the *Romans* shall have no commerce there; they shall neither traffic, build towns, nor so much as attempt to land on those coasts, unless to buy necessities, and refit their ships. If they shall be compelled by tempest or otherwise to take refuge in such ports, they shall depart in five days. The *Romans* shall be allowed to traffic in any of the towns c of *Sicily*, under the dominion of the *Carthaginians*, and in the city of *Carthage* itself, where they shall enjoy the same rights and privileges as the *Carthaginians* themselves; and the *Carthaginians* shall have the like treatment in *Rome* ^h.

- THE whole employment of the present consuls was to negotiate this treaty with the *Carthaginians*. They were succeeded by *C. Plautius Hypseus*, and *T. Manlius Torquatus*, who had been twice dictator, but now for the first time consul. During their consulship the republic enjoyed a profound peace, which left them no room to gain themselves any glory by feats of arms. They therefore endeavoured to promote the public welfare by wise regulations: they reduced the interest of money from one *per Cent.* to half *per Cent.* and allowed the debtors, by paying down one fourth of their d debts, three years to discharge the remainder, by annual and equal payments. A new war with the *Volsci* broke out during the administration of the succeeding consuls *Valerius Corvus*, now a second time consul, and *C. Pætelius Libo*. *Valerius* defeated the enemy, took from them *Satricum*, and burnt it, sparing only the temple of the goddess *Matuta*. He was honoured with a triumph, in which four thousand captives e marched before his chariot. In this consulship the secular games, which had been instituted in the year of *Rome* 297, were celebrated for the second time. The next year's consuls, *M. Fabius Dorso*, and *S. Sulpicius Camerinus*, named *L. Furius Camillus* to be dictator a second time, on occasion of a war with a new enemy, the *Aurunci*, a petty nation near the confines of *Latium*, on the coast of the *Tyrrhenian* sea. *Furius* overthrew them in battle, and at his return built a temple, which he had vowed, during the action, to *Juno Moneta*. This name had been given to the queen of the gods a little before the taking of *Rome* by the *Gauls*. It was pretended, that from the temple of *Juno* had come a voice, accompanied with an earthquake, and that the voice had warned the *Romans* to avert the evils that threatened them, by sacrificing a sow with pig. Hence she was called *Moneta*, from the verb *monere* to warn. This temple was built on the capitol, in the place where the house of the rebellious *Manlius* formerly stood, and afterwards became a public mint. Hence the medals, which f were stamped for current coin in trade, were called *moneta*, or *money*. The year following, the *Romans* imagining, that the goddess, agreeable to her name, admonished them by prodigies of the impending wrath of the gods, *C. Marcius Rutilus*, now consul a third time, and *T. Manlius Imperiosus* a second time, appointed *P. Valerius* to be dictator for the solemnization of the festival called *feria Latina*.

THE dictator having brought the republic to an inter-regnum, for some reason not mentioned by the historians, the centuries chose two patricians, as they had done the year before, viz. *M. Valerius Corvus* a third time, and *Cornelius Cossus*, surnamed *Arvina*. During their administration, the enmity between the *Romans* and *Samnites* broke out. A city at that time scarce known to the *Romans* sowed the seeds of discord, and changed the alliance between the two nations into lasting hatred. The *Sidicini*, a

^a POLYB. l. iii. c. 22, 23, 24.

Occasion of the
war between
the Samnites
and Romans.
Year of the
flood 2661.
Before Christ
338.
Of Rome 410.

people of *Aufonia*, on the other side the *Liris*, being attacked by the *Samnites*, and a not able to defend themselves with their own strength, had recourse to the people of *Campania*, who took up arms in favour of their oppressed neighbours, it being their interest to stop the progress of so powerful an enemy. Hereupon the *Samnites*, having a prospect of greater advantages in the conquest of the *Campanians* than of the *Sidicini*, turned their arms against the former; and as they were an effeminate people, defeated them in two pitched battles, and threatened to besiege the city of *Capua*, their metropolis. In this distress the magistrates had recourse to *Rome*, whither they sent an embassy to implore the assistance of the republic; but the senate returned to their humble address the following answer: The senate of *Rome* think you worthy of their protection; but we must have regard to our ancient friendship with the *Samnites*. b We cannot therefore take arms in your favour; but we will intreat the *Samnites*, our friends, to put an end to their hostilities. The *Capuan* deputies had hitherto spoken only of an alliance and confederacy with the *Romans*; but now, not being satisfied with the answer they had received, pursuant to the powers with which they had been invested, they made this further declaration: Since the *Romans* scruple to attack openly the *Samnites*, contrary to the faith of their treaties, let them at least not be afraid to defend their own property against the unjust usurpations of their enemies; the people of *Campania*, the city of *Capua*, our lands, our temples, every thing we have divine and human, we absolutely give and surrender to you. From this time therefore all our losses will be yours. This donation in due form, by ambassadors c authorized to make it, was of great weight with the conscript fathers. They did not think their alliance with the *Samnites* obliged them to refuse it; and therefore without delay dispatched ambassadors to intreat the *Samnites* as friends to spare a province which belonged to *Rome*. In case the *Samnites* were not prevailed upon by these gentle methods, the ambassadors were directed to give them notice in the name of the people and senate of *Rome*, to quit the country immediately. But the *Samnites*, a proud and warlike people, were so far from being intimidated by the majesty of the *Roman* name, that their magistrates sent for the commanders of their troops, and ordered them, in the presence of the *Roman* ambassadors, to go instantly and ravage *Campania*. This insult filled both the senate and people with indignation. All other d business was laid aside, that they might apply themselves wholly to the making preparations for a war, which was declared with all the ceremonies instituted by *Numa* on such occasions. Two armies being soon raised, it fell to the lot of *Valerius* to march with one into *Campania*, while *Cornelius* with the other carried the war into *Samnium*. The stress of the war lay at first on the brave *Valerius*, who posted his troops on mount *Gaurus* in *Campania*, and continued in that advantageous situation, till his men, by frequently skirmishing with the *Samnites*, had learnt their way of managing their arms. At length he assembled his troops, and having encouraged them in a long speech not to be afraid of a new enemy, to remember their ancient valour, and to gain the honours of a triumph for one descended from the great e *Poplicola*, marched out of his camp, and drew up his men in battalia. As the two armies were pretty equal in numbers, the victory was long disputed without any considerable advantage on either side. The *Roman* cavalry attempted in vain to break the enemy's battalions. Upon which *Valerius*, putting himself at the head of the infantry, and encouraging the legions to tread in his steps, threw himself into the midst of the *Samnite* cohorts, and being followed by his legionaries, made a dreadful havock. The dead lay in heaps round the enemy's standards; yet their cohorts kept their ground, being resolved to defend themselves to the last. At length *Valerius* ordered the *Roman* cavalry to attack the enemy in flank; but they stood the shock, till night put an end to the conflict. After the battle was over, the *Romans* f owned, that they had never engaged a more stubborn or more intrepid enemy; and would not have known that they had gained the victory, had not the *Samnites* deserted their camp in the night, and abandoned it to the conquerors.

The Samnites
overcome by
the Romans.

While the brave *Valerius* was thus signaling his valor in *Campania*, his colleague *Cornelius*, having imprudently left his camp, which was advantageously posted near *Saticula* on the confines of *Samnium*, marched his troops through a mountainous country into a forest, out of which there was but one passage, and that through a deep valley, which, as well as the wood, was lined with the enemy's forces; so that he found himself, when it was not in his power to alter his march, surrounded by the *Samnites*. This threw the consul into the utmost consternation; but it fortunately happened, g that

- a that he had a brave officer among his troops, who drew him out of the danger: This was the famous *P. Decius Mus*, who was yet only a legionary tribune, and who afterwards signalized his love for his country in an eminent manner. The prudent tribune, observing an eminence at a distance, which commanded the camp of the *Samnites*, and had been neglected by them, proposed to the consul that he might be detached with a small body to take possession of it. He added, when you see me posted there, be no longer under any apprehensions of the enemy, but continue your march. The *Samnites* will not dare to attack you, or dispute your passage, when exposed to our darts. As for us, we shall, by the assistance of the *Roman* valour, and the gods our protectors, find means to disengage ourselves from the enemy, and rejoin you. The general approved of the design, and detached a small body of troops, under the command of *Decius*, who taking his way through the wood, concealed his march so well, that the enemy did not discover him till he was near the post, which he was going to seize; and then the sight of the *Romans* climbing up the rock was such a surprize to them, that they could come to no determination, being in suspense whether they should attack the consul or *Decius*. In the mean time the *Roman* general, taking advantage of this irresolution, marched out of the valley without molestation. *Decius* did not doubt, but the enemy would either attack him on his hill, or at least shut up all the avenues to it; but when he perceived that they neither came to fall upon him, nor attempted to surround him, and cut off his retreat, he took a view of all the avenues
- c to the hill, and placed centinels at them, with orders to return silently to the main body at the second watch of the night. When at that hour all his men were re-assembled, he laid before them the necessity of leaving the place where they were, and put it to the vote, whether to stay for day-light, or march off immediately, and force a way through the enemy while they were asleep. The latter being universally approved, *Decius* put himself at the head of his troop, and marched down the rock in great silence. They had got half way through the enemy's camp, when a *Roman* soldier, striking his foot against the buckler of a *Samnite*, awaked a centinel, who gave the alarm in that quarter. The *Samnites* immediately ran to arms, not knowing whether it was *Decius* and his troop, the consul and his army, or some *Samnite* of the camp,
- d who had disturbed their rest. In the midst of this universal confusion, *Decius* ordered his men to give a great shout, which doubled the consternation of the *Samnites*, while the *Romans* gained the plain, and made their escape, none of the *Samnites* daring to follow or attack them. When *Decius* came near the consul's camp, as it was not yet day, he ordered his men to halt, telling them, that they deserved to enter the camp in a more glorious manner than in silence and darkness. The next morning the whole army marched out to meet that brave troop, which had saved their lives at the peril of their own, and conducted those valiant men in triumph to the general's tent, who having summoned all his soldiers to hear his harangue, was beginning to make the panegyric of *Decius*; but the brave tribune, liking better to give his general good
- e advice, than to hear his own praises, advised him to march away immediately, without losing time in harangues, and surprize the camp of the enemy, who, in all probability, had sent out detachments in quest of him. This advice was followed; the *Romans* surprized the *Samnites* rambling about the fields, and pursued them to their camp, which the consul took and plundered, after having cut in pieces above thirty thousand of them. As soon as *Decius* returned to the camp, the consul resumed his panegyric; but as words were not a sufficient acknowledgment of his merit, he honoured him with all the military rewards that were ever given to a subaltern. Besides a crown of gold, he had a present of a hundred oxen, and a white bull with gilt horns. As for the soldiers of his detachment, the consul assigned them a double
- f quantity of corn during their life, and gave each of them two *saga* or military habits. The legions likewise signalized their gratitude to their deliverer, by putting on his head an *obsidional* crown, which it was customary among the *Romans* to bestow on a general who relieved them when besieged. This crown was made of the grass growing in the place, and called *corona obsidionalis*. And now the detachment itself, which *Decius* had brought safe out of the danger into which he had led them, thinking themselves obliged in gratitude to bestow some mark of distinction on their leader, crowned him with a crown of oak-leaves, which was called the *civic* crown, and thought the most honourable of all military rewards. Thus, loaded with three crowns at once, he offered up the white bull in sacrifice to *Mars*, by way of thanksgiving, and distributed the hundred oxen among the companions of his danger, and sharers of his
- g

The consul *Cornelius* delivered out of great difficulties by *Decius Mus*.

Cornelius gains a complete victory over the *Samnites*.

glory. The rest of the legions made likewise a present to the company, which had a followed *Decius*, consisting of some pounds of meal, and measures of wine¹.

The campaign did not end with this victory. The *Samnites*, who had been routed by *Valerius*, having raised new forces, appeared before *Suessula*, a town situated between *Nola* and *Capua*. *Valerius* hastened to the relief of the *Suessulani*; and, in order to deceive the enemy, encamped his troops within as narrow a compass as he could, hoping they would attack him in his intrenchments; but the *Samnites*, judging that the *Romans* must soon want provisions, kept quiet in their camp. Thus both armies continued some time inactive; but at length the *Samnites* themselves being distressed the first for want of provisions, *Valerius* attacked their camp, while the greater part of their forces were dispersed about the country in quest of necessaries, forced it, and made a great slaughter there, while his cavalry chased the several detachments which were abroad foraging. We are told, that the *Roman* soldiers brought to their general above forty thousand of the enemy's bucklers, the *Samnites* having thrown them away, that they might not incumber them in their flight. One hundred and twenty standards were likewise taken from the enemy in this action. Thus both consuls returned to *Rome*, where they were honoured with a triumph. The successes of this glorious campaign gave a new lustre to the republic, both among the neighbouring and distant nations. The *Falisci* changed the truce, which they had made with the *Romans*, into a treaty of alliance. The *Latins*, who had taken up arms, with a design to employ them against the republic, if she had been worsted in this war, turned their hostilities against the *Peligni*, a *Samnite* nation, as it were to assist the *Romans*, whom they had really intended to betray. And lastly, the *Carthaginians* sent to compliment the republic on her success, and made a present of a crown of gold of twenty pounds weight to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, by way of thanksgiving for her victories. This year ended with a census, by which it appeared, that the number of *Romans* able to bear arms, amounted to one hundred and sixty thousand. The ceremony closed with a lustrum, which was the twenty-second since its first institution by king *Servius*.

The Samnites
defeated again
by Valerius.

Some Roman
soldiers enter
into a plot to
seize Campa-
nia for them-
selves.

Valerius: Cor-
vus is appoint-
ed dictator, and
marches a-
gainst them.

They submit,
but obtain some
concessions from
the republic.

The following year *C. Marcius Rutilus* was elected the fourth time to the consulate, and with him *Q. Servilius Ahala*. The latter encamped in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, while the former marched into *Campania*, where he found a general depravation of manners in some cohorts of *Roman* soldiers, who had been left in *Capua* all winter. He even discovered, that they had entered into a plot among themselves to drive the natives out of *Campania*, and to seize that delicious country for themselves. To disappoint this scheme, he artfully contrived to send away the most mutinous and enterprising, without treating them disgracefully, or letting his design appear. At length the soldiers suspecting it, and being alarmed with the apprehension of punishment, one whole cohort deserted, and posting themselves advantageously near *Anxur*, in a narrow pass between the sea on one side, and high mountains on the other, were soon joined by great numbers of malecontents from the city and the camp. As they were still at a loss for a leader, they surprized by night in his bed one *T. Quinctius*, an excellent commander, who had retired some time since from public life to his farm, and forced him to go along with them as their general to *Rome*. Their approach so terrified the city, that a dictator was named to march an army against the mutineers. The person pitched upon was *Valerius Corvus*, who met them eight miles from *Rome*, came to a parley with them, and being extremely beloved by the soldiery, prevailed with them to submit. However, the rebels, besides a general pardon, which was granted by the senate, and confirmed by the people in comitia, obtained some concessions from the republic. They insisted, that the pay of the cavalry, which was then three times as much as the foot received, should be reduced; and this merely out of revenge, because not one single man of that corps had joined them in their revolt. Some writers tell us, that several laws were passed at the request of the mutineers, viz. 1. That no man, who was a legionary tribune one year, should be a centurion the next. The rebellious soldiers pressed the passing of this law, purely to revenge themselves on one *P. Salinius*, a strict observer of discipline, who had been a legionary tribune and a centurion alternately for several years together, and had ever opposed the seditious councils of the revolters. The senate therefore refused at first to consent to a law, which was wholly dictated by revenge against an officer, who had strictly

¹ Liv. l. vii. c. 35. AUL. GELL. l. v. c. 6.

- g adhered to his duty. But *Salonius* himself, earnestly intreating the conscript fathers to have more regard to the welfare of the public, than to his honour, at his request the law passed. 2. That all usury should be abolished in *Rome*, and every *Roman* forbidden to lend money upon interest. 3. That both the consuls might be chosen out of the plebeians. 4. That no man should bear the same office twice within ten years, or hold two different employments the same year. If the plebeian faction gained these articles at this time, it is evident, that the rebel army must have been exceeding numerous and formidable.

- THE *Romans*, by these condescensions to the rebels, lost credit among their neighbours. *Privernum* revolted, but was quickly reduced by *C. Plautius Hypsæus*, now the second time consul. His colleague *L. Æmilus* laid waste the country of the *Samnites*, who were so weakened by the two late overthrows, that they dared not appear in the field; but sued for peace and an alliance with *Rome*. These being obtained, they turned their arms once more against the *Sidicini*, who being refused succour even upon the terms of being subject to the republic, gave themselves up to the *Latins* already in arms to recover their independence. The *Campanians*, forgetting the benefits they had received from the *Romans*, and their engagements with the republic, followed the example of the *Sidicini*, and joined the *Latins*. An army formed of these three united nations, entered *Samnium*, laying waste all before them; but not being able to bring the *Samnites* to a battle, soon retired for want of provisions. Their retreat gave the *Samnites* an opportunity of sending ambassadors to *Rome* to complain of her suffering the *Latins* and *Campanians*, her allies and subjects, to commit hostilities in *Samnium*. The senate did not intend approve of the hostilities the *Latins* had committed, but were ashamed to own, that they had no longer power over them. The consul *Plautius* therefore in the name of the senate returned the following answer: The *Campanians* are our subjects, and we will therefore force them not to molest you. But as for the *Latins*, our treaty of alliance with them does not oblige them not to enter into any war without our consent; and therefore we can promise nothing in relation to them. This answer left the *Samnites* in a melancholy uncertainty, offended the *Campanians*, and, as it seemed to betray a sense of weakness in the *Romans*, raised the spirits of the *Latins* to such a degree, that they imagined they could now demand nothing which the *Romans* would dare to refuse them. They secretly combined with the *Campanians* to fall upon the *Romans*, though in appearance their preparations were only against the *Samnites*. But the senate being informed of their intentions by some friends to *Rome* among them, resolved to prevent the enemy, and in order thereto to bring on the election of new consuls before the usual time. Accordingly, they obliged the present consuls to abdicate; but some religious scruples being raised concerning the holding of the comitia by consuls deposed before the expiration of their year, the government was reduced to an inter-regnum, and two presidents, *Valerius Corvus*; and *M. Fabius*, were named to govern in the mean time successively, each five days in his turn. While the latter was in office, the people were assembled in the *campus Martius*; and it being of the utmost importance to chuse two able men to sit at the helm in so tempestuous a season, the centuries pitched upon the famous *Manlius Torquatus*, and *Decius Mus*, the former a patrician, and the latter a plebeian. The republic promised herself a continued series of prosperity under the administration of these two illustrious magistrates. *Torquatus* was a man of an inflexible severity in keeping up the military discipline; *Decius* had a more humane temper; and both colleagues were equally famous for great piety towards the gods, and a tender love for their country. In the beginning of their consulate, *Alexander*, king of *Epirus*, and brother to *Olympias* the mother of *Alexander the Great*, came into *Italy* on the invitation of the *Tarentines*, to assist them against the *Brutians*. This prince hoped to have subdued all *Italy* with the same ease as his nephew had reduced *Persia*; but was not so successful in his scheme, having to do with more warlike nations. He gained indeed some small advantages over the *Lucanians* and *Brutians* at his first coming; but soon found it necessary to court the friendship of the more powerful nations of *Italy*, and particularly of the *Romans*, with whom he concluded an alliance of friendship ^h.

AFTER this the two consuls made it their whole business to prevent the revolt of the *Latins*; and the first step they took, in order thereto, was to summon ten of the *Latin* chiefs to appear at *Rome*, and give an account of their preparations for war.

The *Latins* revolt, and join the *Campanians*.

Ten of the *Latin* chiefs summoned to *Rome*.

^h Liv. l. viii. c. 4. Justin. l. xii. c. 2.

The two consuls march against the Latins.

The *Latin* council sent one *L. Annius*, a man of great credit among them, with ten more to *Rome*, to demand as a condition of renewing the alliance between the two nations, that one of the consuls, and half of the senate, be for the future chosen out of the Latins. This demand was rejected with indignation, and war immediately declared. The consuls ordered levies to be made, and having formed two armies, consisting intirely of *Romans*, they marched through the territories of the *Marfi*, entered the country of the *Peligni* that way, and incamped in *Campania* at the foot of mount *Vesuvius*, at a small distance from the enemy's camp. The night before the battle, which soon ensued, both consuls are said to have dreamt the same dream. A man of a gigantic stature, and majestic mien, appeared to them, and told them, that the victory was decreed to that army of the two, whose general should devote himself to the *Dii Manes*. When it was day the two consuls communicated their dreams to each other. Perhaps they had courage enough to feign an apparition, which must cost one or the other of them his life, purely to raise the courage of their soldiers; for the love of the *Romans* for their country, and their desire of glory, were apt to suggest to them such schemes. But be that as it will, it is pretended, that the aruspices made such discoveries in the entrails of the victims, as confirmed the dreams. Hereupon it was agreed in a council of war, that *Manlius* should command the right wing, and *Decius* the left, in the ensuing battle; and that he, whose troops should first give way, should devote himself to save his country, and rush into the midst of the enemy's battalions. In the same council of war, consisting of the two consuls, all the lieutenant generals, and legionary tribunes, it was likewise determined, that the ancient discipline should be strictly observed in the present war, and that no officer or soldier should dare to fight the enemy without express orders, or out of his rank, upon pain of death. This was done, because the enemy they were now to engage with spoke the same language, were armed after the same manner, observed the same way of fighting (T), and were personally acquainted with most of the *Roman* officers, having served

(T) The order of battle, in which the *Romans* drew up their army before an engagement, in *Mausolus's* time, was as follows: They formed the whole body of their troops into three lines, distinguished by the names of *Hastati*, *Principes*, and *Triarii*. The *Hastati*, who composed the first line, were so styled from the javelins called *Hasta*, which they bore. The *Principes*, who made the second line, were so called, according to *Varro* (13), because in more ancient times they were placed in the front of the battle, and began the attack. They were in those times the richest of the *Roman* youth. The *Triarii* were so named, because they made the third line. They were commonly *Veterans*, and the main strength of the army. The *Principes* were armed with swords, and the *Triarii* with javelins, called *Pila*, whence they borrowed the name of *Pilani Milites*, and the soldiers of the two lines before them that of *Milites Antepilani*. In after-ages, the *Hastati*, *Principes*, and *Triarii*, seem to have bore much the same arms, since *Polybius* has not divided them in his description, but speaks of them all together. Each of these three lines was anciently intire without any intervals between the manipuli or companies that composed it. Neither were there any void spaces left between the lines; so that the whole body of infantry was close and compact, like the *Macedonian* phalanx. But at the time of this war with the *Latins*, there was a space of fifty foot between the first and second lines, and of an hundred foot between the second and the third. And as spaces were left between the lines, so likewise between the different manipuli, or companies of each line, these companies being divided from each other by spaces thirty foot wide; so that in a line of ten manipuli, there were nine of these spaces. But these openings were not so disposed as to yield a direct passage to the enemy from the front of the army to the rear. The manipuli of the second line stood behind the openings of the first, and the manipuli of the third

behind those of the second; so that the order of the whole resembled that of trees called by gardeners *Quincunx*, which is elegantly compared to it by *Virgil* (14). When the *Hastati* happened to be overpowered, they retired in good order, still facing the enemy, toward the *Principes*, fell into the intervals of their ranks, and, together with them, renewed the fight. If the *Hastati* and *Principes* thus joined were too weak to sustain the fury of the onset, they fell back into the wider intervals of the *Triarii*, and then all together being united into one close body, made another effort much more vigorous than any before. If this assault proved ineffectual, the day was intirely lost as to the foot, there being no farther reserves. The whole secret of the *Roman* art of war lay in disposing their armies after this manner, and leaving these spaces open in the first and second lines. It was almost impossible, that this method should prove unsuccessful, if duly observed; for fortune in each engagement must have failed them three different times, before they could be routed. As for the *Roman* cavalry, they were always posted at the wings of the army, and fought sometimes on foot, sometimes on horseback, as occasion required, like our dragoons. At this time they were not numerous among the *Romans*, there being but twelve hundred horse in an army of twenty thousand men. As to the stations of the commanders, the consuls and lieutenant-generals took their posts in the middle of the space between the *Principes* and the *Triarii*, where the *Roman* eagles stood. The legati and tribunes were usually posted by them, unless the former were ordered to command the wings, or the others some particular part of the army. The centurions stood every man at the head of his century or company. The common soldiers were placed in several ranks, at the discretion of the centurions, according to their age, strength, and experience, every man having three foot square allowed him to manage his arms in. The *Latin* troops being drawn up in the

(13) *Varro de Ling. Latin. l. iv.*

(14) *Virg. Georg. l. ii. v. 297.*

- a served under them in former wars. It happened soon after these orders were proclaimed through the camp, that young *Manlius*, the consul's son, being sent out at the head of a detachment of horse to observe the enemy's motions, met an advanced squadron of the enemy, commanded by one *Geminus Metius*, who, knowing the consul's son, challenged him to a single combat. *Manlius*, piqued in point of honour, and forgetting the late orders of the generals, accepted the challenge. Whereupon both parties drew back, and left the field open for the two champions. They rode full speed against each other, and *Manlius's* lance only glanced upon his adversary's helmet. Then the two combatants wheeling about, returned to the charge, when *Manlius* wounded *Metius's* horse on the head with his lance. The violence of the blow made the horse rear, and the suddenness of the shock threw *Metius* to the ground. He endeavoured to raise himself with his buckler and lance, but *Manlius* gave him so violent a thrust in the throat, that he drove the point of his lance out at his side; and having stripped him of his fine armour, returned to the camp full of glory for his victory, but uncertain of the reception he should meet with from the consuls. He passed triumphantly through the midst of the army, and going straight to his father's tent, accosted him thus: Father, I have followed your example; I was challenged like you by an insulting enemy; and here I lay his spoils at your feet. But the consul at these words turning his back upon his son, ordered the troops to be immediately assembled, and in their presence made him this reply: Since you, *Titus Manlius*, have been so rash, as to fight the enemy without my orders, you must expiate your crime yourself. You have indeed conquered, and therefore deserve to be rewarded. But your disobedience must be punished with the utmost severity. How could you despise the authority both of a father and a consul? How could you break through that discipline, to the strict observance of which, *Rome* has hitherto owed her preservation? Hard is the necessity you reduce me to, when you force me, either to forget that I am a father, or that I am a judge. But neither your grief nor mine shall prevail over the fidelity I owe my country. We shall be a melancholy example to posterity, but a wholesome precedent to the *Roman* youth. In you I lose a son endeared to me by the tender affection of a father, and by your late victory. But alas! since I must either establish the consular authority by a rigorous act of justice, or weaken it by your impunity, die as bravely as you have conquered. If you have but one drop of the *Manlian* blood in your veins, you will not refuse to repair the breach you have made in the military discipline, by undergoing the punishment due to your offence. This said, he first crowned his son as victor, and then ordered the lictors to tie him to a stake. All present were stunned at the cruel sentence, as if it had been pronounced against themselves; and when the lictor lifted up his ax to strike off the young conqueror's head, a great outcry was raised by the whole army, as if the stroke had been to fall upon each officer and soldier then present. However, they offered no violence either to the consul or the lictor; but seeing the young man's head struck off, and his blood gush out, vented their rage against the general in imprecations and invectives. They covered the dead body with the spoils of his conquered enemy, and expressed their affliction by the most pompous obsequies they could perform for him in the field. It is scarce to be imagined how tractable this severity of *Manlius* made his army for the future: his orders were observed and put in execution with all possible exactness, which greatly contributed to the victory he gained a few days after ¹.
- b *Manlius the consul's son, challenged by a Latin champion, kills him.*
- c *But is put to death by his father.*
- d
- e
- f

WHEN the day of battle came, both armies drew up in the plains at the foot of mount *Vesuvius*, in the road leading to the town of *Veferis*. As they were pretty equal in numbers, and quite uniform in their way of fighting, the onset was furious on both sides, neither party for some time gaining any advantage over the other. At length the left wing of the *Romans*, commanded by *Decius*, being vigorously pressed by the *Latins*, gave ground; so that the first line was forced to retire, without turning their backs to the enemy, into the intervals of the second line. This disadvantage put *Decius* in mind of his agreement with his colleague, viz. that the consul, whole wing

Decius Mus devotes himself.

¹ Liv. l. viii. c. 7. Flor. l. l. c. 14. ZONAR. l. vi. c. 16.

the same manner as the *Roman*, it was probable, that the centurions of the two armies would encounter each other. But the *Romans* not being men of so much bodily strength as the *Latins*, *Livy* tells us,

that the centurions of the *Roman* legions obtained leave of the consuls to have each of them a sub-centurion to defend and assist him (15).

(15) Liv. l. viii. c. 8.

first gave way, should devote himself to the *Dii Manes*. He therefore called out to a *Valerius*, the pontifex maximus, to perform on him the ceremony of consecration, that he might devote himself in due form. *Valerius* ordered him to quit his military habit, and put on the robe he wore in the senate. Then he covered his head with a veil, ordered him to put forth his hand under his robe to his chin, and standing with both his feet upon his javelin to repeat after him the following words: O *Janus*, *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Romulus*, *Bellona*, and ye *Lares*, and *Novensiles* (U): O all ye heroes, who dwell in heaven, and all ye gods, who rule over us and our enemies, especially ye gods of hell, I honour you, invoke you, and humbly intreat you to prosper the arms of the *Romans*, and to transfer all fear and terror from them to their enemies; and I do for the safety of the *Roman* people, and their legions, devote myself, and b with myself the army and auxiliaries of the enemy to the infernal gods, and the goddesses of the earth. *Decius*, having finished this prayer, ordered his listors to go and acquaint his colleague, that he had devoted himself for the safety of the army. Then tucking up his robe, and girding it round him, he mounted his horse, and rode full speed into the thickest of the enemy's battalions. Both the *Romans* and *Latins* were surprised at this sight. The consul broke through the first line of the enemy's army, and penetrated to the centre, the *Latins* being terrified at this new sight, and seeming as if they were thunderstruck. At length, recovering from their surprise, they discharged a shower of darts at the devoted consul, who fell to the ground with numberless wounds. The death of the consul gave new courage to the *Romans*. Those c who had retired, returned to the charge with more vigour than ever. However, the *Latins* still kept their ground, and in some places had the advantage. When the news was brought to *Manlius* of his colleague's death, he shed some tears, giving him the praises he deserved; and then, as he was now left to command alone, he ordered a body of volunteers to advance into the first line, reserving the *triarii*, or those of the third line, who were the main strength of the army, to the last extremity. The *Latins* being hard pressed by these fresh troops, and taking them for the *Roman triarii*, ordered their own *triarii* to advance; and this mistake determined the victory, hitherto doubtful, in favour of the *Romans*. For the *Latins* being quite tired out, and having for the most part broken or blunted their weapons, in repulsing the *Romans* d once more, when they thought themselves sure of the victory, the *Roman triarii*, by order of *Manlius*, appeared on a sudden, and having given a shout, which dismayed the enemy, fell upon them, while fatigued, with such fury, and made so terrible a slaughter, that scarce a fourth part of their army remained alive. The *Samnites*, for whose sake this battle was fought, had no share in it; but continued drawn up in battalions at some distance from the *Roman* army at the foot of mount *Vesuvius*, and only served to keep the enemy a little in fear. The chief honour of the victory undoubtedly belonged to *Manlius*, both *Latins* and *Romans* agreeing afterwards in this, that the former would have conquered, had *Manlius* been their general ^a.

The Latin army routed by the consul Manlius in two engagements,

THE *Latins*, who escaped the slaughter, fled to *Minturnæ*, a little above the mouth e of the *Liris*. There *Numicius*, their general, by causing letters to be spread about in *Latium*, and the country of the *Volsci*, representing the flight of the *Latins* only as an honourable retreat, drew many to his camp, who had not been present at the late action. Having thus formed a new army, he took the road to *Capua*, being determined to try the fortune of arms once more with the *Romans*, and hoping to surprise them with his sudden return. But *Manlius*, being informed of his motions, met him on his march, at a village called *Trifana*, in the neighbourhood of *Sinuessa*, gave him a second overthrow, and then entering *Latium*, laid it waste, without opposition. All the *Latin* cities surrendered at discretion, as did *Privernum*, in the territory of the *Volsci*. All *Campania*, with *Capua* its capital, was brought into subjection f to its former masters. The consul dispossessed the *Campanians*, *Latins*, and *Privermates* of their lands, and distributed them among the people of *Rome*. However, the *Laurantini* in *Latium*, and the *Campanian* knights, who were the flower of the nobility

^a Liv. l. viii. c. 9.

(U) This word *Novensiles* is variously interpreted: Some are of opinion, that it signifies the new created gods, or those whose worship had been lately introduced in *Rome*. Others pretend it signified the nine muses. *Varro* by the word *Novensiles* understands

the nine deities brought to *Rome* by the *Sabines*, viz. *Lars*, *Vesta*, *Minerva*, *Feronia*, *Concord*, *Good Faith*, *Fortune*, *Chance*, and *Health*. Some read *Novensides* instead of *Novensiles*, and understand thereby another kind of gods who presided over novelties

- a of the country, and had not been concerned in the revolt, were continued in their possessions and privileges; nay, these faithful knights, to the number of sixteen hundred, were made citizens of *Rome*, but without right of suffrage. And that this grant might be the more authentic, it was engraved on brass, and fixed up in the temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*. An annual pension of forty-five *denarii*, that is, 1 l. 9 s. was also assigned to each of them out of the public revenues of *Campania*. It is not to be doubted, but *Manlius*, after so many signal conquests, obtained the honors of a triumph, notwithstanding *Livy's* silence on this head. He soon after fell sick, and as a *Roman* general was wanted in the field to oppose some fresh incursions of the *Antiates*, he nominated *L. Papirius Crassus*, then prætor, to the dictatorship; who
- b having appointed *L. Papirius Cursor* for his master of the horse, kept his troops some months in the enemy's country upon free quarter, and then returned to *Rome* to preside at the election of new consuls for the next year, when *Q. Publilius* a plebeian, and *Tib. Aulus*, a patrician, were chosen. During their administration the *Latins* The Latins revolted. revolted, and formed two armies. *Publilius*, succeeding in an expedition against one of them, was honoured with a triumph. But *Æmilius*, having only gained some slight advantages over the other, was refused that honour, which so incensed him, that no tribune of the people ever inveighed more bitterly against the nobility, than the patrician consul did on this occasion. Hereupon the senate, to prevent disturbances, ordered him to name a dictator. *Æmilius* obeyed, but in revenge named to
- c that dignity his plebeian colleague, who appointed *Brutus Scæva*, another plebeian, to be his general of the horse. The dictator, who was intirely devoted to the people, employed all his power and influence to establish their rights on a solid foundation: This he effected by three laws, which he either made or revived. The first was, that the decrees made by the people at the request of their tribunes, should bind all the subjects of the republic in general. The second, that for the future the laws, which were to be passed by the centuries, should be first approved by the senate, and that the people should put the last hand to them. Hitherto the comitia used to pass the laws first, and the senate had a power of accepting or rejecting them. The third law was, that one of the censors should always for the future be a plebeian. The senate,
- d to pique *Æmilius*, tender of his honor, ordered the next year's consuls, *L. Furius Camillus*, grandson to the great *Camillus*, and *C. Mænius*, a plebeian, to put an end to the war which he had left unfinished. And that the new consuls might not fail of success, they plentifully furnished them with men, ammunition, arms, &c. by which means the united forces of the *Latins* were defeated, the town of *Pedum* taken by assault, and all *Latium* brought under subjection. The consuls having finished the war with great glory, returned to *Rome*, where they were honoured, not only with a triumph, but also with two equestrian statues erected in the forum ^a.
- THE consuls having yet some time to continue in their office, employed it in determining the fate of the conquered. *Camillus* was inclined to clemency, and advised the
- e fathers rather to increase the subjects of the republic, by admitting the *Latins* to the privileges of *Roman* citizens, than to exterminate them, and reduce their country to a desert. The chief men in the senate were for following the consul's advice. But as some cities had been more criminal than others, it was thought proper to make a distinction in the treatment of them. *Lanuvium*, *Aricia*, *Nomentum*, and *Pedum*, were made *Roman Municipia*, their soldiers had the privilege of being incorporated in the legions, shared all the advantages of the *Roman* soldiery, and were no longer upon the foot of auxiliaries. The *Tusculans* were restored to the enjoyment of their ancient privileges, the senate being unwilling to condemn a whole country for the faults of a few, who had joined the enemies of the republic. *Velitra* was razed, and its senate and inhabitants
- f removed into another city beyond the *Tiber*. The *Antiates* were granted the freedom of *Roman* citizens; but their fleet, consisting of six gallies, was partly burnt, and partly carried into the *Roman* ports. With the brass beaks of their vessels, called in *Latin* *Rostra*, the consul *Mænius* adorned the pulpit, from whence the *Roman* magistrates harangued the people; and hence it was ever after called the *Rostra*. The inhabitants of *Tybur* and *Præneste* were deprived of all their lands, not so much on account of their late revolt, as for having formerly assisted the *Gauls*. And lastly, all the *Latins* in general were forbidden to assemble their diets, as usual, to marry out of their respective tribes, or to have common markets, or fairs for trade. As for the

But are defeated anew, and brought under subjection.

Year after the flood 2666. Before Christ 333. Of Rome 415.

^a Liv. l. viii. c. 13. EUTROP. l. ii. FACTI. CAPIT.

cities of *Campania*, their lands were taken from them, and divided among the *Romans*. Thus were the two most fruitful provinces of *Italy* subdued by the republic, and the *Latins* from allies of *Rome*, made her subjects ^a.

A plebeian
prator.

The Sidicini
and Aurones
conquered.

IN the following consulate of *C. Sulpicius Longus*, and *P. Ælius Pætus, Pubilius*, though a plebeian, obtained the prætorship, the only great dignity which the plebeians had not before shared with the nobility. And thus the people being arrived at the height of their desires, all pretences for faction were intirely taken away. The consuls of the new year, *L. Papirius* and *Cæso Duilius*, led an army against the *Sidicini* and *Aurones*, who had invaded the country of the *Aurunci* at this time in alliance with *Rome*, defeated them in the field, and having obliged them to take shelter behind the walls of their cities, returned to *Rome*. In the following consulate of *M. Valerius Corvus*, ^b now raised to that dignity a fourth time, and *M. Atilius Regulus*, the former laid siege to *Cale*, the metropolis of the *Aurones*, which he took by means of covered galleries, and moveable towers, which he invented on this occasion for the screening of his men, and the carrying on of the attacks without molestation. After this both consuls marched against the *Sidicini*; but their year being expired before they had finished their conquest, their successors, *T. Veturius Calvinus*, and *Sp. Posthumius Albinus*, putting themselves at the head of the troops, which *Valerius* had commanded, entered the enemy's country, and laid it waste, without opposition. Upon the return of the consuls to *Rome*, a report being spread, that the *Sidicini* had assembled a formidable army, and were joined by the *Samnites*, a dictator, viz. *P. Cornelius Rufinus*, was appointed to ^c march out against them. But his authority did not last long; the augurs found his nomination defective in some circumstances, and obliged him to abdicate. Nay, as a plague raged at this time in *Rome*, the aruspices, carrying their superstition still farther, declared, that all the auspices of the year had been infected by the contagious air, and that the inauguration of the consuls themselves had been faulty. On this superstitious prejudice, the chief magistrates of *Rome* were displaced, and the republic reduced to an inter-regnum. The next year the fasces were transferred, according to the *Fasti Capitolini*, to *L. Papirius Cursor*, and *C. Pætelius Libo Visolus*, who, in all likelihood, reduced the *Sidicini*, for we find no other epoch of their reduction. *Livy* neither mentions these consuls, nor gives us any account of this year; which is a great ^d omission, and would confound the whole chronology of the republic, were it not for the *Fasti Capitolini*, which name the above-mentioned consuls. They were succeeded by *A. Cornelius*, a second time consul, and *Cn. Domitius*, who were obliged to name a dictator upon a groundless report, that the *Gauls* were preparing for a war with the republic. *Papirius Crassus* was the man they pitched upon, and he chose *Valerius Poplicola* for his master of the horse. While the dictator was raising an army, more certain news came, that all was quiet on that side. However, as the *Samnites* had raised a formidable army to oppose *Alexander* king of *Epirus*, the dictator kept his army in the field, till the *Samnites*, upon the retreat of that prince, disbanded their troops. In this same year, the number of *Roman* citizens being greatly increased after the reduction of the *Latins*, two new tribes, the *Mæcian* and *Scapian*, were added to the twenty-seven already in being. ^e

The addition of
two new tribes.

DURING the tranquillity, which *Rome* enjoyed, after the reduction of the *Latins*, there sprung up in her bosom a new kind of monsters, more to be dreaded than any foreign enemy. Some women of distinction, according to some three hundred and sixty, according to others a hundred and seventy, plotted together, upon what provocation, we know not, to take off their husbands by poison, and took the opportunity of an epidemical distemper to put their wicked design in execution. People were surprised in *Rome* to see so many men of note die, and all with the same symptoms; but had no suspicion of this kind of assassination, as we may call it, so contrary to ^f their manners, that there was then no law against it. At length the wickedness of these furies was discovered by a woman, who was in the service of one of these criminals, and assisted her in preparing her poison. This slave applied herself to *Q. Falsus*, who was at that time curule ædile, and having upon promise of impunity discovered to him the whole mystery of iniquity, the ædile imparted the secret to the consuls, and the consuls to the senate; by whose order the slave, attended by some officers, went to the houses of above twenty *Roman* ladies, who were all found busy in preparing poisons. Among these were two patrician women, *Sergia* and *Cornelia*, who being

A plot formed
by some Roman
women to poison
their husbands.

- a brought before the assembly of the people, and there examined, maintained that they had prepared only medicines for the sick, in which there were no poisonous ingredients. Hereupon the slave, finding herself suspected of calumny, proposed, that the two ladies should take their own potions. The experiment being, at her request, ordered to be made, *Cornelia* and *Sergia* desired to confer with their accomplices; which being granted, they all by agreement drank their own poison, and so delivered themselves from a more cruel death. Nothing could be more surprising to the *Romans* than such an excess of wickedness in a sex, which had hitherto preserved its reputation unsullied. The republic ascribed this unheard-of prodigy to a spirit of madness, sent as a punishment by the angry gods; and therefore, to appease their wrath, had
- b recourse to the ceremony, which she had formerly practised in the time of plagues, and general calamities. The senate ordered the consuls to nominate a dictator to drive a nail into the wall of the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*. Accordingly, *Cn. Quintilius* was raised to that dignity, and *L. Valerius Potitus* made his general of the horse, only to renew this superstitious ceremony; which was no sooner performed, than he resigned his transient dignity, and gave way to the consulate of *L. Papirius Crassus*, a second time consul, and *L. Plautius Venno*. In the beginning of their year, the *Privernates*, in conjunction with some of the inhabitants of *Fundi*, revolted at the instigation of *Vitruvius Vaccus*, a native of that city, but who enjoyed all the rights of a *Roman* citizen, and had even made himself an inhabitant of *Rome*. The *Privernates*, on
- c the approach of the two consuls, retired into their city. Hereupon *Plautius*, with one part of the army, entered the territory of *Fundi*, where he was met by the senate of that city, who protested that they had no share in the revolt. The consul wrote to *Rome* in their favour, and then marched to join his colleague, who had already blocked up *Privernum*. But while that siege was carrying on, one of the consuls was called back to *Rome* to preside in the comitia for electing new consuls, the city being alarmed at the news of the *Gauls* being in motion. The new consuls, *L. Æmilius*, a second time, and *C. Plautius*, entered upon their office the very day they were chosen, though before the usual time, and drew lots for their commands. It fell to *Æmilius* to act against the *Gauls*; and to his colleague to carry on the siege of *Privernum*.
- d *Æmilius* made the levies with the utmost vigor, admitted of no excuse, but put all, without distinction, who were able to bear arms, upon the military roll. Such was the terror the very name of the *Gauls* struck into the *Romans*. But the great army, raised on this occasion, marched no farther than *Veii*, where the consul received certain advice, that all was quiet among the *Gauls*. He then joined his colleague before *Privernum*, which, being already fatigued with a long siege, surrendered, and *Privernum* delivered up *Vitrius*, the author of the revolt, who was by an order from the senate first beaten with rods, and then beheaded. The two consuls, on their return to *Rome*, were honoured with a triumph, and *Æmilius* moreover with the surname of *Privernas*. What now remained was to punish the *Privernates*. Such of the senators,
- e as had continued in the place after the revolt, were removed beyond the *Tiber*, and forbid to pass the river under the penalty of a great fine. As for the innocent multitude, and the prisoners taken in the war, the consul *Plautius* used all his interest in their behalf. He led the captives to the door of the senate-house, and made a moving harangue in their favour. But the senators were divided in opinion, some inclining to clemency, others to severity. The only resource of those unhappy men was humble supplications. But they were *Volsci*, that is, a nation as proud, and capable of as generous sentiments, as the *Romans* themselves. For one of them being asked by a senator, who was for putting them all to death, what punishment he and his fellow-captives deserved? answered with great intrepidity, We deserve that punishment, which is due to men, who are jealous of their liberty, and think themselves
- f worthy of it. *Plautius* perceiving that his answer exasperated some of the senators, endeavoured to prevent the ill effects of it, by putting a milder question to the prisoner. How would you behave, said he, if *Rome* should pardon you? Our conduct, replied the generous captive, depends upon yours. If the peace you grant us be an honourable one, you may depend on a constant fidelity on our parts: if the terms of it be hard or dishonourable, lay no stress on our adherence to you. Some of the judges construed these words as menaces, but the wiser part, finding in them a great deal of magnanimity, cried out, that a nation, whose only desire was liberty, and only fear that of losing it, was worthy to become *Roman*. Accordingly, a decree
- g passed in favour of the prisoners, and *Privernum* was declared a municipium. Thus

the bold sincerity of one man saved his country, and gained it the privilege of being incorporated into the Roman state.

The Palæopolitans make an irruption into the Roman territories.

THE next year, in the consulate of *C. Plautius Proculus*, and *P. Cornelius Scapula*, the Romans gave umbrage to the *Samnites*, by planting a colony in *Fregella*, which stood in their neighbourhood, and proved the occasion of that bloody war, which soon after broke out between the two nations. In the mean time the *Palæopolitans*, taking advantage of this new discontent of the *Samnites*, committed hostilities in the Roman territories. These people were originally *Eubæans*, who, coming into *Italy*, built *Cumæ*, and thence spreading themselves farther, founded the city of *Naples* or *Neapolis*, that is, the *New City*. In the neighbourhood of *Naples*, they found a town ready built, which they possessed themselves of, calling it *Palæopolis* or *Palaiopolis*, that is, *The Old City*. These *Palæopolitans* were the first of all the *Greeks*, who ventured to attack the *Romans*. Their confidence was founded upon a report spread abroad, that the *Samnites* would soon be at war with the *Romans*. The news of this unexpected invasion was brought to *Rome* just before the comitia by centuries were assembled to appoint new consuls, and the comitia by tribes to chuse new tribunes of the people. The latter chose one *Q. Flavius*, a man of a most infamous character, who had been accused not long before of offering violence to a woman of distinction, and debauching her. *C. Valerius*, one of the curule ædiles, was his chief prosecutor; and the evidence being clear, fourteen of the twenty-nine tribes had already voted him guilty, when the accused cried out with great protestations, that he was innocent. Upon this *Valerius*, who bore him an irreconcilable hatred, cried out with a louder voice, What is that to me, whether thou art guilty or innocent, provided thou be destroyed? The tribes were so offended at these words, that they immediately acquitted *Flavius*, tho' evidently guilty, by a great majority of suffrages. A few months after he lost his mother, and, as it was then customary to offer sacrifices in honour of the dead, he offered a greater number of victims than usual, and distributed the flesh among the people, who had favoured him at his trial. This gratitude proved more beneficial to him than he expected. The people remembered him in the comitia, and chose him, though absent, for one of their tribunes.

The consul Publius marches against them.

THE comitia by centuries raised to the consulate *L. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Q. Publius Philo* a second time. The latter marched against the *Palæopolitans*, and in order to cut off their communication with *Neapolis*, from whence they were supplied with men and provisions, encamped on a narrow tract of ground between those two cities. His colleague posted himself with another army near *Capua* to keep the *Campanians* in awe. In this camp he received undoubted intelligence, that the *Samnites*, jealous of the progress of the Roman arms, had solicited the inhabitants of *Prævernium*, *Fundi*, and *Formia* to revolt. Upon this the senate sent an embassy into *Samnium*, complaining of a conduct so contrary to the faith of treaties. The ambassadors met with a haughty reception; but without losing their temper, after having heard the complaints of the *Samnites*, which chiefly related to the rebuilding and fortifying of *Fregella*, returned the following answer: The injuries you complain of require a great deal of time to be examined. As therefore we have common friends and allies, let us refer our differences to their arbitration. Arbitrators, cried the *Samnites*, we will have none but the gods and our swords. Battles will determine our pretensions better than words. *Mars* shall put an end to our disputes in the plains of *Campania*. Go, *Romans*, tell your consuls that we wait for them between *Capua* and *Suessula*. Our swords will then determine, which of the two nations ought to give law to the rest of *Italy*. The ambassadors replied, We shall not take our orders from you; our generals will lead us whither they think fit, and we shall follow them. In the mean while the time for the new elections drawing near, the senate, without recalling the consuls, ordered a dictator to be named to preside in the comitia. The consul *Cornelius* nominated *M. Claudius Marcellus*, a plebeian, who chose *Sp. Posthumius Albinus* for his master of the horse. But the augurs pretending that the nomination was invalid, *Marcellus* was obliged to abdicate the dictatorship, and *Posthumius* the command of the horse. The people, imagining that the view of the augurs was only to wound the plebeian interest, made loud complaints, and murmured at that ambitious college; but in the end superstition prevailed, and the government falling into an inter-regnum, *C. Patellius Libo*, and *L. Papirius Mugellanus*, were chosen consuls for the ensuing year. These putting them-

A new rupture between the Samnites and Romans.

- a selves at the head of the army, which *Cornelius* had commanded, entered *Samnium*, and being joined by the *Lucanians* and *Apulians*, two nations, to which the *Romans* had been hitherto utter strangers, penetrated farther into the enemy's country, ravaged their lands, and seized three of their cities, viz. *Allifæ*, *Callifæ*, and *Rufrium*. On the other hand, *Publius*, being continued by the people, at the motion of their tribunes, at the head of the same army he had commanded the year before, with the title of proconsul, took at length *Palæpolis*, by a stratagem laid and executed by two of the citizens. Four thousand *Samnites*, and two thousand of the inhabitants of *Nola*, a city of *Campania*, having got into the town before it was invested, under pretence of strengthening the garison, kept the inhabitants in a cruel state of slavery, and committed all sorts of debaucheries, which they extended even to the wives of that unhappy people, and their children of both sexes. In this distress the *Palæopolitans*, having long waited in vain for relief from the *Tarentines*, resolved at length to have recourse to their enemies, in order to deliver themselves from the oppression of their defenders. *Nymphius* and *Charilaus*, the two chief magistrates of the city, took upon them, with the consent of the principal inhabitants, the execution of the enterprise. *Charilaus* escaped as a deserter to the *Roman* camp, where he imparted to the proconsul the resolution his countrymen had taken. *Publius* received him kindly, and put him at the head of three thousand *Romans*, who, at a proper time, were to attack the town in that part, where the *Samnites* defended it. In the mean time *Nymphius*, who had staid in *Palæpolis*, and all along kept a private correspondence with his colleague, contrived another stratagem, and with his *Grecian* artifice so blinded the *Samnite* commanders, that they fell without any suspicion into the snare he had prepared for them. He advised them to equip the fleet, which lay in the port, and make a descent in the *Roman* territories, in order to oblige the *Romans* to quit *Samnium*, and the neighbourhood of *Palæpolis*. This motion being approved, *Nymphius* contrived to employ the *Samnite* troops in the laborious work of setting the ships afloat, which lay dry on the shore. By this means, that part of the wall, which the *Romans* were to attack, being but weakly guarded, *Charilaus*, being acquainted therewith by his colleague, advanced at the head of three thousand *Romans*, and being favoured by his friends, made himself master of the place. The *Samnites*, who were employed on the shore, finding themselves shamefully over-reached, fled with precipitation for fear of falling into the hands of the *Romans*, and arrived in their own country without either arms or baggage, where they were exposed to the ridicule of all their neighbours, who continually reproached them with the equipment of the *Palæopolitan* fleet. Some writers tell us, that the *Samnites*, and not the *Greeks*, delivered the place up to the *Romans*. But the authors of best note relate this adventure, as we have done. Besides, *Neapolis*, one of the chief cities of *Great Greece*, entered at this time into an alliance with *Rome*, a manifest proof that the *Greeks* surrendered voluntarily, and not compelled by any foreign force. For this success, *Publius*, in spite of the nobility, obtained a triumph, though he was neither consul nor dictator. He was the first, as *Livy* observes, who was decreed a triumph for exploits performed in an inferior station. But he was a plebeian, and the idol of the people, and therefore triumphed in sight of the consuls of the year, who were refused that honour, though they had made considerable conquests in *Samnium*. Thus the plebeians revenged the affront they had received the last year, when a plebeian dictator was by the augurs obliged to lay down his office.

- f THE taking of *Palæpolis* stirred up new enemies against the *Romans* in *Great Greece*. The *Lucanians* The *Tarentines*, having lost their protector, *Alexander* king of *Epirus*, and being jealous of the growing power of *Rome*, by an artful stratagem seduced the *Lucanians*, who had gone over to the *Romans*, into a league with the *Samnites*. They bribed a company of young *Lucanians* of good families to tear their backs with whips, and then shew themselves to the people, pretending that they had been treated in that cruel manner by order of the *Roman* consuls, to whose camp curiosity had led them. The *Lucani*, who were but a stupid people, suffering themselves to be imposed upon by so gross a cheat, immediately convened a national assembly, and without examining into the truth of so improbable a fact, decreed, that war should be declared with the *Romans*, and their ancient alliance with the *Samnites* renewed. Pursuant to this resolution, an embassy was sent to the latter, who could scarce believe the deputation

^a Liv. l. viii. c. 23.

real ; and therefore would not hearken to their proposals, till hostages were delivered, ^a and *Samnite* garisons put into all their towns. The *Lucanians* complied with all their demands without discovering the imposture, till it was too late to repent.

Creditors disabled from seizing the persons of their debtors.

WHILE the affairs of the republic were prosperous abroad, the poor debtors had the good fortune to shake off the only yoke, which now lay heavy upon them. By one of the laws of the twelve tables, creditors were empowered to seize their insolvent debtors, and keep them in their houses, till by their services or labour they had discharged the sum they owed. These poor citizens were in all respects slaves, except in name. They were called *Nexi*, that is, *bound*, their liberty being, as it were, bound, and suspended for a time ; whereas the slaves were called *Servi*. A young plebeian of extraordinary beauty, and of a good family, by name *Publius*, ^b had voluntarily made himself a slave to one *L. Papirius*, in order to pay his father's debts. *Papirius*, conceiving a detestable passion for the young man, and not being able to get the better of his virtue by promises and caresses, caused him to be whipped most unmercifully. After this cruel treatment, *Publius*, having found means to make his escape, complained publicly of the inhuman usage he had met with, and told the occasion of it. The people, filled with compassion for the young plebeian, and with resentment against his master, forced the consuls to assemble the senate, and presenting *Publius* before them with his back all bloody and torn, demanded justice on their knees. The senate had regard to their cries, and without decreeing any thing against *Papirius*, whose crime was not sufficiently proved, passed a decree, which was ^c readily accepted and confirmed in the comitia. It enacted, *That for the future no person whatsoever should be held in fetters or other bonds but for some crime that deserved it, and only till the criminal had suffered the punishment due by law ; and that creditors should only have a right to attach the goods, and not seize the persons of their debtors.*

The Vestini defeated by the consul Brutus.

IN the following consulate of *L. Furius Camillus*, and *D. Junius Brutus*, the *Vestini*, a people on the coast of the *Adriatic* sea, took arms against *Rome*, but were defeated by *Brutus*, who took from them the two cities of *Cutina* and *Cingilia*. *Camillus*, who was to act against the *Samnites*, falling sick, named to the dictatorship *L. Papirius Cursor*, who appointed *Q. Fabius Rullianus* to be his general of the horse. The dictator took the field against the *Samnites*, but soon after returned to *Rome* on account of some ^d religious scruples relating to the auspices consulted before his departure. Before he left the army, he forbade *Fabius*, whom he intrusted with the command of it, to venture a battle in his absence. But *Fabius*, disdainful to have his hands so tied up, notwithstanding the dictator's prohibition, attacked the *Samnites*, and gained a complete victory, having killed above twenty thousand of them on the spot. The young conqueror, elated with this success, instead of lodging the spoils of the enemy in the quaestor's hands, caused them all to be burnt, that they might not increase the pomp of the dictator's triumph. Besides, he did not send any account of his victory to the dictator, under whose auspices he had fought, but only to the senate. Hereupon the dictator set out in all haste from *Rome* to punish his disobedient general of the ^e horse. But *Fabius*, having timely notice of his coming, and of his design, called together the troops, and in a seditious harangue committed to them the defence of his life and fortune. His speech was applauded by the legions ; they all promised him their assistance, and protested, that nothing but death should separate them from a commander, under whose conduct they had gained so signal a victory. In the mean time the dictator arrived, and having assembled the troops, ordered the crier to call the general of the horse to appear before him. *Fabius* obeyed the summons, and being questioned by the dictator concerning his disobedience, returned only dark and confused answers. As he could offer nothing in defence of so bad a cause, *Papirius* ordered the lictors to strip him, and prepare their rods and axes. But while the executioners ^f were tearing off his cloaths, he found means to escape out of their hands, and to retire among the *Triarii*. A loud shout was immediately heard from the place whither *Fabius* had fled, which was answered by the whole army. The soldiers all to a man declared in his favour ; but expressed their sentiments very differently. Some threatened the dictator ; others begged pardon for the offender. Those who stood next to the tribunal, desired, in a suppliant manner, *Papirius* to spare the life of his general of the horse, and not condemn all the troops in him. The lieutenant-generals of the army, who surrounded the dictator, intreated him to put off the execution till the next day, to give the soldiers time to cool, and to take some time himself to calm his mind. But the dictator continued inflexible ; nay, he commanded, with ^g

Q. Fabius engages the Samnites contrary to the orders of Papirius the dictator, and gains a complete victory.

Is condemned by the dictator, but rescued by the soldiers.

- a an angry tone, the lieutenant-generals to leave the tribunal. Hereupon the sedition increased, and the soldiers grew more furious. The dictator commanded silence, but neither he nor his criers could be heard. The legionaries were ready to offer violence to their general, but night coming on put an end to the tumult. *Fabius*, not thinking it prudent to stand another trial, escaped to *Rome*, where his father immediately got the senators assembled, in order to obtain a favourable decree for him. But *Papirius*, arriving on a sudden, took his place in the senate, and ordered the lictors to seize young *Fabius*. In vain did the senators intercede for the criminal; *Papirius* was inexorable. Hereupon the father, having no other resource, appealed to the people in comitia. There had never yet been any instance of an appeal from the sentence of the dictator. But nevertheless *Papirius* did not think fit to disallow the superior authority of the people, so that the cause was brought before the comitia assembled in the forum. Thither repaired the dictator with few attendants; but the *Fabii* were guarded by all the people of distinction in *Rome*. Both the *Fabii* ascended the *rostra* with the dictator. The son had a right to harangue the people from thence, as general of the horse; but the father had no right, it being the privilege of magistrates only to appear there. *Papirius* therefore sternly ordered him to be pulled down, as not being in office; and also the son, as a criminal, who had forfeited the privileges annexed to his office. The father, placing himself then at the foot of the *rostra*, broke out into bitter invectives against the haughtiness and cruelty of *Papirius*, cited the case of *Minucius*, and *L. Furius*, who had not been so severely punished, though they had fought contrary to the advice of *Cincinnatus* and the great *Camillus*, dictators, and omitted nothing that could be said in so bad a cause. He clamoured, he complained, he called upon the gods and men for help, and embracing his son, wept a flood of tears. The whole assembly, says *Livy*, was on the side of the *Fabii*; but *Papirius* had on his side the military laws, the rules of discipline, which were deemed inviolable, the dignity of his office, the dictatorial edicts, &c. He reproached the *Romans* with a degeneracy from that heroic love of their country, which used to prevail over all paternal affection, and private views; he urged the examples of *Manlius* and *Brutus*, who had courage enough to sacrifice their own children for the sake of the public good, expatiated on the evil consequences to the republic of admitting appeals from the dictator to the people, and especially in cases of disobedience in war, and concluded with asking the tribunes, whether they were willing to answer those consequences with their heads. These words threw both the tribunes and the people into great perplexity. They pitied the *Fabii*; but could not condemn the severity of *Papirius*. The receiving of appeals from the sentence of the dictator would indeed increase the power of the plebeians; but they were afraid of the consequences of so dangerous an incroachment on a sovereign authority. Instead therefore of taking upon them to judge in the affair, they became intercessors for the criminal, humbly beseeching the dictator to pardon his general of the horse. The *Fabii* themselves fell prostrate at the dictator's feet, and implored his clemency. Upon this the dictator, causing silence to be made, spoke thus from the *Rostra*: Both military discipline, and the authority of generals, are preserved inviolate. The temerity of *Fabius* exposed both to great dangers: but he has not been judged innocent; only pardon is asked for him. This I readily grant in deference to the *Roman* people, and to the intercession of their tribunes. They have not pronounced him innocent as judges, but intercede for him as friends. Live then, *Quintus Fabius*, more fortunate in this unanimous consent of all orders in the republic to save you, than in the victory you lately gained. Live, *Fabius*, though you have dared to commit a crime, which your father himself, had he been in my place, would have expiated with your blood. You shall be received again into my favour at your pleasure. But as to the *Roman* people, to whom you owe your life, you can never express your gratitude to them better, than by punctually and implicitly obeying, whether in peace or in war, your lawful commanders. Go; you are at liberty. These words were followed by universal acclamations, some congratulating *Fabius*, others expressing their gratitude to *Papirius*. Both the dictator, and his general of the horse, were conducted back to their houses by crouds of people of all ranks. The many triumphs, with which we shall see him hereafter honoured, will prove him worthy of the zeal which *Rome* shewed for his deliverance.

The father of
Fabius appeals
from the dictator
to the people.

The dictator at
the request of
the people pardons
the offender.

* Liv. l. viii. c. 34.

WHILE *Papirius* staid in *Rome*, the *Samnites*, taking advantage of his absence, insulted the *Roman* army, knowing that they would not stir out of their camp to engage them for fear of meeting with the same fate as young *Fabius*. And indeed *M. Valerius*, one of the lieutenant-generals, suffered a detachment of *Romans*, who were escorting a convoy, to be cut in pieces, though he might easily have rescued them, saying, that he dreaded the severity of the dictator more than the enemy's forces. This accident greatly contributed to increase the hatred of the soldiery to their general, who soon after arriving in the camp with his new general of the horse, *L. Papirius Crassus*, a relation of his own, found his men so exasperated against him, that he lost all hopes of making any great progress. The *Samnites*, informed of the present disposition of the *Roman* army towards their general, immediately marched out, and offered him battle. *Papirius* thinking himself obliged in honour to accept the challenge, drew up his men, and in order to supply the want of affection in his soldiers, by his skill in war, posted them so advantageously, that it was not possible for them to be intirely defeated. They fought indeed very faintly for fear of increasing the glory of their general; but after all they did not lose the battle, there being more *Samnites* killed than *Romans*, though the number of the wounded was much greater on the side of the latter. After the battle *Papirius* acted a part, which surprized every body. Not one officer, or soldier, who had behaved negligently in the engagement, was so much as reprimanded. Laying aside the severity and majesty of a dictator, he went about with his lieutenants, visiting the wounded soldiers, put his head into their tents, asked them how they did, and charged their tribunes to take particular care of them. As in this sudden change he did not discover the least affectation, the army, which had always had a great esteem for him, came in a short time to shew him a most tender affection. The people in the city, being informed of this unexpected alteration, thought fit to continue him six months longer in his employment, during which time he gave the enemy a total overthrow, over-ran *Samnium*, and reduced the enemy to sue for peace. This the dictator granted them on these three preliminary conditions; 1. that they should cloath all his troops: 2. that they should give them a year's pay: and, 3. that they should get the treaty confirmed by the senate. *Papirius* on his return to *Rome* was decreed a triumph, after which he presided at the election of the new consuls, *C. Sulpicius Longus*, and *Q. Aulus Cerretanus*, and then resigned his dignity. The *Samnites*, to whom the senate had only granted a year's truce, no sooner heard that *Papirius* had quitted the dictatorship, than they took the field. As the *Apulians* declared for them against *Rome*, the forces of the republic were divided between the two consuls. *Aulus* marched against the *Apulians*, and *Sulpicius* against the *Samnites*; but little progress was made in the war this year, both *Samnites* and *Apulians* keeping themselves close in their strong-holds. But the next year, when *Q. Fabius*, who had been general of the horse to *Papirius*, and *L. Fulvius Corvus*, were consuls, the *Samnites*, having raised a formidable army, surprized the *Romans*, commanded by the two consuls, in a very disadvantageous post, and obliged them to hazard a battle, which lasted many hours without either side's giving way. At length the imprudence of the *Samnite* cavalry turned the fortune of the day in favour of the *Romans*. For the consuls, having designedly sent away the baggage of the army under a small guard, the enemy's horse, not being aware of the snare, wheeled off to seize it. But when they had put themselves into disorder, and loaded their horses with the plunder, the consuls detached all the *Roman* cavalry with orders to fall upon them; which they did with such success, that few of them escaped. Then the *Roman* cavalry, marching a great way about, fell on the rear of the *Samnite* infantry, which had not yet given ground. This unexpected attack struck them with terror, and threw them into confusion. The *Romans*, pursuing their advantage, cut all those *Samnites*, who kept their ground, in pieces. Those who fled were for the most part put to the sword by the horse, and among the rest the general himself. The *Samnites*, after this defeat, repenting of their breach of the truce, endeavoured to pacify the *Romans*, by making restitution of what plunder they had taken contrary to the faith of the treaty. They likewise passed a decree, that *Brutulus Papius*, a man of distinction among them, but the chief author of the breach, should be delivered up to the *Romans*. But he having laid violent hands on himself, his dead body was carried to *Rome* with all the captives and spoil taken in the time of the truce. After this the consul *Fulvius* returned to *Rome*; but his colleague led an army into *Apulia*, where he must have been attended with success, since he is said in the *Fabii Capitolini* to have triumphed

Papirius defeats the *Samnites*, and obliges them to sue for peace.

The consuls *Q. Fabius* and *L. Fulvius Curvus* gain a complete victory over them.

- a triumphed over the *Samnites* and *Apulians*, and his colleague *Fulvius* over the *Samnites* only. One *A. Cornelius* was chosen dictator this year to preside at the games in the absence of the consuls, and during the sickness of the prætor for the year. And hence comes the mistake of some memoirs, which *Livy* followed. That writer, finding that the government was in the hands of a dictator at the time of the defeat of the *Samnites*, ascribes to him all the glory of that exploit. But the *Fasti Capitolini* inform us better, and upon their authority, we have rectified the mistake of the *Latin* historian.

- The *Samnites*, being refused a peace, notwithstanding the satisfaction they had made for the breach of the truce, made the necessary preparations for carrying on the war with vigor. They appointed one *Pontius*, an able and experienced officer, to command their troops. He was the son of *Herennius*, who had been at the head of their armies in his younger days, but now led a private life, and was on account of his wisdom looked upon as a kind of oracle. On the other hand the *Romans* in their comitia chose *T. Veturius*, and *Sp. Posthumius*, consuls, who, putting themselves at the head of the army, took their rout to *Calatia*, a city of *Campania*. When they arrived at that place, *Pontius*, who had encamped among the woods and mountains, in the neighbourhood of *Caudium*, a little town in *Samnium*, about a league from *Calatia*, caused a report to be spread, that the *Samnite* army was laying siege to *Luceria* in *Apulia*; and the more effectually to deceive them, he sent ten of his soldiers in the habit of herdsmen to lead flocks into different parts between *Caudium* and *Calatia*, with instructions to agree all in the same report, when taken by the enemy. The stratagem had the desired effect; and the *Romans* in a council of war resolved to march into *Apulia*, and relieve *Luceria*. Some were for marching the farthest way about, through the open country; others, fearing lest the place should in the mean time fall into the enemy's hands, preferred the shortest way to the safest; and their opinion prevailing, the army began to march through narrow passes, and climb up rocks, which seemed inaccessible. At length they came to the fatal place, which has been since known by the name of the *Caudine Forks*. The consuls marched their troops through a narrow hollow way, having on each side thick forests; and from thence descended into a valley, so surrounded with hills, that it looked like an amphitheatre. The hills were so covered with trees and briars, as to be absolutely unfurmountable. The valley itself was very marshy, being continually watered by torrents rolling down from the rocks, and frequent springs. There was but one way out of it, which was narrow and steep; and the *Samnites* had taken care to stop it with huge stones, and trees laid across. The consuls gave orders to clear it; but finding it quite impracticable, and discovering at the same time great numbers of the enemy on the tops of the eminences, they began to fear an ambuscade. To avoid therefore being invested, they instantly turned back, and endeavoured to get out of the valley by the hollow way, through which they had entered it. But in vain, the *Samnites* having already blocked up the passage with trees cut down in haste, and vast heaps of large stones. The legions, finding themselves thus shut in, without a possibility of escaping, stood immoveable, fixing their eyes on one another, and wishing to discover some signs of hopes in their companions faces. The consuls, to put a good face upon the affair, pitched their tent, and ordered fortifications to be raised, as if they had a mind to continue there. The soldiers laughed at this fruitless precaution, but nevertheless raised a rampart along the water, though they were all the while scoffed at, and insulted by the enemy from the tops of the eminences. As soon as the army was encamped, the chief officers repaired of their own accord to the consuls tent; but the time of the consultation was rather spent in lamentations, than in finding out whole-some expedients, the gods themselves not being able, as *Livy* says, to deliver them without a miracle. In the mean time night came on, which the soldiers, instead of taking their rest, spent in discoursing about the unhappy situation of their affairs. On the other hand the *Samnites*, elated with this surprising success, could not agree among themselves what use to make of it. In this irresolution, it was unanimously agreed in a council of war to consult old *Herennius*, the general's father, and the oracle of the nation. A messenger was therefore dispatched to him with a letter, informing him of the extremity, to which his son had, by his address, reduced the *Roman* army, and desiring him to advise them how they should treat an army hitherto

The Caudine
Forks.

The Roman
army surround-
ed by the enemy.

* FASTI CAPITOL. VELL. PATERCUL. l. i. & LIV. l. viii. c. 37.

invincible,

invincible, but now intirely at their mercy. The wise old man returned by the messenger the following answer: *I advise my son to open a passage for the Romans, and to let them return home without doing them the least harm.* The officers, surpris'd at this answer, and imagining the messenger had misunderstood *Herennius*, sent him back to him; and then the old man gave a very different answer from the former: *Tell the council,* said he, *that I would not have them spare the life of one Roman; let them be all put to the sword without distinction.* The strange difference between these two answers made the *Samnites* imagine, that there was some mystery in the matter; and press *Pontius* to have his father brought to the camp to explain himself. When the wise *Herennius* was come, and introduced to the council, he told them, that *Rome* was a powerful state, from whose affection they might promise themselves the greatest benefits, and from whose enmity they had reason to fear the greatest misfortunes. If we gain her affection, said he, by a signal act of generosity, we secure to ourselves a happy and lasting tranquillity. On the other hand, if we cut off all the flower of her youth, at one blow, we shall be safe, at least for a time. In good policy, there is no medium between these two extremes. Either save the *Romans* in such manner as to make them your friends, or destroy them so effectually, as to render them less formidable enemies. But *Pontius* and his officers, rejecting this advice, chose a middle way, not so generous as the former, nor quite so rigorous as the latter. They spared their lives, but at the same time treated them as conquered enemies.

WHILE the *Samnites* were thus deliberating about the fate of the *Romans*, the scarcity of provisions increased daily in the invested camp; and no hopes of relief appeared, or possibility of escaping. Some soldiers indeed attempted to get out of the snare, but were met, and driven back by the enemy's parties. In this desperate condition, the consuls sent a deputation to the *Samnites* to desire a peace upon equitable terms, and in case of refusal to invite them to a battle. *Pontius*, with a haughty air, gave the deputies the following answer: We have no battles to fight; the victory is already gained. Not a man of your legions shall escape, till you have all been disarmed, and pass'd one by one under the yoke. This is a preliminary, which I absolutely insist upon. Besides this, the *Romans* shall leave *Samnium*, and withdraw their colonies from all the cities, which they have taken from us. Tell your consuls this from me; and if they do not accept the terms propos'd, appear no more in my presence. This answer occasioned as great a consternation in the camp, as if they had received advice, that they must die. Nothing was heard but sighs and lamentations. The consuls, struck dumb, durst not declare themselves for so shameful a treaty, and yet could not reject it in the extremity, to which they were reduced. While they were thus hesitating, *L. Lentulus*, an officer of distinction, who by his wise conduct had rais'd himself to one of the chief posts in the army, and had been at the head of the deputation to the *Samnites*, broke silence, and in a long harangue, shew'd the necessity of complying with the conditions impos'd, if they desired to save their own lives, or had any regard to the preservation of *Rome*. His advice was follow'd; and the consuls signified to the *Samnite* general, that they consented to lay down their arms, and pass under the yoke; upon which they obtained a conference with him. In this interview, *Pontius* desired to conclude a treaty of peace and friendship with *Rome*; but the consuls declared, that they could not conclude any that would be binding without the approbation of the people, and the ministry of the *Feciales*. Our power, said they, extends no farther than to make promises, which we are ready to strengthen by giving hostages. The stipulation was accepted, and on the day appointed, the consuls, lieutenant-generals, quæstors, and military tribunes, went to the camp of the *Samnites* to sign it. They promised to quit *Samnium*, evacuate the places where they had plant'd colonies, and suffer the *Samnites* to live in peace, according to their own laws. To secure the performance of this convention, the *Samnites* demand'd six hundred *Roman* knights as hostages, with this condition, that they might cut off their heads, if the republic did not perform the consuls' promises. Upon the return of the consuls sorrow and rage fill'd the hearts of the *Roman* soldiers. They could scarce refrain themselves from offering violence to their generals, and cutting them in pieces. They form'd dreadful ideas of their future dishonour, and were ready to escape it, by laying violent hands on themselves, and perishing by each others swords. At length the fatal hour came. The six hundred knights march'd first out of the camp, unarmed, and with their under garment only. These were put into the enemy's hands, who conducted them to a place of safety. The two consuls

The Roman
army passes
under the yoke.

- a furs appeared next, and were ordered to pull off their *paludamenta*, or military cloaks, the ensigns of their dignity. At this sight the soldiers, though full of rage against their generals, turned away their eyes, and changed their anger into compassion. They could not see officers of so high a rank treated with so much indignity, without the utmost concern. While the legions were lamenting their hard fate, the consuls passed first under the yoke, stripped of their habits, and half naked; the inferior officers followed according to their rank, and at last the soldiers, one by one. The *Samnites* insulted them as they passed; and if any *Roman* returned but a fierce look, he was immediately knocked down, or killed. When they had all passed thus under the yoke, they were allowed to depart; and might have reached *Capua* the same day; but partly out of distrust of that city, though allied to *Rome*, and partly out of shame to be seen there in so miserable a condition, they threw themselves on the ground at some distance from that city, with a design to pass the night in the open air without food or refreshment. But the *Capuans*, being informed of their misfortune, and forlorn condition, immediately sent cloaths, horses, arms, and even lictors and fasces to the consuls, with great plenty of provisions for the whole army. And when, the next day, they drew near the city, the senate and people went out to meet them with all demonstrations of friendship and kindness. But the consuls and their troops, overwhelmed with shame, seemed unaffected with this friendly hospitality. With their eyes fixed on the ground, they persisted in silence, and shunned all discourse.
- c They were attended by the flower of the *Campanian* nobility to the frontiers of their country; but they still observed the same behaviour, and shewed the same dejection of mind; which made the *Capuans* conclude, that the *Roman* courage was for ever lost, and paved the way for a revolt. One of them however, a venerable old man, by name *Ofilius Calavius*, judged differently of the dumb confusion of the *Romans*. Their eyes, said he, fixed on the ground, shew how much they are bent on revenge; and their refusing to be comforted is a proof that they will never forgive the affront they have received.

- A T *Rome* the people began to be in pain for the consular army. News had been brought thither, that it was surrounded by the enemy, and some levies had been made
- d to march to their assistance. But in the mean time the senate, receiving an account of the shameful peace, a stop was put to all further preparations. The people, as soon as it was communicated to them, put on the deepest mourning, without waiting for orders from the senate. The administration of justice was neglected; the shops in the forum were shut up; the *Roman* matrons laid aside their jewels and gold-rings, the magistrates their robes, &c. In short, the city was in as great consternation as the army. Every one made most bitter invectives against the cowards, as they styled them, and the authors of so shameful a treaty. The multitude were even for shutting them out of the city, as wretches who did not deserve to see their native country again. But the indignation of the *Roman* people was soon turned into pity. For
- e their unhappy countrymen no sooner appeared at the gates, but the whole city flocked out to see them, every one lamenting with tears in their eyes the misfortunes of those unhappy men. However, they did not enter the city till night, and then every one stole home, and hid himself in his own house. Even the consuls, looking upon themselves as disgraced, and in a manner degraded, banished themselves from public society, and only performed one function of their office, which was indispensable; that is, they named a dictator to preside in the comitia for the election of new consuls, thinking themselves unworthy to appear at the head of the republic in the *campus Martius*. The dictator they nominated was *Q. Fabius Ambustus*, who chose *Ælius Petus* for his general of the horse; but some defect being found in his nomination,
- f *Æmilius Papus* was substituted in his room; and the general of the horse he chose was *Valerius Flaccus*. But the people were so dissatisfied with all the magistrates of this unfortunate year, that the latter promotion was as much disliked as the former. Whence it was thought expedient to let the republic fall into an inter-regnum, in order to have a more fortunate president of the comitia than either of the dictators, whom such cowardly consuls had named. And now two of the greatest men in the republic were unanimously chosen, viz. *Papirius Cursor* a second time, and *Publius Philo* a third time. They entered upon their office the very day of their election, which was a sort of degradation to their predecessors, who had deserved this affront by their ill conduct. The first business of the new consuls was to get themselves
- g invested in their office by a decree of the senate, declaring, that in point of religion

The treaty with
the Samnites
declared null.

there had been no defect in their inauguration. After this the treaty with the *Samnites* ^a being laid before the senate, *Posthumius*, one of the consuls, who had been parties to it, declared, that the *Roman* people were not bound by it, as not being made by their order. He added, that the honour of the republic would be saved, by surrendering him and the rest of the officers concerned in the treaty to the *Samnites*; which he moved might be forthwith done. The senators were struck with admiration at the generosity of *Posthumius*, and shewed no less compassion for him than esteem. However, they approved of the proposal, and passed it into a decree. Two tribunes of the people, who had been raised to that office since their return from the *Caudine Forks*, opposed at first the decree, maintaining, that the satisfaction designed for the *Samnites* was no ways sufficient to discharge the demands they had upon *Rome*, and that ^b as to themselves, they were sacrosanct magistrates, inviolable, and though concerned in the treaty, not to be delivered up to the enemy. But *Posthumius* offered such arguments to prove the invalidity of the *Caudine* convention, and the sufficiency of the designed satisfaction, that the two tribunes consented at last to follow the fate of their companions, and with that view laid down their office. The *Romans* talked of nothing now but *Posthumius*; they compared his devotion to that of *Decius*, and thinking that their republic was obliged in justice to nothing more than to deliver up into the hands of the *Samnites* those who had signed the treaty, they began to make the necessary preparations for a new war. There needed no orders to raise troops; an army was soon formed almost wholly of volunteers, the *Roman* youth burning with ^c rage against the *Samnites*. The *Caudine* legions were again inrolled, and a powerful army marching from *Rome* in a few days, arrived in the neighbourhood of *Caudium*. As the *Samnites* were incamped at a small distance, preparations were made for surrendering up the *Roman* officers in due form by a *fecialis*. *Cornelius Arvina*, who was deputed by the republic to perform the ceremony, began with commanding *Posthumius*'s hands to be tied. But the officer, who was to do it, not tying the cord hard enough, out of respect to so great a man, the generous *Posthumius* reproved him. Why do you spare me, said he? Tie me in such a manner, that the enemy may have nothing to suspect in my surrender. In this captive state, the *Roman* officers were led to the *Samnite* camp, and presented to *Pontius* by the *fecialis*, who ^d expressed himself in these words, as he had been directed: Since these men undertook to conclude a peace with you without any commission, and committed a crime in so doing, we deliver them up to you, in order to free ourselves from any share in the punishment, which they alone have deserved. Upon this *Posthumius*, as offended at what the *fecialis* said, immediately gave him a blow on the thigh with his knee, and sternly said, I am now a *Samnite*, and you an ambassador of *Rome*. I have therefore by this blow violated the law of nations; and you are thereby authorized to make war upon us. But this little low artifice served only to raise the indignation of the *Samnite* general, who laid before the *fecialis* and *Posthumius* the injustice and baseness of their proceedings. He told them, that they were obliged in justice either ^e to observe the treaty, or send the *Roman* army again to the *Caudian Forks*. There, said he, your consuls may reject the peace, if they dislike it. Your honour will then be untainted, and your fidelity, as well as the law of nations, will be preserved inviolate. But shall the lives of your troops be saved, and you enjoy all the advantages of the peace, while we reap no benefit from our conventions? Are these the equitable maxims, upon which your *feciales* are ordered to act? Is this the justice with which you proceed, in treating with other nations? As for you, *Posthumius*, do you think the gods will take you for a *Samnite*, and consider the blow you have given, as an insult offered to the *Roman* people by our nation? Is it thus that you sport with religion, and the faith of treaties? Are such ludicrous transactions becoming the gravity of a consul, ^f and the dignity of a great nation? Lictors, untie the prisoners, and leave them free to go where they please¹.

Posthumius and his company returned safe to the camp, where all things were getting ready to enter upon action. On the other hand the *Samnites* kept close within their entrenchments, having, as *Livy* says, a foreboding of the misfortunes which afterwards befel them. They repented, but too late, of their not having hearkened to the wise counsels of *Herennius*. So that *Pontius*, though conqueror, lost in great measure his reputation, while *Posthumius*, though conquered, and obliged to pass under the yoke, gained immortal glory among his countrymen. For the *Romans* looked

¹ Liv. l. ix. c. 8—12.

- a on the liberty he had gained them of making war, as a certain victory. Not long after the inhabitants off *Satricum* revolted from the *Romans*, and being supported by a detachment of *Samnites*, surprized *Fregellæ* a *Roman* colony. The *Fregellani*, running to arms, attempted to drive the enemy out of their city. All the inhabitants, women and children not excepted, stood up in defence of their lands, their altars and their household gods, and from the tops of their houses, made a dreadful slaughter of the enemy. The *Samnites* and *Satricani*, fearing they should be obliged to abandon the city, caused a proclamation to be made, offering quarter to all those, who should lay down their arms. Upon this many submitted; but the *Samnites*, not thinking themselves obliged to keep their word with any of the *Roman* name, caused all, who had surrendered, to be burnt alive. Only a small number of the *Fregellani*, who had not hearkened to the enemy's promises, retired fighting, and with their swords cut themselves a way through the midst of the *Samnite* troops. At the same time some of the chief citizens of *Capua* entered into a secret plot to shake off the *Roman* yoke. These commotions induced the republic to have recourse to the usual remedy in times of great danger; a dictator was named, viz. *C. Mænius*, who appointed *M. Fostius*, surnamed *Flaccinator*, to be his general of the horse. The dictator's commission was, contrary to custom, confined to the enquiring into crimes against the state, and punishing them. The terror of a judge, from whom there lay no appeal, so terrified the heads of the conspiracy in *Capua*, that they killed themselves to avoid a more severe death. As it is common for persons, who are charged with an extraordinary commission, to stretch their power to the utmost extent, the dictator pretended, that this authority extended, not only to the traitorous practices of the *Capuans*, but to all conspiracies whatsoever, and wheresoever, formed against the *Roman* state. By conspiracies the dictator, who was a plebeian, as well as his general of the horse, meant all intriguing and canvassing for offices; and accordingly summoned several of the patricians to appear before him on accusations of that kind. Hereupon, not only the accused, but the whole body of the nobility, taking the alarm, threatened to prosecute the dictator, and his general of the horse, as soon as their magistracy should be expired, for the same crime, which was laid to their charge. Our birth alone, said they, leads us to the highest posts. It is only for the common people, and such upstarts, as the dictator and his general of the horse, to raise themselves by intrigues. *Mænius*, tho' free from guilt, yet fearing lest his reputation should suffer by the reports that began to be spread abroad, assembled the people, and having laid before them the uprightness of his intentions, abdicated the dictatorship, that he might be brought to a trial. *Fostius* likewise resigned his office for the same purpose. The senate by a special commission appointed the consuls to be their judges. Those of the nobility, who appeared against them, were examined; and upon a full hearing the accused were acquitted in a very honourable manner.

- I T appears from several passages in *Livy*, and from the *Fasti Capitolini*, that the operations of the campaign this year were carried on by *Cornelius Lentulus* dictator, and *Papirius Cursor*, not in quality of consul, but of general of the horse to *Cornelius*. These two divided their forces; *Cornelius*, at the head of the troops that had passed under the yoke, encamped near *Caudium*; while *Papirius* marched with the rest of the army to *Luceria* in *Apulia*, where the six hundred *Roman* knights, who had been delivered up to the *Samnites* as hostages, were kept. *Pontius* would have willingly marched to the relief of *Luceria*; but on the other hand, he could not leave his own country open to the *Romans*; and besides, he was afraid the dictator would fall on his rear. He therefore resolved to put all to the issue of a battle, and accordingly, marching out of his intrenchments, he drew up his men. As soon as the *Samnites* appeared in order of battle, the dictator assembled his men, in order to exhort them, as was usual on such occasions, to behave themselves valiantly. But the soldiers, animated with an eager desire of revenge, demanded a battle with such clamours, that the general's harangue could not be heard. When they drew near the *Samnites*, they pressed their standard-bearers to march faster, and fell upon the enemy with such fury, as cannot be expressed. It was then usual to begin general actions with some discharges of darts and stones; but the ardor of the *Romans* was so great, that they threw down the darts they had in their hands, and without orders drew their swords, and rushed upon the enemy with an impetuosity, that seemed a kind of madness. This irregular

▪ Liv. l. ix. c. 12.

Cornelius Lentulus gives the Samnites a great over-throw.

animosity, or rather rage, did more than could have been expected from the wisest a conduct. Nothing could stand before them; the Samnite army was put to the rout at the first onset, and their camp taken and plundered. All the Samnites found in the camp were put to the sword, and as great a slaughter of them was made there as in the battle.

The Samnites defeated in Apulia.

AFTER this victory the dictator marched his army into *Apulia*, to assist his general of the horse in the reduction of *Luceria*. And indeed the arrival of the victorious army proved very seasonable, *Papirius* being greatly straitened for want of provisions. The dictator dispersed his legions about the country, and by that means facilitated the bringing of provisions to the camp, and at the same time intercepted the convoys that were sent to the besieged. The Samnites, who had likewise an army near *Luceria*, finding it impossible for the besieged to hold out long, resolved to give the besiegers battle, which *Papirius* did not decline. But while every thing was getting ready for a general action, ambassadors arrived from *Tarentum*, ordering both parties to put a stop to all further hostilities, and protesting that their state would declare against that nation, which should obstinately persist in carrying on the war. *Papirius* was not a man to be terrified with the threatenings of the *Tarentines*. But nevertheless, he pretended to pay a regard to them, and answered the ambassadors, that he would confer with the dictator. And indeed the two generals had a conference; but it was only about the most proper measures to be taken with relation to the engagement. While the Romans were sacrificing, as was customary before a battle, the ambassadors came for their answer. *Papirius* accosted them, and with an air, which shewed how little account Rome made of the menaces of so insignificant a people, The chickens, said he, feed perfectly well: the gods too are much pleased with our sacrifices: under their protection therefore we are going to fight, as you perceive. He then led his troops out of the camp, in order to engage the enemy. But the Samnites being seized with a sudden fright at their approach, declared that they would keep themselves within their camp upon the defensive, out of respect to the *Tarentines*. The legionaries, encouraged by this timorousness of the enemy, attacked their intrenchments with such vigor and resolution, that they soon forced them, and put all to the sword, who came in their way, sparing neither men, children, slaves, nor even the beasts of burden. Scarce any of the Samnites would have escaped, had not the generals restrained the fury of the soldiers, thirsty of blood, in regard to the six hundred knights in *Luceria*, whom the besieged, if reduced to despair, might put to death for the sake of having the barbarous pleasure of sacrificing them, before they perished themselves w.

Luceria taken by Papirius Censor.

NOTHING now remained, in order to put a glorious end to the campaign, but the reducing of *Luceria*, which was vigorously defended both by the inhabitants, and by those Samnites, who had escaped from the battle, and taken refuge in the besieged city; among whom was, as some authors tell us *, *Pontius* himself. But notwithstanding this reinforcement, the garrison, being greatly distressed by famine, offered to capitulate, and to release the six hundred hostages, on condition that the Romans would raise the siege. But *Papirius* peremptorily insisted, that all the soldiers in the place, to the number of seven thousand, should, unarmed, and with one garment each, pass under the yoke, and *Pontius* at the head of them. These conditions were accepted, and the Romans had the pleasure of retaliating upon *Pontius* and his Samnites the ignominy which he had made them, and their consuls, undergo at the *Caudine Forks*. But their greatest satisfaction was the recovery of the hostages, which had been delivered up to the Samnites, as securities for the execution of a shameful treaty.

THE next year *Papirius* was raised to the consulate a third time, and *Q. Aulus Cerritanus* a second time. The latter defeated the Samnites in *Apulia*, and made himself master of *Ferentum*, which was either subject to or in alliance with them. The former reduced *Sutricum*, and put all the Samnites, who were there in garrison, to the sword. The chief authors of the revolt were first beaten with rods, and then beheaded, and a strong body of troops was left in the place to keep the inhabitants in awe. *Papirius*, after the reduction of this important place, returned to Rome, where he received the honours of a triumph, which he had not obtained the preceding year for far greater exploits, because he had acted under the auspices of a superior magistrate. The people were overjoyed to see him enter Rome with all the pomp due to

* Liv. *ibid.* c. 14.

* Oros. l. iii. c. 15.

- a a man, who had recovered the lustre of the *Roman* name. *Livy* represents *Papirius* as a hero, who would have been a match for *Alexander the Great*, had he attempted the conquest of *Italy*. But be that as it will, it is certain, that no general in *Italy* ^{His character.} equalled him in military skill, or surpassed him in courage. He was very remarkable for his strength of body, and wonderful swiftness in running, whence he had the surname of *Cursor*. He was a man of a tall stature, and majestic mien, indefatigable in military labours, and always in motion, sharing with the common soldiers the severest toils of war; and whether it was owing to his robust constitution, or continual exercise, no man exceeded him in eating and drinking. No general ever kept his troops to harder service. We are told, that his cavalry, having one day desired a little relaxation from their fatigues, after they were returned from a successful expedition, he pleasantly answered; Yes, by all means, nothing is more just; when you alight from your horses, I excuse you from the trouble of stroaking their backs. Such was the character of the famous *Papirius*, a man greatly celebrated by all the *Latin* writers.

In the following consulate of *L. Plautius* and *M. Fostius*, many of the *Samnite* ^{The Samnites} cities sent deputies to the *Roman* senate to ask peace; but could only obtain a two ^{obtain a two} years truce. In *Apulia* the consul *Plautius* spread so much terror, that the cities of *Teanum* and *Canusium* surrendered, and gave hostages. At this time *Capua* was so divided by intestine broils, that the inhabitants desired the *Romans* to give them a governor, and new laws to keep them in order; and it was on this occasion that the *Romans* turned *Campania* into a præfecture, and sent thither a præfect. Two new tribes ^{Campania} were formed this year, one in *Campania*, perhaps to make the *Campanians* some sort ^{turned into a} of amends for their liberty, which they had voluntarily given up: this was called ^{præfecture.} the *Falernian* tribe, no doubt from the hill *Falernus*. The other was established in the country watered by the *Ufens* on the confines of *Latium*, and therefore called *Tribus Ufentina*; so that the *Romans* had now thirty-one tribes, all with the right of suffrage in the comitia by tribes². This year ended with a census, taken by *L. Papirius Crassus*, and *C. Manius*, censors; by which it appeared, that the number of men in *Rome* fit to bear arms amounted to two hundred and fifty thousand.

- d THE next year, *Q. Æmilius* and *C. Junius* being consuls, all *Apulia* was subdued; ^{All Apulia} so that this year proved no less prosperous for the republic than the former. At the same ^{subdued.} time *Antium* followed the example of *Capua*, in having recourse to *Rome* for a governor and laws, which the republic readily granted (W). The succeeding consuls, *Sp. Nautius* and *M. Popilius*, no sooner entered upon their office, but they were obliged by the senate to nominate, contrary to custom, a dictator to carry on the war. Perhaps the people had but an indifferent opinion of their ability in warlike affairs. At least, it is certain, that they did not appear at the head of the army, but continued at *Rome* the whole time of their administration. *L. Æmilius*, who was appointed dictator, and chose *L. Fulvius* for his general of the horse, received the command of the legions from the preceding consuls, and with those troops began the campaign, by laying siege to *Saticula*, a city of *Campania*, in alliance with the *Samnites*, who came with a very numerous army to relieve the place. But the dictator defeated them in a pitched battle, after which they abandoned their camp in the night, and left the *Saticulans* without any hopes of relief. However, the besieged made such a vigorous resistance, that the dictatorship of *Æmilius* expired, before he could make himself master of the place. The new consuls were, the famous *Papirius Cursor*, and *Publius Philo*, both chosen the fourth time. They had both triumphed more than once over the *Samnites*, were men of distinguished merit, and the greatest and most experienced generals the *Romans* had. But nevertheless, they had the mortification to see the carrying on of the war committed to another general, while they continued inglorious, and in a manner out of office at *Rome*. Such mortifications are often given to men of the greatest merit in popular governments. The people obliged the consuls of the preceding year to raise to the dictatorship *Q. Fabius Maximus*, who had been formerly general

² Vide Liv. l. ix. c. 19. & AUREL. VICT. de Viris Illust. * Liv. l. ix. c. 20. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xx.

(W) *Antium* was not made a præfecture; nor was any single magistrate sent thither to give her laws. This was left to the patrons of the colony, it being then customary not only for private families, but for cities, and whole provinces, to have patrons, who were often of the chief nobility of *Rome*. The pa-

trons of the municipia were generally of the families of those consuls and generals who had conquered them; and the patrons of the colonies were the children of those who had received the commission to plant them.

of the horse to *Papirius*, and ever since his implacable enemy. The new dictator ^a immediately set out for *Saticula*, where he received the command of the legions, not from the consuls, but from *Æmilius* the dictator, whose office was expiring. No sooner had the *Roman* army changed its general, but the *Samnites*, who after their defeat had laid siege to *Plisfia*, a city in alliance with *Rome*, returned to *Saticula*, in order to try their strength with the new general. *Fabius*, without being alarmed in the least at the great number of their troops, continued his attacks with the infantry, while his cavalry guarded the camp under the command of *Aulus Cerretanus*, his general of the horse. The *Samnites* having one day advanced to the very gates of the camp, and there insulted the *Roman* cavalry, *Aulus*, without consulting the dictator, sallied out with the *Roman* knights. This was a breach of discipline, like that which *Fabius* himself ^b had been formerly guilty of. *Aulus* at first repelled the enemy, but the *Samnite* general rallied his troops, revived their courage, and led them back to the charge. *Aulus* discovering him, rushed on him, and laid him dead on the ground with one blow. The *Samnites*, not in the least disheartened at the death of their general, thought of nothing but revenge. *Aulus*, having penetrated too far into the enemy's squadrons, could not retire. Whereupon the *Samnites*, having surrounded him on all sides, called upon their general's brother, that he might have the glory of revenging his death. Accordingly, he dismounted *Aulus*, and, full of rage, stabbed him as he lay on the ground. It was then thought a singular honour to get possession of the body of a general, who had been slain in battle. The *Samnites* therefore exerted their utmost ^c efforts to carry off the body of *Aulus*. Hereupon the *Roman* knights alighted from their horses to recover it, and free *Rome* from so terrible a reproach. The example of the *Roman* cavalry was followed by the *Samnites*; so that a battle was fought between them on foot, in which the *Romans* at length prevailed, and carried back to the camp the body of their general. After the loss of the battle, the *Samnites* returned to the siege of *Plisfia*, which they took by assault. *Fabius* pursued that of *Saticula*, which at length capitulated. From *Saticula* the dictator, without loss of time, marched to besiege *Sora*, a city in the country of the *Volsci*, which had declared for the *Samnites*, after having massacred a *Roman* colony settled in their territory. The *Samnites*, after the reduction of *Plisfia*, followed him; which *Fabius* no sooner understood, than he ^d turned back to meet them, and came to an engagement with them near the narrow pass of *Lentula*, not far from the *Pomptin* marshes. Night put an end to it before either party could claim the victory; and both armies the next day continued their march to *Sora*, the one to attack, the other to defend it. In the mean time the dictator, having chosen a new general of the horse, *L. Fabius*, a relation of his own, he ordered him to go to *Rome*, to bring fresh levies from thence, and concealing his march from the enemy, to wait, in some secure place near *Sora*, the signal for entering upon action. The dictator's orders were obeyed, and *Fabius* soon arrived with a strong reinforcement. Hereupon the dictator, pretending fear, kept close in his intrenchments, in order to draw the enemy's army near his camp. Accordingly, the *Samnites* ^e marched up to the very rampart, when the *Roman* general all on a sudden, without informing his legions of the succours *Rome* had sent him, hung out a red standard over his tent, which was the signal for battle. By the fright the dictator shewed, and his sudden resolution of giving battle, the soldiers thought themselves in great danger, and imagined they had no remedy left but to make a brisk sally on the enemy. The dictator confirmed them in this opinion, by telling them, that their case was such, that they must either conquer or perish; that he had ordered fire to be set to their baggage and tents; but that they might soon make up the loss by the plunder of the cities, which had shaken off the *Roman* yoke, and sided with the enemy. However, he gave private orders to set fire to those tents only, which were next to the ramparts; ^f and this was the signal for the general of the horse to put his troops in motion, and fall upon the enemy's rear. As every thing was executed with wonderful harmony, the enemy was at the same time attacked in the front and the rear with such fury, that they were forced to give way, and leave the *Romans*, not only masters of the field, but also of their camp, which was taken and plundered. After this the dictator led his troops back to their own camp, where, to their great joy and surprize, they found that only a small number of their tents had been burnt. After this victory, *Fabius* laid siege to *Sora*, which was continued by his successors in the command of the army, *M. Pætilius Libo*, and *C. Sulpicius Longus*, the new consuls. We know not what motives could induce the public to disappoint *Fabius* of the honours of a triumph, which he ^g had

The Samnites
defeated by Fa-
bius, dictator,
and Saticula
taken.

The Samnites
once more de-
feated by Fa-
bius.

- a had well deserved, but did not obtain on his return to *Rome*. The two consuls incamped close to the walls of the besieged city, in order to keep the garison continually in play. But the inhabitants, not in the least intimidated either by the nearness of the *Romans*, the number of their troops, or the late defeat of the *Samnites*, defended themselves with incredible bravery. While the consuls were under great perplexity, as not knowing in what part to make their attacks, the walls being every-where well guarded, a deserter from the town came to the *Roman* camp, and offered to put the place into their hands with the help of ten chosen men only. The consuls, having examined and approved of his scheme, removed by his advice their camp some miles from the city, which brought the garison into a kind of security. Then the deserter, at the head of his ten men, stealing in the night time into a part of the upper city, where the wall was unguarded, because thought inaccessible, placed them in a narrow steep path, leading from the citadel to the lower town. This done, he ran down into the lower town, crying, *To arms, to arms; the enemy are in possession of the fortress.* The inhabitants, seized with fear, thought of nothing but saving their lives by flight. Men and women, leaving their houses, rushed in confusion out at the gates, which the *Romans* on their approach finding open, entered the city without resistance, and put all those to the sword whom they met in the streets. The consuls sent the authors of the revolt, and of the massacre of the *Roman* colony, to *Rome*, where they were all, to the number of two hundred and twenty-five, by an order from the senate, first beaten with rods, and then beheaded. From *Sora* the consuls marched into the country of the *Aufones*, and upon an accusation, without proof, of their having formed a design to revolt, sent detachments to surprize their three chief cities, *Aufona*, *Minturna*, and *Vesuvia*. As the troops employed in this enterprise were out of their commanders sight, they set no bounds to their fury. The three cities were taken on the same day, and at the same hour; the *Roman* soldiers, having got into them under various disguises, put all the inhabitants to the sword without distinction of sex or age; and this upon the bare suspicion of a rebellion. *Luceria*, which had revolted, and massacred the colony which *Rome* had sent thither, was taken the same year by assault; and both the inhabitants and *Samnites*, who defended it, put to the sword. The senate was at first inclined to raze a city, which had so often revolted; but it was afterwards resolved, that a colony of two thousand five hundred men should be sent thither from *Rome* to secure that important city, which kept all *Apulia* in awe ^a.

Sora taken.

Three cities of the Aufones surprized in one day.

Luceria retaken.

- THE *Campanians*, notwithstanding these examples of severity, prepared once more, as they were a restless and factious people, to shake off the *Roman* yoke. *Rome* therefore thought fit to name a dictator to keep the inhabitants in subjection by arms, and the fear of an absolute magistrate. *C. Manius* was raised to that dignity the second time; and he chose the same general of the horse, *M. Fostius*, whom he had named to that post in his former dictatorship. The dictator entered *Campania*, and encamped near *Capua*, while the consul *Sulpicius*, at the head of another army, drew near *Caudium*, where the *Samnites* waited for the insurrection of the *Campanians*. The two armies came soon to an engagement, in which the *Samnites* gained at first the advantage; but by the prudent conduct of the consul *Sulpicius*, were in the end intirely defeated, with the loss of thirty thousand men killed or taken. After this victory the consul marched to *Bovianum*, one of the chief cities of *Samnium*, and having posted his troops round it in quarters of refreshment, returned to *Rome*, which he entered in triumph ^b.

C. Manius dictator.

The Samnites overthrown with the loss of thirty thousand men.

- THE ensuing year *L. Papirius Cursor* a fifth time, and *C. Junius Brutus* a second time, were raised to the consulate. But nevertheless a dictator was nominated to carry on the war against the *Samnites*. The person honoured with that dignity was *C. Pætilius Libo*, surnamed *Visolus*, who, having chosen *Pætilius Libo*, one of the last year's consuls, for his general of the horse, set out for *Bovianum*, where the legions were cantoned; but in a short time quitted that post to retake *Fregellæ*, which the enemy abandoned at his approach. After he had placed a strong garison in it, he led his army against *Nola*, which he quickly reduced, as he did likewise the cities of *Atina* and *Calatia*, both in the same province. The following year, when *M. Valerius Maximus*, and *P. Decius Mus*, were in the consulate, the *Romans*, being alarmed with the apprehensions of a war with all *Hetruria*, appointed *C. Sulpicius Longus*, dictator, to conduct it. But the *Hetrurians* continuing quiet within their own bounds, no

^a LIV. l. ix. c. 23—26. DIONOS. SICUL. l. xix.

^b LIV. ibid. FASTI CAPITOLINI.

hostilities

hostilities ensued on either side, the dictator being unwilling to stir up new enemies against his republic.

Appius Claudius censor admits the sons of freedmen into the senate, and debases the priesthood.

At home the city was greatly disturbed by the innovations of *Appius Claudius*, at this time censor. He was a man extremely wedded to his own opinion, and had boldness enough to undertake any thing, and steadiness to maintain whatever he undertook. He was an able civilian, and looked upon as the oracle of *Rome* in all knotty points of law; but a lover of reformatations, and one who took delight in overturning the most ancient institutions, and setting up for a legislator. This great man, for he was really so, notwithstanding some faults, in his censorship took upon him to humble the pride of the senate. It belonged to the censors to draw up and read, after every lustrum, a list of those citizens, who had a right to sit and vote in the senate. Hitherto none but patricians, or the most considerable among the plebeians, had been admitted into it. But *Appius* introduced the *libertini*, that is, the sons of those, who, having been slaves, had obtained their liberty. Having thus debased the senate, he attacked the priesthood, which was confined to the nobility alone. The most ancient priesthood in *Rome* was that of the temple of *Hercules*, and of the altar, which had been consecrated to him under the name of *Ara Maxima* by *Evander*, in memory of his victory over *Cacus*. This priesthood, when first instituted, had been conferred upon a venerable old man of the *Aborigines*, named *Potitius*, and had continued ever since in his family. But *Appius* prevailed upon the *Potitii* to resign this venerable priesthood to the slaves belonging to the public, a most contemptible race of men. By this means he gave the nobility a fatal blow, the priesthood being the only dignity, which the plebeians at this time did not share with the patricians. *Livy*, who has affected to fill his history with wonderful events, speaks of a tradition, that the whole name of the *Potitii*, consisting of twelve families, in which were thirty persons, at or past the age of puberty, perished within the year, *Hercules* thus revenging himself on the family, which had despised him. The same author adds, that *Appius* was struck blind some years after by the angry gods, as a punishment for his profaneness. But *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that *Appius* confined himself to his house, and that he only pretended to be blind, lest, if he appeared in public, he should be reproached by the patricians, whom he had highly exasperated. Thus *Appius* brought a blemish on the senate and priesthood; but made his country amends by the useful works he undertook with success. For by an aqueduct seven miles long, he supplied *Rome* with plenty of wholesome water, which it wanted before, and made the famous road from *Rome* to *Capua*, which lasted intire above eight hundred years. The remains of this wonderful work are the admiration of all the nations in *Europe* to this day (X).

His aqueduct and high-way.

THE

* LIV. l. ix. c. 29. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xix. FEST. VOCE Potitius.

(X) The aqueduct of *Appius* began seven miles from *Rome*, and after having run a great way under ground, discharged part of its waters between the gates *Capena* and *Trigemina*, and conveyed the rest quite to the *campus Martius*. It was dug under-ground, and laid very deep, says *Frontinus* (16), either because the art of levelling was not then brought to perfection; or because the *Roman* territory was yet too much exposed to the incursion of her enemies, who might have destroyed the stately arches, and intercepted the water. This water was for many ages called *Aqua Appia* from the censor's name. The other work he undertook was equally useful to the republic. The road from *Rome* to *Capua* was almost impassable, especially for the *Roman* armies, which were often obliged to cross the *Pomptin* marshes to make war in *Samnum*, and in the east of *Italy*. The censor therefore levelled a way through rocks and hills, and built bridges over the rivulets and marshes for the conveniency of the troops and of travellers. This road was called the *Appian* way, and also the queen of roads. *Procopius* gives us the following description of it (17): This way was made, says he, nine hundred years ago, by the order and direction of *Appius Claudius*, who was then censor. It reached from *Rome* to *Capua*, that is,

about a hundred and forty-two miles. It was broad enough for two chariots to go abreast without incommoding each other. The stones which *Appius* employed in this great work, were brought from a great distance, and as hard as flints. These great pieces of rock were squared and smoothed by the most skilful workmen. The stones were so artfully joined together without any cement, that they looked like one single stone for several miles together. This vast work continues intire to this day without having received the least injury from carts and carriages. Thus far *Procopius*. This famous road began at the gate *Capena*, and did not for a great while reach farther than *Capua*, though the author of the *lives of illustrious men* gives *Appius* the honour of carrying it from *Rome* quite to *Brunnsium*, in the extreme parts of *Italy* on the *Adriatic* sea. But that writer is herein certainly mistaken, the provinces, through which he must have carried this work, in order to bring it to the sea, not being at that time subject to the *Romans*. In the beginning of *Augustus's* reign it reached indeed to *Brunnsium*, that is, two hundred thirty-eight miles further. But no historian tells us who was the author or manager of this second work. Most writers guess, that it was done by *Julius Caesar*; for *Plutarch* tells us, that the

(16) *Frontin. de Aquaductibus.*

(17) *Procop. de Bell. Gothie. l. i.*

- a THE succeeding consuls, *C. Junius Brutus* a third time, and *Q. Æmilius Barbula* a second time, cancelled, with the consent and approbation of the people, the new list of senators, which *Appius* had made, and restored that venerable body to its former lustre. This same year the people recovered a privilege, which the consuls and dictators had usurped from them. A law had been formerly made, by which the people assembled in the comitia were empowered to chuse six legionary tribunes (Y) out of the twenty-four in the consular armies consisting of four legions. Each consul had two legions under his command, which made a consular army; and each legion was commanded by six tribunes. The generals had for some time taken upon them to nominate all the legionary tribunes without any regard to the right of the people.
- b *L. Atilius* therefore, and *C. Marcus*, two tribunes of the people, got a decree passed in the comitia, empowering the people not only to chuse six tribunes, as formerly, but sixteen out of the twenty-four. But this law was not of long duration. Though the republic at this time stood in no need of a fleet, having no wars to maintain but with the *Samnites* and *Hetrurians*, yet the people, at the motion of *Decius Mus*, one of their tribunes, appointed two officers, styled by the *Latin* historians *Duumviri Navales*, to take upon them the care of naval affairs^d. Duumviri Navales.
- c IN the mean time the two consuls took the field, *Brutus* against the *Samnites*, and *Æmilius* against the *Hetrurians*. The latter found the enemy ready to lay siege to *Sutrium* with a very numerous army, all the leucumones, except that of *Arretium*, having furnished their contingents of troops. The consul no sooner appeared, but the *Hetrurians*, depending on their numbers, offered him battle, which *Æmilius* did not decline. Both *Romans* and *Hetrurians* behaved with extraordinary courage and resolution. The latter, being obstinately bent to conquer or die, fell in great numbers round their colours without giving ground, or being put into disorder. The battle lasted till night put an end to it, when both armies retired in good order to their respective camps. But as the *Hetrurians* had lost more men than the *Romans*, they thought fit to retire in the night, and leave the consul master of the field. *Livy* robs *Æmilius* of the glory of a triumph for this victory, which he represents as very inconsiderable; but it is certain from the *Capitoline* marbles, that he entered *Rome* triumphantly on the ides of the month *Sextilis*^e; whence we are inclined to think, that this victory was more complete than that writer makes it. As for the other consul, he took from the *Samnites* first *Cluvia*, and then *Bovianum*. All those in the former, who were able to bear arms, were put to the sword; the latter was given up to be plundered by the soldiers, but the lives of the citizens were spared. And now the *Samnites* had no refuge but in artifice; they endeavoured to draw the *Romans* into new *Caudian Forks*, and with this view spread a report in the *Roman* camp by their emissaries, that they had conveyed all their provisions and effects into the forest of *Avernus* between *Cumæ* and *Puteoli* in *Campania*. The *Roman* troops, allured by the hopes of booty, entered the forest, where they were all on a sudden surrounded by the enemy's forces, who lay concealed among the bushes. But the legions, rallying in an instant, threw all their baggage into a heap, and without waiting for the word of command, drew up in battalia, and falling upon the enemy, obliged them to seek an asylum in those very woods, which they intended to have rendered fatal to the *Romans*. As the *Samnites* could not easily retire on account of the brambles and thick- The Romans and Hetrurians come to an engagement.
Cluvia and Bovianum taken from the Samnites
Junius Brutus gives the Samnites a great overthrow.

^d Liv. l. ix. c. 30.

^e FASTI CAPITOL.

the *Roman* people committed the inspection of the *Appian* way to him, and that he spent great sums of money upon that work. The *Appian* way is still in many places for several miles together as entire as when it was first made (18). It was paved with several beds of great stones, and bounded on each side with a deep ditch to receive and carry off the water.

(Y) There were, generally speaking, six legionary tribunes in each legion, which they commanded by turns; that is, first, two of these tribunes commanded in chief at a time, and then were succeeded by two others; and so round. *Varro* tells us, that these officers were called *tribunes* from the begin-

ning of the monarchy, because a legion then consisted of three thousand men only, and had but three tribunes, there being as many legionary tribunes as thousands of men in each legion. *Polybius* tells us, that of the twenty-four tribunes, who were in each consular army, consisting of two legions, fourteen were chosen out of the *equites* or knights, who had served five years, and the other ten out of such as had served in the foot full ten years. The former were called *Tribuni Juniores*, and the latter *Tribuni Seniores*. But these qualifications were not rigorously insisted on till the latter ages, when the *Roman* discipline became more regular.

(18) See Dr. Burnet's letters, letter 4.

nels of the forest, the *Romans* massacred them without mercy, and left twenty thousand of them dead upon the spot. For this victory *Junius Brutus* enjoyed the honours of a triumph, though *Livy* does not mention it, on the nones of the month *Sextilis*^f. During the administration of the following consuls, *Q. Fabius* a second time, and *C. Marcius*, the censor *Appius* obstinately refused to quit his office, though his eighteen months, the legal time for its duration, were expired, presuming on the favour of the people, who were greatly pleased with his aqueduct and new road. Nevertheless *Sempronius Sopbus* cited him to appear before the people for this infraction of the law. Seven of the tribunes were for committing him to prison; but the other three taking him under their protection, he carried his point, and kept the censorship alone, his colleague having resigned it in compliance with the law, more than three years longer.

Q. Fabius gives the Hetrurians a total overthrow, and penetrates into the Ciminian forest.

DURING these disturbances, the *Hetrurians*, having drawn together all their forces, encamped in the neighbourhood of *Sutrium*. But the consul *Fabius* falling upon them gave them a total overthrow, took thirty-eight standards from them, and made himself master of their camp, and all their baggage. Those, who escaped the slaughter, took refuge in the *Ciminian* forest. Whereupon *Fabius* proposed in a council of war to pursue the conquered even into the most impenetrable parts of the wood. But not one officer was for marching in quest of the *Hetrurians* at the hazard of finding the *Caudian Forks* of *Samnium* in *Hetruria*. And indeed the *Ciminian* forest, says *Livy*, was at that time more impassable and dreadful than the *Hercynian* forest in *Germany*. No body, not even the merchants, had ever attempted to pass through it. However, *Fabius* resolved to enter it, thinking his victory was not complete so long as the enemy could conceal themselves in this thick forest. He had then with him a near relation, by name *Cæso Fabius*, who knowing perfectly well the *Hetrurian* language, as he had been brought up at *Cære*, undertook to examine the forest and places about it. He took only one slave with him, who having been brought up with him, had learnt the language of the country, as well as himself. Before they set out, they disguised themselves in the habit of shepherds, bearing each a hatchet and two javelins, after the manner of the peasants. But their chief security against a discovery was the general notion that no stranger would dare to enter that forest. In this disguise they set out, and travelled as far as *Camerinum* in *Umbria*; where *Fabius* discovering himself to be a *Roman*, treated with the magistrates of the place in the name of the consul, and obtained a promise, that if the *Roman* army should come into those parts, they would supply it with a reinforcement of men, and thirty days provisions. Upon the report made by *Fabius* at his return, the consul resolved to enter the forest, and carry the war that way into the very heart of *Hetruria*, and executed his design with a great deal of address. He ordered all his baggage to be removed out of the camp in the evening, and the infantry to follow it to the place where he designed to enter the forest. He continued himself in the intrenchments with the cavalry, which he marched early in the morning to the skirts of the wood, where the enemy had placed some centinels. Having by this means kept the enemy in play, he returned, after some slight skirmishes, to his camp; but soon marched out of it again by another gate to join his infantry, which he came up with before night, and together with them entered the narrow passes on the opposite side to the enemy. The next morning by day-break he reached the top of the hill *Ciminus*, which gave name to the forest. From thence he surveyed with pleasure the vast and fruitful plains of *Hetruria*; was charmed that he had broke through a barrier, which had been hitherto impenetrable to the *Romans*, and promised himself much spoil, and great conquests. From mount *Ciminus* he sent a detachment of legionaries, who not only brought off an immense booty, but defeated a tumultuous army, that had got together to rescue it out of their hands. After this expedition, *Fabius* returned to his camp, where he found two tribunes of the people sent thither to forbid him in the name both of the senate and people to venture upon so dangerous an expedition. But the tribunes, extremely pleased to find that the prohibition was come too late, and that the success of the project had put an end to the public fears, returned to *Rome* with the joyful tidings that a way was opened into *Hetruria*.

THE detachments, which *Fabius* had sent out to plunder, having alarmed all *Hetruria*, and the people on the confines of *Hetruria*, these two nations took the field together, and came to the camp before *Sutrium*, where they drew up in the plain, and

^f FASTI CAPITOL.

- a offered the *Romans* battle. But *Fabius*, pretending fear, kept close within his intrenchments, and having by this means lulled the enemy into a false security, he drew up his men, about the fourth watch of the night, within the intrenchment of the camp, caused the ramparts to be levelled, and the ditch to be filled, and then marched out and surprised the enemy while half asleep, and lying scattered over the plain. Of the *Hetrurians* were sixty thousand men slain, or taken prisoners. Their camp was seized and plundered, those who had the good luck to escape, flying to the wood. The Hetrurians overcome by Fabius. Historians do not agree about the place where this important victory was gained, some contending that it was beyond mount *Ciminus* near *Perusia*. But be that as it will, this overthrow was so great, that the three leucumonies of *Cortona*, *Arretium*, and *Perusia*, immediately sent deputies to *Rome* to desire a suspension of arms, which they obtained for thirty years.

THE consul *Marcus* was not attended with the same success against the *Samnites*. For though at first he gained some advantages over them, and took *Allifæ*, a considerable place on the *Vulturnus*, with several other castles and villages, he had the mortification to hear of the misfortune which befel the *Roman* fleet, the first *Rome* had ever put to sea. It was commanded by *P. Cornelius*, who having made a descent at *Pompeii* beyond cape *Palinurus*, suffered his troops to penetrate too far into the country, and thereby gave the inhabitants time to assemble, and cut off their retreat. The *Romans* were forced to relinquish their booty; several of them were slain, and those who escaped The Samnites gain considerable advantages over the Romans.

- c were driven to their ships. This news, with a report spread among the *Samnites*, that *Fabius* had met with the *Caudine Forks* in the *Ciminian* forest, revived their courage to such a degree, that they gave *Marcus* battle, which is allowed by all historians to have been a very bloody one, and to have cost both parties very dear. At *Rome* the *Romans* were thought to have lost it. A great number of the *Roman* knights, and several legionary tribunes, were killed; one of the lieutenant-generals was left dead upon the spot, and the consul himself was dangerously wounded. In order therefore to prevent the misfortunes which were thought imminent, the republic judged it necessary to chuse a dictator, and cast her eyes on *Papirius Cursor*, whose fate it was to be the refuge of his country in times of public danger. The difficulty was how to get him nominated. It was doubted whether the consul *Marcus* was alive; and besides, the *Samnites* had stoppt up all the avenues to his camp. As for *Fabius*, it was much questioned whether he could be prevailed upon to raise his mortal enemy to the dictatorship, and whether *Papirius* would accept of that dignity from the hands of his old rival in glory. Under these difficulties the senate thought fit to pass a decree, commanding *Fabius* to nominate *Papirius* to the dictatorship, and enjoining *Papirius* to accept it. This decree was sent by the senate to *Fabius's* camp at *Sutrium*, with a deputation of their own body, consisting of such persons as had all been consuls. When they read to him the decree of the senate, he was struck with surprise and confusion; but kept his temper, and retired to his tent without coming to any determination. At length his love for his country getting the better of his private resentment, at midnight, according to the superstitious custom, he declared *Papirius* dictator; who having appointed *C. Junius Bubulcus* to be his master of the horse, without loss of time marched away with an army, which had been suddenly raised upon the alarm of *Fabius's* danger in passing the *Ciminian* forest, and arrived at *Longula* on the frontiers of the *Volscei*, where *Marcus* delivered up to him the troops under his command. *Papirius* offered the enemy battle, but they declining it, both armies continued some days quiet in their camps watching each other. Papirius Cursor dictator.

IN the mean time *Fabius*, who was continued in the command of the army in *Hetruria* with the title of proconsul, carried the war into *Umbria*, at that time in alliance with the *Hetrurians*, and gained a complete victory over the *Umbrians*, who no more appeared in the field. While *Fabius* was waging war in *Umbria*, the *Hetrurians* assembled the most numerous army they had ever raised, on the banks of a little lake called *Vadimonius*. All the soldiers, who composed it, had made a vow to conquer or die. At least this is supposed to be the meaning of their sacred law, by which they are said to have bound themselves. But whatever we understand by it, it is certain, that the *Hetrurians* shewed by their obstinacy in maintaining the fight, how much power their sacred law had over their minds. What helped to promote unanimity, and create emulation among their troops, was the leave which was given to every private man to chuse himself a companion to fight by him. But *Fabius* was not afraid to engage an enemy who had even made it a point of religion not to give way. Both armies

The *Hetrurians* overcome
by *FABIUS*.

armies were so warmly bent on trying each other's strength, that, as soon as they drew near, they rushed upon one another sword in hand, without losing time in throwing darts, as was usual, by way of prelude to the battle. The success was long doubtful, and this uncertainty increased the ardor of both parties. The *Romans* could scarce believe that they were contending with the same people they had so often conquered. On the side of the *Romans*, their first line was cut in pieces, and second repulsed; so that the proconsul was obliged to bring his *triarii* to the charge, which was never done, but in the utmost extremity. Nor was even this sufficient; it became necessary for the *Roman* cavalry to dismount, and support the foot. But when the *Roman* knights, who were quite fresh, passing over heaps of dead bodies, had placed themselves in the front of the battle, they fell upon the enemy with such fury, that the *Hetrurians* began at length to give way. Hereupon the legions, shattered and fatigued as they were, returned to the charge, overpowered the enemy, and obliged their whole army to fly in the utmost disorder and confusion. The *Hetrurians* lost the flower of their youth in this action; their camp was taken and plundered, and their whole nation thrown into the utmost consternation ^e.

Papirius gains
a complete vic-
tory over the
Samnites.

THE dictator *Papirius* was no less successful against the *Samnites*, whose general, to raise the courage of his men, had given them finer arms than usual. He divided his army into two bodies, one of which he clothed in stuff of various colours, and furnished with gilt bucklers; the other was armed with silvered bucklers, and clad in white habits. That this novelty might not surprise the *Roman* soldiers, their officers put them in mind, that true glory consisted in martial courage, that gold and silver were of no use in battle but to enrich the conquerors, and that those, who at the beginning of an engagement were the poorest, often proved the richest at the end of it. The officers having thus raised the courage of their men with the hopes of booty, *Papirius* drew up his army in the plain. He commanded the right wing himself, and his general of the horse, *Junius Bubulcus*, the left, which faced the white battalions. *Bubulcus* advancing with his legions, cried out, *I devote all these white men to the black Pluto*; and immediately falling upon them, forced them to give ground; which the dictator observing, cried out, *What! will you, who have a dictator at your head, suffer the chief glory of the action to be gained by another?* This said, he pressed his soldiers to advance, and encouraged them with his example. At the same time his two lieutenants, *M. Valerius* on the right, and *P. Decius* on the left, who had both commanded armies in chief as consuls, putting themselves at the head of the cavalry, each on his own side, attacked with great fury the enemy in flank. Then the *Samnites*, seized with terror, broke their ranks, and fled with all speed to their camp. All the plain was covered with gilt and silvered arms, and dead bodies in white cloth, and stuffs of various colours. The victory was so complete, that the *Samnites* abandoned their camp, which before night was taken and burnt. *Papirius*, having thus retrieved the glory of the *Roman* arms in *Samnium*, returned to *Rome*, where he was decreed a triumph, which was embellished with the fine arms he had taken from the *Samnites*. About the same time *Fabius* arrived from *Hetruria*, and triumphed the same year as the dictator; the former on the ides of *November*, and the latter on the ides of *October*. *Papirius*, after his triumph, retired for the rest of his life from public business; whence we shall not see him appear on the stage any more. The circumstances and time of his death are unknown; but all agree that in him *Rome* lost one of the greatest generals she ever had ^h.

Nuceria taken
from the *Sam-*
nites.

WHEN *Papirius's* dictatorship was expired, *Q. Fabius* the third time, and *Decius Mus* the second time, were raised to the consulate. *Samnium* fell by lot to the former, and *Hetruria* to the latter. *Fabius* took *Nuceria*, which had some time since joined the *Samnites*; whom he defeated afterwards in a battle, but without gaining any great advantage over them. As for *Decius*, he was attended with such success in *Hetruria*, that the whole nation desired an alliance with *Rome*. But as the way was now open for making the conquest of this rich country, the consul granted them only a truce for one year; and even that cost them dear: for *Decius* made them pay his troops, and furnish every soldier with two suits of cloaths. While all was quiet in *Hetruria*, the *Umbrians*, having armed all their youth, without concerning themselves about the consul, who was in *Hetruria*, formed a design of marching directly to *Rome*. This put both the consuls in motion. The prudent *Decius*, leaving *Hetruria*, by long

^h Liv. l. ix. c. 39. Flor. l. i.

^a Liv. ibid. FASTI CAPITOL.

- a marches came and incamped in a place called the *Pupinian* field, lying in the way between *Umbria* and *Rome*, and there quietly waited for the arrival of the enemy. But the bold and enterprising *Fabius* no sooner received orders from the senate to cover *Latium*, than he left *Samnium*, crossed *Sabinia*, and entering *Umbria*, encamped in the very heart of the country near a city called *Mevania*, on the banks of the *Clitumnus*. His sudden and unexpected appearance among them so terrified them, that some retired into their strong-holds, and others fled to the woods. However, a considerable body of the most resolute had courage enough to offer the consul battle, in which they behaved more like women than men. The *Romans* rushing upon them, beat them down with their bucklers, without making any use of their swords. They took the standards from those who guarded them, and carried the standard-bearers to the consul. They even surrounded whole bodies of troops, and made them prisoners without striking a blow. For the words, *Lay down your arms*, were no sooner heard in the ranks, but they all obeyed, and even delivered up to *Fabius* the authors of the war. So that little or no blood was spilt, but the whole army were made prisoners, and the rest of the nation soon after submitted to *Rome*. After this *Fabius* hastened back to *Samnium* to oppose the enterprises of that warlike people ¹.

The Umbrians
vanquished

- WHEN the time came for the electing of new consuls, *Appius Claudius*, who had kept the censorship five years in direct defiance to the laws, stood candidate for the consulate. He was no soldier, and it seemed very improper at that time to bestow the fasces upon any but great commanders. However, *Appius* being supported by the people, carried his point, and was promoted to the consulate the first time with *L. Volumnius Flamma*. But as he was not qualified for the command of the army, the senate obliged him to continue in the city, and left *Fabius* in quality of proconsul at the head of the army, which he had commanded the year before. *Appius*, upon what motives we know not, did all that lay in his power to prevent *Fabius* from having the sole command of the army, and advised the senate to appoint him a colleague. But his proposal was rejected; and *Fabius* continued without any associate in the command of all the troops in *Samnium*, where he made the campaign with great success. The *Samnites* had advanced as far as *Allifæ* on the banks of the *Vulturnus*, and there the proconsul attacked them, and gained a complete victory. The conquered fled to their camp, which *Fabius*, as the day was already far spent, did not attack then, but kept it invested all night. Early next morning, while he was preparing to force it, the *Samnites* thought fit to capitulate, and surrender upon articles; the chief of which was, that all the natives of *Samnium* should have their lives spared, and be sent home; but that they should march out of the camp with only one garment, and pass under the yoke. As for the allies of the *Samnites*, the proconsul made no terms with them; so that they were all, to the number of seven thousand, made slaves, and sold by auction. The *Hernici* were separated from the rest, and sent to *Rome* to be examined, whether they had joined the *Samnites* as volunteers, or by a public order of their nation. The conscript fathers, after having examined them, kept them as slaves, and distributed them about in the villages and municipal towns near *Rome* ².

Appius Clau-
dius chosen
consul.

Q. Fabius
gains a com-
plete victory
over the Sam-
nites.

- WHILE *Fabius* was thus employed against the *Samnites*, the consul *Volumnius* made war on the *Salentines* in the farthest part of *Italy*; with whom he fought some battles with success, and paved the way for his successors to make an intire conquest of that fruitful country. In the mean time the consular year being expired, the fasces were transferred to *Q. Marcius Tremulus*, and *P. Cornelius Arvina*, and at the same time *Appius* was created prætor, a post, which, as he was an able civilian, and eloquent orator, well suited his talents. *Marcius* marched against the *Hernici*, who had taken up arms, provoked at the severe treatment which some of their countrymen, made prisoners in the late battle with the *Samnites*, had met with at *Rome*. The *Hernici*, formerly so formidable, were now, it seems, become a contemptible people. For *Marcius* in a few days took three different camps from them, and obliged them to surrender at discretion. The consul having ended this war, hastened to join his colleague, who stood in great want of his assistance, having suffered himself to be invested by the *Samnites* in narrow passes, where all his convoys were intercepted. The enemy, hearing of his march, went to meet him, and gave him battle, while his troops were fatigued with long marches, and in some disorder. The battle began with the usual fury of men under a necessity of conquering or dying; both the *Samnites* and *Romans*

The Hernici
subdued.

¹ Liv. l. ix. c. 41. Diodor. Sicul. l. xix.

² Liv. l. ix. c. 41.

The Samnites
defeated with
the loss of thirty
thousand men.

The fate of the
Hernici de-
termined.

The Samnites
enter Cam-
pania;

But are de-
feated in two
battles.

Minucius the
consul killed.

fighting with incredible resolution. As the attack was made not far from the camp ^a of *Cornelius*, by the shouts he heard, and the clouds of dust which were raised, he judged that his colleague was engaged with the enemy. Whereupon he immediately ordered his troops to arms, marched out of his intrenchments, and falling upon the enemy in flank, broke through them, and made his way to their camp, and set fire to it. At the sight of the flames the *Samnites* were so discouraged, that they betook themselves to a disorderly flight, every man shifting for himself in the best manner he could. The *Romans* pursued them, cutting them in pieces, till they were tired with slaughter, and then returned to their camp. In this action the *Samnites* lost thirty thousand men. While the *Roman* generals were congratulating each other on their victory, news was brought that a new body of *Samnites* appeared near the field of ^b battle. These were new levies raised all over *Samnium*, and sent to recruit the army. They no sooner appeared, than the victorious legions, forgetting the fatigues they had already undergone, assembled before they had received the consuls orders, drew up in battalia, and falling upon the new-comers, dispersed them with great slaughter. The *Samnites*, now quite disheartened, sent deputies to the consuls to sue for peace. The consuls referred the suppliants to *Rome*, after having obliged the vanquished to supply, by way of preliminary, the two armies with three months provisions, to give them a year's pay, and furnish each soldier with one habit ¹.

The two consuls being in the field, when the time came for electing new magistrates, *P. Cornelius*, surnamed *Barbatus*, was appointed dictator to preside in the ^c comitia. He chose *Decius Mus* for his general of the horse, and the people *Posthumius Megillus* and *Tib. Minucius Augurinus* for their next year's consuls. At the same time the senate determined the fate of the *Hernici*. The cities of *Alatrium*, *Ferentinum*, and *Verulum*, which had continued faithful to the *Romans*, were allowed to chuse whether they would be governed by their own laws, or have the right of *Roman* citizens; and they preferred the former. The inhabitants of the other cities were obliged to be governed by the laws of *Rome*, and declared *Roman* citizens, but without the right of suffrage. They were forbid to hold any assemblies, or to marry out of their own cities. This law the *Romans* used to impose on conquered nations to prevent a too strict union among them. At this time deputies arrived from *Carthage* with a com- ^d pliment and presents, which the republic accepted, and made others in return. The new consuls were both ordered into *Samnium*, each at the head of a consular army, that is, of an army consisting of two legions. The *Samnites*, notwithstanding their losses, had entered *Campania*, and laid waste the fruitful country of *Fulcrum*. *Marcus* therefore encamped in the neighbourhood of *Bovianum*, and *Posthumius* took his rout towards *Tifernum*. The latter came to an engagement with the *Samnites*, the success of which being equal, *Posthumius* pretended to be worsted, and in order to deceive the enemy, decamped in the night-time, and retired to the mountains. The *Samnites* followed him, and posted themselves within two miles of his camp. Hereupon *Posthumius*, having finished his intrenchments with the utmost dispatch, and left a sufficient ^e number of troops to defend them, marched out at midnight with the rest of his army, and joined his colleague *Minucius*, who lay in sight of another body of *Samnites*. *Minucius*, being thus reinforced, marched with his two legions alone into the plain, and offered the enemy battle; which they accepted, not knowing that the other consul was arrived. The victory was disputed with great warmth on both sides. But when the *Samnites* were much fatigued, *Posthumius* and his troops falling upon them with fresh vigor, they could no longer hold out, but were forced to save themselves by flight. The *Romans* made a dreadful slaughter of them, and took one and twenty ensigns. After this victory the consuls without delay led their victorious troops to *Posthumius's* ^f camp, and from thence sallied out upon the body of *Samnites*, which was posted there. This battle was more bloody than the former; the consul *Minucius* was killed in it, and *Statius Gellius*, the *Samnite* general, made prisoner. At length the *Romans* carried the day, and took twenty-six ensigns from the enemy. Upon the news of *Minucius's* death the people at *Rome* immediately appointed *Fulvius Curvus* to succeed him, who took *Bovianum*, and other cities, for which he triumphed on his return to *Rome*. Why *Posthumius*, who seems to have deserved the same honour, did not triumph with him, we know not. The *Fastus Capitolini* do not allow him this honour, though *Livy* does; but as that author makes him triumph with *Minucius*,

¹ Liv. l. ix. c. 43

- a who was killed in the battle, we have chose to follow the *Fasti* ^m. In the succeeding consulate of *Sempronius Sophus*, and *P. Sulpicius Saverrio*, the *Samnites*, quite exhausted with the war, sent deputies to *Rome* to desire a renewal of their ancient confederacy with the republic. The senate granted them their request, after they had given certain proofs of their sincerity, by receiving every-where the consular army under the command of *Sempronius* with marks of respect, and supplied the troops with all sorts of provisions. The consuls being now disengaged from the *Samnitic* war, marched against the *Æqui*, who, seduced by the bad example of the *Hernici*, had declared against *Rome*, and joined the *Samnites*. They were no more that formidable nation, which had often struck terror into the *Roman* legions; long inaction had incruvated them so that they had not courage enough to keep the field, but sheltered themselves behind the walls of their cities, which the two consular armies invested, overrunning their country, and laying it every-where waste. The conquerors made themselves masters of forty-one towns in fifty days, most of which they razed or burnt, and thereby almost extirminated the whole nation of the *Æqui*. These rapid conquests spread such terror among the neighbouring nations, that the *Marfi*, *Peligni*, *Frentani*, and *Marrucini*, sent to demand an alliance with *Rome*, which they easily obtained. By this memorable expedition the consuls merited and obtained the honours of a triumph.

The Samnites obtain a renewal of their ancient alliance with Rome.

The Æqui subdued.

- THE renowned *Q. Fabius*, being this year censor with *P. Decius Mus*, reformed an abuse introduced by *Appius*, who had dispersed great numbers of freedmen, and the meanest of the people, among the country-tribes, and by that means had got a great influence in all elections, those men being intirely devoted to him. *Fabius* re-incorporated into the four city tribes the rabble *Appius* had taken from thence, so that for the future they could influence no more than four tribes, and in these their party was not the strongest. This reformation was so agreeable to the republic, that the *Romans* gave *Fabius* for this single act the surname of *Maximus*, a title which he had not acquired by subduing the *Hetrurians*, the *Samnites*, and the *Umbrians*. This surname was ever after preserved in his branch of the *Fabian* family. The next year, when *Cornelius Lentulus* and *L. Genucius* were consuls, was spent chiefly in sending colonies to the conquered cities. In the succeeding consulate of *Livius Dentor* and *Æmilius Paulus*, the art of painting was introduced at *Rome* by *C. Fabius*, afterwards consul, who painted the walls of a new temple dedicated to the goddess of *Health*, and thence got the surname of *Pictor*, or, *The Painter*. The following year the republic had no consuls, but was governed by two dictators successively created, *Q. Fabius* and *Valerius Corvus*. The former marched an army against the *Marfi*, who had revolted, and by one single victory brought them back to their duty. The latter was created dictator to conduct a war against the *Hetrurians*, whom he defeated in a pitched battle, though flushed with the advantage which they had gained a few days before over *Sempronius Sophus* his general of the horse, who had fallen into an ambush, and lost a great number of men, and some standards. The *Hetrurians*, humbled by this overthrow, sued for peace, but could obtain only a truce for two years. *Valerius* on his return entered *Rome* in triumph the fourth time, on the tenth of the calends of *December*.

Q. Fabius being censor, acquires the surname of Maximus.

The Marfi reduced, and the Hetrurians defeated.

- AT the next election *Valerius Corvus* was promoted a fifth time to the consulate, and *Q. Apulius Panfa* appointed to be his colleague. During their administration, all being quiet abroad, two tribunes of the people of the same family, and probably brothers, endeavoured to stir up the people against the nobility. The one was named *Quintus Ogulnius*, and the other *Cneius Ogulnius*. These two complained that all the pontifices and augurs were created out of the patricians, and urged, that the plebeians might also partake of those offices. The nobility were highly offended with this proposal, which tended to deprive them of the only distinction between them and the plebeians; but made no great opposition to this new incroachment, knowing that their attempts to exclude them from these dignities would prove fruitless, the people having carried their point in all their struggles with the nobility. However, the famous *Appius Claudius*, though wholly devoted to the plebeian party, became on this occasion, no doubt out of pure caprice, a most zealous defender of the nobility. He had debased the senate by introducing the sons of freedmen into it, and profaned the priesthood by lodging it in the hands of the public slaves. But now he exerted all his eloquence in favour of the nobility. On the other hand *P. Decius Mus*, a ple-

Plebeians admitted to the pontificate and augurate.

beian of great distinction, who had been twice consul, once dictator, and once censor, spoke in behalf of the people, with all the weight and dignity, which his employments, his credit, and the reputation of his virtue, gave him. The debate was in the assembly of the curiæ; but the tribes being afterwards summoned, the affair was almost unanimously determined by them in favour of the plebeians, and a decree passed for chusing four new pontifices and five new augurs out of the plebeians; so that the college of the pontifices was made now to consist of eight persons, and that of the augurs of nine; which regulation continued to the dictatorship of *Sylla*, who increased the number both of the pontifices and augurs to fifteen. *Decius Mus* was chosen one of the new pontifices^a.

Other laws revived in favour of the people.

THE Ogulnian law was the work of the two tribunes: but the consul *Valerius* undertook to revive another law, which had been made by *Valerius Poplicola*, and had afterwards been revived by another of his ancestors. By this law it was enacted, that in capital causes the accused should have a right of appealing to the tribunal of the people. The patricians had, by their interest, rendered this law ineffectual, and often prevented the execution of it; so that it was become obsolete. *Valerius* therefore now restored it once more, and drew it up in more distinct terms than before. But the only punishment denounced against the transgressors of it, was, that they should be deemed guilty of a dishonest action. A slight punishment indeed for a more corrupt age, but sufficient at this time to restrain the *Romans*, who piqued themselves on their virtue, and were never chosen for great employments, unless they had preserved their reputation pure and untainted.

Nequinium taken from the Umbrians.

THE consuls chosen for the new year were *M. Fulvius Patinus* and *T. Manlius Torquatus*. The former marched into *Umbria* to carry on the siege of *Nequinum*, which *Apuleius*, one of the former consuls, had begun. This city was, with regard to its situation, one of the strongest in *Italy*. It was built upon the edge of a steep rock, and surrounded in great part by the river *Nar*. But the treachery of two *Nequinians* facilitated taking of a place, which was deemed impregnable. These traitors from their houses, which were near the ramparts, dug by dint of hand-labour, a passage under-ground quite to the advanced guard of the *Romans*, on the side of the town, where there were no rocks. The consul before whom they appeared quite unexpected, after having examined them, detained one of them as an hostage, and sent the other back to the city through the subterraneous passage with two *Roman* soldiers. These upon their return made such a report as increased the confidence of the consul, who ordered three hundred chosen men to follow them, and enlarge the way under-ground; which they did accordingly, and having entered the city in the night, seized one of the gates, and let in the rest of the army. The consul having by this means made himself master of the city without striking a blow, for the *Nequinians* immediately threw down their arms, obliged the inhabitants to receive a *Roman* colony, which might keep the rest of *Umbria* in awe. This was the only punishment he inflicted upon them. The colony changed the infamous name of *Nequinium*, derived from *Nequitia* rogues, into that of *Narnia* from the river *Nar*. For this exploit *Fulvius* was rewarded with a triumph, which he obtained on the seventh of the calends of *October*^o. In the same consulate the *Hetrurians* broke their truce with *Rome*; but while they were preparing to enter the *Roman* territories, they were obliged by an irruption of the *Gauls* to suspend the execution of their design. However, their animosity against the republic was so great, that they chose rather to gain over these new enemies by money, than to repel them by force. Accordingly, they paid them large sums, on condition that they should not only forbear pillaging *Hetruria*, but join them against *Rome*. The *Gauls* accepted the offers made them, took the money, and left *Hetruria* in tranquillity. But when they were to march towards *Rome*, they excused themselves, unless the *Hetrurians* would secure them a retreat in their country, by assigning them lands to settle on. This the *Hetrurians* absolutely refused. The *Romans*, being informed of these negotiations between the *Hetrurians* and *Gauls*, ordered the consul *Manlius* to march into *Hetruria*, and punish the inhabitants for their breach of faith. But *Manlius* being killed by a fall from his horse, the centuries met to appoint him a successor; and all to a man, which had never happened since the foundation of *Rome*, gave their suffrages in favour of *Valerius Corvus*, who was now the sixth time raised to the consulate. The *Hetrurians* no sooner understood that the formidable *Valerius* was marching against

Valerius Corvus overthrew the Hetrurians.

^a Liv. l. x. c. 8. ^o Liv. l. x. c. 10. Flor. epit. 89. Frontin. Strat. l. xi. Fast. Capit.

them,

- a them, than they quitted the field, and retired within the walls of their cities. The brave consul over-ran the whole country, committing every-where great devastations, in order to draw the enemy into the field. But they, more concerned about preserving their lives than their estates, kept close within their strong-holds. This was a kind of victory, which brought great glory to *Valerius*, and was the last of his exploits. On his return to *Rome*, as he was now in a very advanced age, he retired to enjoy the tranquillity of a private life after so many labours, and so plentiful a harvest of glory. In what year he ended his days is not known; but it is certain that he lived above an hundred years. He was a true pattern of the zeal men in public stations owe their country. He was one and twenty times promoted to offices, that intitled him to sit
- b in the curule chair, which can be said of no *Roman* but himself. When the republic seemed to forget him, he took advantage of those intervals of rest to improve his paternal estate, and manure his lands. He was great in peace, and greater in war, and may be said to have appeared eminent among those heroes, whom *Rome* produced in her most glorious and virtuous age P.

TOWARDS the close of this year the republic, whether by the death of *Valerius* or some other accident is unknown, fell into an inter-regnum. When the comitia were assembled to elect new magistrates, *Appius* took it into his head to prevent any plebeian from being chosen to the consulate. But *Curius Dentatus*, one of the tribunes, withstood the eloquence and authority of *Appius*, and obliged the senate to confirm

c the custom of chusing one of the consuls out of the plebeians; so that *L. Cornelius Scipio*, and *Cn. Fulvius Centumalus*, a plebeian, were raised to that dignity. During their administration, the republic was engaged in a war with the two most formidable nations in her neighbourhood, the *Hetrurians*, who had broke the truce, and the *Samnites*, who notwithstanding their treaty of alliance, had openly declared war. *Scipio* marched against the *Hetrurians*, who met and engaged him in the plains of *Volaterra*. The battle lasted all day, and when night put an end to it, the victory was still doubtful. But an unaccountable terror seizing the enemy, they retired in the night-time in small companies to their respective leucomonies. Hereupon the consul plundered and laid waste the whole country. This is the account *Livy* gives of the campaign in *Hetruria*. But a more authentic monument than *Livy's* history, ascribes the defeat of the *Hetrurians* to *Fulvius* the plebeian consul; and adds, that having finished his expedition against the *Hetrurians*, he hastened into *Samnium*, and there obtained a complete victory over those ancient enemies of his republic, while his colleague *Scipio* continued inactive at *Rome*. On his return a triumph was decreed him for having conquered the *Samnites* and *Hetrurians*. He triumphed on the ides of *November*¹. A report being spread, before the comitia assembled for electing new consuls, that both the *Hetrurians* and *Samnites* were making mighty preparations to repair their losses, the first care of the *Romans* was to chuse consuls of valor and experience, to disappoint the designs of the two nations more enraged against *Rome* than ever.

The Hetrurians and Samnites renew the war, but are defeated.

- e The centuries immediately cast their eyes upon *Fabius*; but he, from what motive is hard to guess, declined the honour, and would not accept of it, till he was in a manner forced by the people and their tribunes. He then desired that they would oblige him so far as to give him a colleague to his own mind, and proposed to them *Decius Mus*, who was at his request unanimously chosen. While the two new consuls were preparing to take the field, the *Hetrurians* came to a resolution to ask a peace. Hereupon the consuls marched both into *Samnium*, *Fabius* by the territory of *Sora*, and *Decius* through the country of the *Sidicini*. *Fabius* was informed on his march that the *Samnites* lay in an ambush on the banks of the *Tifernus*, and there waited for his coming into a deep valley with a design to attack him from the hills. This advice
- f did not make the brave *Fabius* change his rout: he chose to surprise and attack the enemy in their ambuscade. Accordingly, having lodged his baggage in a safe place, he marched with his troops in battle-array towards the enemy, who, finding their project discovered, left their ambush, and drew up in the plain. Their first onset was terrible: they had assembled all the forces of their country, and looking upon this battle as the decisive stroke, exerted their utmost efforts. The brave resistance of the enemy gave *Fabius* no small uneasiness. He therefore commanded the cavalry to rush full speed on their battalions. But this proved ineffectual, the *Samnite* infantry still keeping their posts without losing an inch of ground. *Fabius*, finding he could

¹ PLIN. l. vii. c. 48. VAL. MAX. l. viii. c. 13. CIC. in Cat. Major. PLUT. in Mario. ² FAST. CAPIT.

Fabius by a stratagem gains a complete victory over the Samnites.

Samnium laid waste.

Appius attempts to exclude the plebeians from the consulate.

Several cities taken from the Samnites.

not by force break those impenetrable battalions, had recourse to stratagem, and ordered *Scipio*, one of his lieutenants, to march with the *bastrati* silently round the top of a neighbouring hill, and from thence to fall on the enemy's rear. The consul's orders were executed with such address, that neither the *Samnites* nor *Romans* perceived this motion. In the mean time the former, proud of having repulsed the *Roman* cavalry, took new courage, and obliged the first line of the consular army to give way, and retire through the spaces of the second line. Then the *principes*, who formed that line, engaged in their turn, and as they were quite fresh, put a stop to the impetuosity of the *Samnites* for some time. But they likewise were obliged in the end to give way. When the *Samnites* thought themselves secure of the victory, they discovered at a distance the ensigns of a body of troops, which advanced in good order to the field of battle. This was the detachment commanded by *Scipio*, coming down the hill to attack the enemy's rear. The consul, in seeing it, cried out, *What unexpected good fortune ! I see my colleague Decius hastening to our assistance.* The general's words, passing from legion to legion, were soon carried through the whole army, and heard by the enemy's battalions. The *Romans* took fresh courage ; but the *Samnites*, already tired with fighting, and afraid to engage another consular army, were so discouraged, that without waiting for their generals order's, they dispersed, and fled in confusion, leaving only three thousand four hundred men dead upon the plain, a very inconsiderable loss. The *Romans* took twenty-three standards. On the other hand *Decius* gained a considerable victory over the *Apulians*, as they were marching to join the *Samnites*. After this the two consular armies entering *Samnium*, laid the whole country waste. *Decius* changed his camp forty-five times, and *Fabius* his eighty-six. By this means the fields were every-where laid waste, and the country, which had been in a flourishing condition, during a pretty long interval of peace, utterly ruined. *Fabius* took also the city of *Cimetra*, and razed it. Two thousand four hundred prisoners were taken in these expeditions, and all the inhabitants, who were found with arms, put to the sword.

THE campaign being ended, *Fabius* was recalled to preside in the comitia for the election of new consuls. Upon his arrival he found that *Appius* had once more formed a scheme to exclude the plebeians, and confine the consulate to the patricians. In order to this, having secured his own election beyond a possibility of failing, he engaged the centuries to continue *Fabius* in his office for the ensuing year. As the *Romans*, especially the patricians, had a great esteem and veneration for that able commander, the first centuries, consisting chiefly of the nobility, unanimously voted in his favour. But *Fabius* himself opposed his election, protesting that he would never give the republic so pernicious a precedent as to suffer himself to be elected in the comitia, where he presided. The whole body of the patricians surrounded his tribunal, conjuring him to restore the consulate to its ancient lustre. But *Fabius* could not by any means be prevailed upon to fall into *Appius*'s scheme ; so that *Volumnius Flamma*, a plebeian, was joined with *Appius* in the consulate. However *Fabius* and his colleague *Decius* were continued, with the title of proconsuls, in the command of the armies in *Samnium* for six months longer ; which *Fabius* spent in keeping in awe the *Lucanians*, who had revolted, and preventing them from joining the *Samnites*. As for *Decius*, after having laid waste all *Samnium*, he pursued the small army that unhappy people had still on foot from place to place, in order to draw them to a battle, and so harassed them, that they were at length obliged to disband, and retire into the neighbouring countries. Then *Decius*, having no enemy in the field to contend with, laid siege to their cities, and made himself master of *Murgantia*, *Romulea*, and *Ferentinum*, three important cities ; in the first he made two thousand one hundred and ten prisoners ; in the second he put two thousand three hundred of the inhabitants to the sword, and took six thousand ; in the third about three thousand men, who defended the place, and made a desperate resistance, were killed upon the ramparts. Thus *Samnium* was reduced to the last extremity ; and to complete the destruction of this unhappy country, the new consul *Volumnius* entered it with another army of two legions, and fifteen hundred auxiliaries.

THE *Samnites*, being thus driven out of their own country, took refuge in *Hetruria* ; where, in a diet held at their request, they prevailed upon the several leucomonies to join in a war against *Rome*, and offered to serve under them at their own

- a expence. The *Hetrurians*, looking upon this reinforcement as sent them from heaven, raised a formidable army, and even engaged with sums of money some troops of *Gauls* to join them. The senate, being informed of these motions, dispatched *Appius*, to whom *Hetruria* had fallen by lot, to make head against so powerful an enemy with an army consisting of two legions, and twelve thousand auxiliaries. *Appius* came and posted himself within reach of the enemy. But as he neither knew how to time a battle, nor to chuse his ground, he was worsted in every skirmish and slight action, in which he ventured to engage. These small advantages increased the enemy's confidence, and gave them certain hopes of victory in a general action. In short, things were come to that pass, that the soldiers distrusted their general, and the
- b general his soldiers. In this extremity, *Appius* is said *, for the fact is not absolutely certain, to have written to his colleague, begging him to leave *Samnium*, and hasten to his assistance. *Volumnius*, upon the receipt of the letter, immediately came and joined him, to the inexpressible joy of the troops of *Appius*. But *Appius* himself pretending to be surpris'd, asked his colleague sternly, what had brought him from *Samnium*, disowned his letter, and told him that he had acted a dishonourable part in quitting his own province, in order to gain credit by giving assistance to others, who did not want it. Hereupon *Volumnius* was for returning immediately into *Samnium*; but the officers of both armies prevailed upon him to stay in *Hetruria*, where the common cause called for his assistance, and to despise the reproaches and unaccountable
- c behaviour of *Appius*. At the request of the officers the two consuls afterwards had an interview in that part of the camp, where the generals used to harangue their soldiers, and there in the presence of the army made their complaints of each other. *Volumnius*, though naturally no orator, spoke on this occasion with great eloquence; for he had the better cause. Upon which *Appius*, who had had *Volumnius* for his colleague in the consulship ten years before, could not forbear rallying him: Wonderful indeed! said he, I have made a dumb man speak. *Volumnius* in our first consulate scarce opened his mouth for some months. He had then no tongue; but now is become eloquent, a perfect master of oratory. What a miraculous change have I wrought in him! Since you have taught me to speak, replied *Volumnius*, I wish I could, in return for your kindness, teach you to fight. In our present situation, it is of small importance to be able to talk well. If you have a mind to know which of us understands best the conduct of an army, we have wars to carry on in two places, *Samnium* and *Hetruria*; make your choice; it is indifferent to me in which province I command. At these words the soldiers cried out with one voice, that both consuls should carry on the war in *Hetruria*. *Volumnius* answered, that he was willing to stay, but desired the troops to signify to him their inclinations by a general shout. Instantly the army made such loud acclamations, as were heard in the enemy's camp, who, taking the alarm, drew up in order of battle. *Volumnius* immediately marched out with his troops to engage them. But *Appius* was for some time in suspense, whether
- d he should join in the battle or not; and nothing determined him but the fear of being deserted by his troops, who shewed a strong inclination to follow *Volumnius*, in defiance of their general's orders. It fell to *Volumnius* to engage the *Hetrurians*, and to his colleague to oppose the *Samnites*, who, full of rage, advanced against him. Emulation for glory, and the shame of being obscured by a rival, roused *Appius* to such a degree, that he behaved himself with more courage than could have been expected. He gave his orders like a good commander, fought with intrepidity, inspired his men with ardor, and in short equalled his colleague both in bravery and conduct. The united *Samnites* and *Hetrurians*, not being able to withstand two consular armies, were intirely defeated, and their camp taken and plundered. The
- e enemy left seven thousand three hundred men dead upon the field of battle; and two thousand of them were made prisoners. It must be owned, that *Appius* bore a good share in this glorious action, and that if he inspired *Volumnius* with eloquence, *Volumnius* inspired him with courage. After this victory, which put an end to the misunderstanding between the two consuls, *Volumnius* was obliged to return into his own province, and oppose the *Samnites*, who, notwithstanding their late losses, had raised a new army, and were actually ravaging *Campania*. *Volumnius* surpris'd them near the *Luturnus*, slew six thousand of them, and recovered all the spoil they had taken †.

Appius reduced to great straits in Hetruria.

Appius and Volumnius defeat the united Hetrurians and Samnites.

* Tass. annales citati a Livio, l. x. c. 18.

† Liv. l. x. c. 20.

THE republic being alarmed by accounts from *Appius*, of the vast preparations for war, which the *Hetrurians*, and their allies the *Umbrians*, *Gauls*, and *Samnites*, were making, turned their eyes again upon *Fabius*, and in the comitia, which were held soon after, raised him the fifth time to the consulate. The colleague they designed to give him was *Volumnius*, who presided in the comitia; but *Fabius* refusing to accept the office, unless he had again *Decius* for his colleague, *Volumnius*, tho' the first tribes had already voted for him, approved of *Fabius*'s request; and making a fine elogium upon *Decius*, exhorted the tribes to chuse him; which they did accordingly, bestowing that honour upon him the fourth time. *Appius*, who was then in *Hetruria*, was appointed prætor; and *Volumnius* continued in the command of the army in *Samnium*, with the title of proconsul. It was customary for the new consuls to draw lots for their respective provinces; but it was natural to suppose, that *Decius* would compliment *Fabius* with the command in *Hetruria*, where the stress of the war lay, induced thereunto by gratitude, as well as by the age and superior merit of his colleague: and this he was very willing to do; but the patricians making it a point of honour not to permit any other than *Fabius* to have the conduct of the *Hetrurian* war, the plebeians would not suffer him to have it, unless it fell to him by lot, fearing lest the patrician consul should, for the future, claim a right of chusing his province. How difficult is it for a man to avoid being carried away by the stream of a party in which he once engages! The pacific *Decius* was compelled, contrary to his temper and inclination, to go with the current of his party, and insist on its being determined by lot, whether he or *Fabius* should command in *Hetruria*. The affair was first brought before the senate, where it was determined in favour of *Fabius*. Hereupon *Decius* appealed to the people; and the comitia being assembled, the two competitors pleaded each his own cause more like soldiers than orators. When they had both done speaking, the people began to vote, when *Fabius* rising up again, desired them, in a few words, to hear *Appius*'s letters read, before they decided on the present dispute. *Appius*, in the letters he had lately written from *Hetruria*, had painted the danger with which the republic was threatened in very lively colours, and given a very particular account of the four armies which were to fall upon *Rome*. The bare relation of the danger determined the people to have recourse to the surest remedy; and *Fabius* was instantly appointed to command the army in *Hetruria*. And now all the *Roman* youth were eager to serve under so great a commander; but he would carry with him no larger a reinforcement than four thousand foot, and six hundred horse. At the head of this small body he marched towards the camp, which the fearful *Appius* was still strengthening with new fortifications. As he drew near it, he met a detachment sent to cut wood in a neighbouring forest. Whither are you going, fellow soldiers? said *Fabius*. The soldiers answered, To cut wood to fortify our camp. What! replied the general, is it not already fortified? We are already surrounded, returned the soldiers, with a double ditch, and a double rampart, and yet we are still afraid. Since that is the case, said *Fabius*, return to the camp, and level the first rampart. The detachment immediately returned, and put their new general's orders in execution; which greatly alarmed *Appius*: but *Fabius* arrived the same day, to the inexpressible joy of the army, every one hoping affairs would take a better turn under so able a general. The next day *Appius* set out for *Rome*, to take upon him the prætorship, which had been assigned, and better suited his talents, than the conduct of an army. *Fabius*, instead of shutting up his soldiers within lines, which, he said, betrayed fear, kept them in constant motion, by frequent marches and counter-marches; but, before he entered upon action, he returned to *Rome*, for what reason is uncertain. Upon his arrival, the senate, alarmed at the dreadful representation, which *Appius* had made of the enemy's forces, judged it necessary to strengthen him by a second army. *Fabius*, when this was first proposed to him, told the conscript fathers, that he should acquiesce in what they thought proper, on account of the fears of others, not his own; but desired, that, if another general was to be joined with him, *Decius* might be the person, shewing thereby, that his late contest with him had not lessened the esteem he had for so great a man. The senate and people readily granted him his request; and then the two consuls, before they left *Rome*, made the following regulations: they sent the proconsul *Volumnius* with two legions into *Samnium*, and, in order to cover the city on the side of *Hetruria*, directed two camps to be pitched, one near *Rome*, on the hill *Vaticanus*, and the other on the banks of the *Tiber*, in the country of the *Falisci*. After these regulations, the two consuls set out for the camp in *Hetruria*.

Fabius sent against the united forces of the Hetrurians, Umbrians, Samnites and Gauls.

- a *ria*. Upon the road they were informed, that a legion, which *Fabius* had left under the command of *Scipio*, had been intirely cut off by the *Gauls* called *Senones*. However, the two generals, without being discouraged by this accident, continued their march; and as their army consisted of four legions, a good number of *Roman* knights, a thousand *Campanian* horse, and a body of auxiliaries, more numerous than all the *Roman* forces, they divided it into two parts, and encamped separately, but within reach of each other, in the plain of *Sentinum*, about four miles from the enemy. We are told, that the forces of the *Gauls* and *Samnites*, who encamped together, amounted to one hundred and forty-three thousand three hundred and thirty foot, and forty-six thousand horse. What the number was of *Hetrurians* and *Umbrians*, who jointly
- b made another camp, we find no-where recorded. As these confederates were separated in their camps, they agreed, that the *Gauls* and *Samnites* should engage the *Romans*, while the *Hetrurians* and *Umbrians* attacked their two camps in the heat of the action. *Fabius* being informed of this design by deserters, immediately sent orders to the two proprætors *Fulvius* and *Posthumius*, who commanded in the camps that covered *Rome*, to enter *Hetruria* without delay, and lay it waste. Hereupon the *Hetrurians* and *Umbrians* hastened to the relief of the unfortunate people, whose houses were burnt, and land ravaged. *Fabius* having thus obliged the enemy to divide their forces, took advantage of the diversion he had made, and, in the absence of the *Hetrurians* and *Umbrians*, brought the *Gauls* and *Samnites* to a battle.
- c *Fabius* commanded the right wing, which faced the *Samnites*, and *Decius* the left, which engaged the *Gauls*. Both parties sustained the first onset with equal bravery, and the resistance of the enemy made the *Romans* sensible, that they could never have withstood the four armies, had they all engaged at once. The advantage first appeared in favour of the *Gauls*, who surprized the *Romans*, soon after the action began, with a new way of fighting, never heretofore used in the wars of *Italy*. They drove full speed armed chariots against the *Roman* cavalry, which, with the noise of the wheels, and the novelty of the sight, frightened the horses, and put them into disorder. They fell afterwards on the first line of the infantry, and broke into the ranks, carrying every-where terror and confusion. The consul *Decius*, having in vain endeavoured to rally his terrified soldiers, resolved to follow the example of his father, and in the same manner devote himself to the *dii manes*. Pursuant to this resolution, he commanded the pontifex *M. Livius* to pronounce the words used in devotements; and having repeated them after him, rode full speed into the thickest of the enemy's battalions, where he was killed, after having received numberless wounds. How great is the power of credulity and superstition! The *Romans*, after the death of their general, looking upon the enemy as devoted to destruction, took new courage, and returned to the charge, as it were to put the decrees of the gods in execution. The pontifex *Livius*, who was himself an able commander, taking advantage of their prejudices, put himself at their head, crying out, We have conquered; the death of *Decius* has secured to us the victory; the *Samnites* and the *Gauls* are devoted to the *manes*, and must inevitably perish. Having thus spoke, he renewed the battle with great fury, and being seconded by some troops sent by *Fabius* from the rear, under the command of *L. Cornelius* and *C. Marcus*, he soon changed the fortune of the day in favour of the *Romans* in the left wing.
- d In the right wing *Fabius* had attacked the *Samnites* but faintly, or rather kept himself upon the defensive, till the enemy had quite spent their strength, and were exhausted; and then becoming in his turn the aggressor, he ordered his cavalry to wheel about, and flank the wings of the enemy, while he, at the head of the legions, attacked them in front. All the troops being thus put in motion at once, the shock was so violent, that
- e the *Samnites*, not being able to stand it, fled in disorder to their camp, leaving the *Gauls* to shift for themselves. These brave men, not disheartened at the rout of their allies, still kept their ground, and covering their heads with their bucklers, formed a tortoise. *Fabius* therefore, to break these impenetrable troops, detached a body of five hundred *Campanian* horse to fall upon their rear, ordering the principes to follow the detachment, and penetrate into their battalions, when once broken. This motion succeeded so well, that the *Gauls* were at length obliged to retire, which they seem to have done in good order; for *Livy* does not tell us that they were put into confusion, but only that they gave way, and left the *Romans* masters of the field. *Fabius* did not pursue them; but led his forces against the camp of the *Samnites*, where he
- f made a dreadful slaughter. Twenty-five thousand of the *Samnites* and *Gauls* were
- g

Decius devotes himself.

The Samnites and Gauls defeated.

killed in this action, and eight thousand taken prisoners. Among the former was *a* *Gellius Egnatius*, an eminent commander of the *Samnites*, who had negotiated the alliance of the four nations. On the side of the *Romans*, the number of the dead, in the left wing, amounted to seven thousand; but in the right, where *Fabius* commanded, only twelve hundred were killed. As for the two proprætors, *Fulvius* and *Posthumius*, they gained no small advantages over the *Hetrurians* and *Umbrians*; and the same year the proconsul *Volumnius* defeated the *Samnites* in a pitched battle at the foot of mount *Tifernus*. After all these successes, *Fabius* returned to *Rome*, and triumphed the day before the nones of *September*. He had scarce left the country, when the *Hetrurians* raised a new army, which obliged him to lead his troops thither again. Upon his arrival, he attacked the *Hetrurians*, killed four thousand five hundred of them on the spot, took one thousand seven hundred and forty prisoners, and struck the rest with such terror, that they made no further attempts that year. This was the last exploit of a hero, who did not leave off conquering, till age disabled him from serving his country. He had a son, surnamed *Gorgas*, that is, the gulph, on account of his excessive intemperance in his youth. After he had squandered away immense sums in debauchery, he corrected his way of living, and became a zealous reformer of manners, in order to wipe off the shame of his past excesses. In his ædileship, he accused before the people a great many patrician women of adultery, and having convicted them, perpetuated the shame of the criminals, by building, with the money accruing from their fines, a temple to *Venus*, as a lasting monument of their infamy *c*.

The Samnites
again defeated.

In the mean time the *Samnites*, notwithstanding their losses, brought two new armies into the field. With one they encamped on the banks of the *Vulturnus*; with the other they entered *Campania*, and pillaged the territories of *Vesuvia* and *Formia*. Hereupon *Appius* the prætor was ordered into *Samnium*, at the head of the army which *Decius* had commanded. The proconsul *Volumnius*, who was already on the spot, joined his forces to those of *Appius*; and both these generals, by pursuing the *Samnites* from place to place, obliged them to unite their two armies in the *Campi Stellates*, between the *Vulturnus* and the *Savo*. There the *Samnites* resolved to put the whole to the issue of a battle; and as they looked upon it as a decisive stroke, they *d* behaved with extraordinary courage and resolution: but the *Romans* at length prevailed, after having lost two thousand seven hundred men. Of the *Samnites* there fell in the battle and pursuit sixteen thousand three hundred.

But take the
field anew.

Rome had now made war with the *Samnites* for forty years almost without interruption, and always with success. The last campaign seemed enough of itself to extinguish their martial ardor. They had lost four battles in one year; the bravest of their generals had been killed; all the flower of their youth cut off; the *Hetrurians*, *Umbrians* and *Gauls*, whom they had drawn into a confederacy, were not now in a condition to lend them any assistance. However, they were not so far discouraged, as to lose all hopes of being able one day to conquer. They made great preparations *e* to take the field once more. The senate being alarmed, ordered the two new consuls, *L. Posthumius Megellus*, who was raised to that dignity a second time, and *M. Atilius Regulus*, to carry the war jointly into *Samnium*; but *Posthumius* falling sick, the whole management of affairs was committed to *Atilius*, who hastening into *Samnium*, met the *Samnites* on the confines of *Campania*. The consul was no sooner encamped, than the enemy, tho' so often vanquished, undertook to execute what the *Romans* themselves would scarce have attempted; they formed a design of forcing the consul's lines, and marching out of their camp undiscovered, by means of a thick fog, surprized the advanced guards, made themselves masters of the *Decuman* gate, and penetrated to the quæstor's tent, where the military chest was kept. In the mean time the alarm *f* spreading to the general's quarters, he put himself at the head of some *manipuli*, and obliged the enemy to retire by the gate through which they had entered. The *Romans* would have pursued them; but *Atilius* fearing some ambuscade, would not suffer them to march out of their entrenchments. The *Samnites*, not doubting but fortune would favour their bold attempts another time, encamped close to the *Roman* lines, and kept the consular army so closely shut up, that they could not enter *Samnium* to live upon free quarter there, as they had designed; but were obliged to bring their provisions from the countries behind them, to which alone they had access.

^a LIV. l. x. c. 24—30. FAST. CAPIT. MACROB. Sat. l. ii. c. 9.

- a THE senate and people of *Rome*, alarmed at this disadvantageous situation of the army, dispatched *Posthumius*, tho' not yet perfectly recovered, with another consular army, to the assistance of his colleague. Upon his arrival, the *Samnites*, who were not in a condition to make head against two consular armies, decamped in haste, and left their country a prey to the enemy. Hereupon the two generals separated, to pillage and lay waste the whole country. *Posthumius*, having committed every-where great devastations, made himself master of *Milonia* and *Triventum*, two places of great strength. The former was taken by assault, after a vigorous defence, and given up to be plundered by the soldiers; three thousand two hundred *Samnites* were cut in pieces on the ramparts, and four thousand two hundred made prisoners. *Triventum* was abandoned by the inhabitants; so that the consul made himself master of it without striking a blow ^w.

Some of their cities taken.

- WHILE *Posthumius* was thus employed, *Attilius* marched to the relief of *Luceria* in *Apulia*, besieged, as he was told, by the *Samnites*. On his march he met the enemy, and came to a battle with them, the success of which was such, that neither army cared to try a second engagement. The *Samnites* were wholly bent on decamping the next day, and returning home; but as the place where they were encamped was a kind of defile, and the *Romans* were between them and *Samnium*, after much deliberation, they resolved to march directly to the *Roman* camp, take their rout by the side of it, and thence advance into the plain. The consul no sooner perceived them, c than he gave orders to his legions to prepare for battle, not doubting but they were coming to attack him. But now *Attilius* perceived how much the action of the day before had discouraged his troops; his officers told him, that they were ready to obey his orders; but that the soldiers were extremely fatigued and intimidated, and that they would certainly be overcome as soon as attacked. This gave *Attilius* great uneasiness; he went in person to visit them in their tents, and endeavoured, by soft words, to rouse their courage; but all to no purpose: he could not, by any means, prevail upon them to stir. In the mean time the *Samnites* drawing near, the *Romans* observed, that they were loaded with stakes and fascines. Whereupon the consul, believing they designed to shut him up in his camp, protested, that he would march d out, and meet the enemy alone; and that, if he were cut in pieces, he should at least escape the mortification of seeing his camp at the mercy of a people so often conquered. His words, and the shame of abandoning their general, induced them at length to take to their arms, and march out; which they did with great reluctance, and very slowly, the battalions not being close, but broken in several places. This motion of the *Romans* was a great disappointment to the *Samnites*, who were no less afraid than they, and equally desirous to avoid a battle; but when they found it was necessary to fight, they acted like brave men, threw down all their baggage in a heap, and placing it in the centre, drew up in battalia. When the two armies drew near, they both betrayed so little inclination to fight, that they would have retired e without action, had they not feared, that the first which drew off, would be attacked in the rear by the other. However, they charged at length each other, but in a very faint manner, and without drawing so near as to come to a close engagement. The *Romans* soon began to give ground, which so encouraged the *Samnites*, that they now exerted their usual vigour, and pressing upon the legions, drove them back quite to their entrenchments, which they would have entered, and left the *Samnites* masters of the field, had not *Attilius* ordered a body of horse to advance to the gate of the camp, with directions to kill every *Roman* who should attempt to enter it. By this means the run-aways being obliged to return to the charge, rallied, and renewed the fight with such vigour, that the *Samnites*, who pursued them, were forced to fly in f their turn. Thus the victory fell in the end to the *Romans*, after they had lost seven thousand three hundred men. Four thousand eight hundred of the *Samnites* were killed upon the spot, and seven thousand taken prisoners, whom the consul made all pass under the yoke. The consul *Attilius* would have gained but little honour this campaign, had he not repaired his losses by a new advantage; for, on his march homewards, having accidentally fallen in with a body of *Samnites*, loaded with the booty which they had made in the country of the *Volsci*, he cut them in pieces, recovered the booty, and released many *Roman* prisoners, whom they had taken in this incursion. After this, he left his army in winter-quarters, and returned to *Rome*, to

Attilius gains a complete victory over the Samnites.

The Etrurians
overcome
by Posthumius

preside at the elections. In the mean time *Posthumius*, uneasy to find nothing to do in *Samnium*, left that country, without orders from the senate, and marching into *Etruria*, where there was more booty and more glory to be gained, defeated the *Etrurians*, took *Ruffella*, and obliged the three leucumonies of *Volturni*, *Perusia*, and *Arretium* to sue for peace. Nevertheless the senate, on his return, refused him a triumph, on account of his irregular proceedings; but he appealed to the people, who, in spite of the senate, decreed him a triumph for his victories over the *Samnites* and *Etrurians* ^a.

The Samnites
raise a new
army.

IN the new consulate of *L. Papirius Cursor*, son of the famous *Papirius*, and *Sp. Carvilius*, *Samnium* became again the seat of war. That martial nation resolved to make a new and more vigorous effort than ever. They published a law, commanding all who were of age to bear arms, to appear upon the first summons from the general of their nation, upon pain of death. The heads of those who disobeyed this law were devoted to *Jupiter*, and it was lawful for any one to kill them, where-ever they were found. The general rendezvous was appointed in the neighbourhood of *Aquilonia*, a city of *Hirpinia*, whither fear brought all the youth of the country, to the number of forty thousand and upwards. In order to inspire them with courage, the heads of the nation obliged sixteen thousand of the bravest men among them to take the following oath, which was administered to them with great solemnity; *May all the curses of the gods fall upon me and my posterity, if I do not follow my generals where-ever they shall lead me; if I ever turn my back, or do not kill those whom I shall see attempting to fly.* Those who hesitated at loading themselves and their posterity with such imprecations, were immediately stabbed, and their bodies thrown among the carcases of the many victims that were sacrificed on this occasion. Those who took the oath were called *legio linteata*, or the *linen legion*, because they had bound themselves by it under a canopy or covering of linen. Magnificent bucklers were given them, and that they might the better be distinguished in an engagement, their helmets were adorned with stately crests. In the mean time the consul *Corvilius*, having left *Rome*, and put himself at the head of the army which *Attilius* had commanded, took his way towards *Samnium*, which he entered without opposition, the enemy not having yet finished their preparations. His first exploit was the taking of *Amiternum*, a city in *Sabinia*, but subject to the *Samnites*, where he cut in pieces two thousand eight hundred men, and made four thousand two hundred and seventy prisoners. On the other hand, *Papirius*, having hastened his levies in *Rome*, took the field, made himself master of *Furconia*, in the neighbourhood of *Amiternum*, and then joined his colleague. After they had laid waste that part of the *Volscian* territory which was subject to the *Samnites*, they parted again, *Corvilius* turning off towards *Cominium*, on the confines of the eastern part of *Samnium*, with a design to besiege it; and *Papirius* marching towards *Aquilonia*, the place of the enemy's general rendezvous. The latter encamped within sight of the enemy, and tried their strength and courage in some slight skirmishes before he came to a general action; which he at length resolved to venture, and therefore sent an express to his colleague, desiring him to press the siege of *Cominium*, lest the enemy should send detachments from thence to reinforce their army near *Aquilonia*. He then called his troops together, and so animated them, that they all cried out to him, that they were ready to follow him whithersoever he should lead them. From the general to the meanest soldier all were equally eager to engage; they were only uneasy to see the battle put off to the next day. Even the augur, whose business it was to observe the presages, chose rather to make a false report, than to check this general ardor. It was then customary to judge of the success of battles before-hand, by the haste or slowness with which the sacred chickens picked up their food. The augur observed, that the chickens fed but slowly, which was a bad omen; but as the ministers of religion are not always the most scrupulous, or the most credulous, the augur, depending more on the ardor of the soldiers, than the greediness of his chickens, declared, that they had fed greedily. *Papirius* heard the augury with joy, and immediately ordered his men to prepare for battle; but the next day, when the army was ready to march out and engage, the report being spread among the troops, that the presages were not favourable, the *Roman* knights, thinking it a matter of such importance as ought to be communicated to the general, prevailed upon young *Papirius*, the consul's nephew, to discover to him the error he

- a was in concerning the auguries. *Be of good courage, answered the general, and behave yourself in the action like a brave man. If the augur has made me a false report, he has drawn the vengeance of the gods upon himself by his irreligion. As for me, I conclude the augury to be favourable, since it was so declared.* Thus spoke *Papirius*, and then ordered the unfaithful keeper of the sacred chickens to be placed at the head of the first line, where he was killed by an unknown hand, before the two armies came to a close engagement. He was probably killed by order of the consul, who pretending to look upon his death as a stroke from heaven, cried out, when the news was brought him, *The vengeance of the gods has spent itself on the person who deserved it. We have nothing more to fear from their anger.* In the beginning of the action, the *linen legion*, which lay under
- b the most sacred engagements not to give way, made a most gallant resistance, and, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the *Romans*, kept their ground, till all on a sudden they discovered, at some distance, a cloud of dust, such as is raised by the marching of an army, but was now occasioned by the servants and muleteers of the *Roman camp*, whom the consul had mounted upon mules and other beasts of burden, ordering them to appear in the heat of the action, and raise as great a cloud of dust as possible. *Papirius*, tho' the author of the stratagem, seemed to be surprized at this new sight. As the servants of the army had provided themselves with branches of trees, which they trained on the ground to raise the greater dust, nothing could be seen but the tops of some standards and lances, and something like cavalry, which
- c seemed to flank a body of infantry. While both armies were under no small apprehension of this fresh body of troops, *Papirius* all on a sudden cried out with an air of joy, *Cominium is taken, and my colleague is coming to my assistance. Courage, fellow-soldiers, let us gain the victory ourselves, before another army comes to share with us the glory and the spoils.* At these words, both the infantry and cavalry fell with new vigour on the *linen legion*, which was at length obliged to give way, the fear of the enemy, who had penetrated into the midst of their battalions, not suffering them to attend to any other apprehensions. Their example was followed by the rest of the *Samnite army*; their foot in the left wing retired to *Aquilonia*, and those in the right regained the camp; but their horse, which consisted of the nobility of the country,
- d fled to *Bovianum*, a city which was a great way from the field of battle. Twelve thousand of the *Samnites*, according to *Orosius*, were slain in this battle; but, according to *Livy*, above thirty thousand. Their camp was taken; and soon after the city of *Aquilonia*, where most of the fugitives had taken shelter.

The Samnites
totally defeated

- In the mean time *Corvilius* made himself master of the strong and important city of *Cominium*. The besieged, after having made a vigorous defence, were at length obliged to surrender at discretion, to the number of fifteen thousand four hundred, after four thousand three hundred and eighty had been slain in the attacks. After this, the two consuls joined their forces to complete the destruction of the *Samnites*, who had no army to oppose them. Their scheme being approved by the
- e senate, *Corvilius* took *Volana*, *Palumbinum*, and *Herculaneum*, all cities of great note. *Papirius* made himself master of *Sepinum*, a town situated at the foot of the *Apennines*, and deemed impregnable. But in the mean time the *Hetrurians* taking arms again, it was thought necessary to recal one of the consuls with his army from *Samnium*. They were accordingly ordered to cast lots for the conduct of the *Hetrurian war*, which fell to *Corvilius*, who thereupon hastened to *Rome*, which he entered in triumph, and thence continued his march into *Hetruria*, where he took *Troffulum* by assault, and obliged the *Falisci* to sue for peace, but granted them only a year's truce, for which he made them pay three hundred and ninety thousand asses of brass. After this he returned to *Rome*. *Papirius* arrived much about the same time from *Samnium*, and
- f obtained a triumph, the chief ornaments of which were the spoils taken from the *Samnites*, especially from the *linen legion* * (Z).

Cominium taken, with many other cities.

The Falisci sue for a peace.

* LIV. l. x. c. 41. FRONT. STAT. VAL. MAX. l. vii. c. 22. OROS. l. vi.

* LIV. ibid. & FAST. CAPIT.

(Z) *Papirius*, on his return to *Rome*, dedicated a temple to *Quirinus*, which his father, when dictator, had vowed. Upon this temple was fixed a sundial, the first that had ever been seen at *Rome*. The *Romans*, for some ages, marked only the rising and setting of the sun; afterwards they observed the hour of noon, but in a very gross manner. When

the sun shone between the rostra and the house appointed for the reception of ambassadors, one of the consuls heralds used to proclaim with a loud voice, that it was mid-day; but now they could mark the several hours of the day: and the water-clock, invented soon after, enabled them to reckon the hours of the night.

IN the next election of consuls, the persons chosen by the centuries were, *Fabius Gurgus*, the son of *Fabius Maximus*, and *Junius Brutus*, surnamed *Scæva*, of an illustrious, tho' plebeian family. It is undoubted that *Fabius* the father, who was then prince of the senate, opposed the promotion of his son. Perhaps he did not think him well qualified for so high a station, or was induced thereunto, as *Valerius Maximus* is of opinion ^a, by a republican principle, judging it a pernicious precedent to heap so many honours on one family; for he himself had been five times consul, and his father and grandfather had been likewise promoted to that dignity. *Junius Brutus*, the other consul, was no better qualified for the consulate than his colleague; so that now the government of the republic was in the hands of two persons of small abilities, especially for war; which was at this time a very impolitic choice. They had ^b scarce entered upon their office, when the *Falisci* in *Hetruria*, encouraged by a plague which raged in *Rome*, broke their truce; and the old enemies of *Rome*, the *Samnites*, taking arms again, entered *Campania*. The consuls having drawn lots for their provinces, *Hetruria* fell to *Brutus*, and *Samnium* to *Fabius*. The former being assisted by *Corvilius*, whom the republic appointed to be his lieutenant, over-ran *Hetruria*, defeated the *Falisci*, and returned to *Rome*, loaded with spoils. But, on the other hand, *Fabius*, having rashly, and even without drawing up his troops, attacked the *Samnites*, was by them put to flight, after he had lost three thousand men in the action. The number of the wounded was greater, and most of them died for want of attendance, the consul having left the servants of the army, and the baggage, a great way ^c behind him. The news of an action so ill conducted exasperated the people and senate to such a degree, that the consul was recalled, and would have been deposed, had not his father spoke in his behalf, with all the dignity of a man of his age, merit and employments, and even offered to serve under his son the remainder of the campaign, in quality of his lieutenant. This offer was immediately accepted, and *Fabius* set out with his son for *Samnium*; which they had scarce entered, when they were met by the enemy, who offered them battle. The *Samnites*, whom no adverse fortune could discourage, made their first onset with such vigor, that the *Romans* could scarce withstand them. *Pontius Herennius*, their general, elated with his first victory, made ^d incredible efforts to gain a second. On the other hand the consul, to wipe off the shame of his late defeat, fought as a private soldier in the first line. But *Pontius*, having broke through the troop which covered young *Fabius*, was surrounding him on all sides; which the father perceiving, threw himself into the midst of the enemy's battalions, and, by his example, animated the legions to exert themselves with such vigor, that *Gurgus* was rescued, and the enemy put to the rout. Twenty thousand of the enemy were slain, and four thousand taken prisoners. Among the latter was *Pontius* himself, who had done in this fatal engagement all that could be expected from an experienced commander, and gallant soldier. *Rome* would have been more sensibly affected with this victory at any other time; but the plague, which made a dreadful havock of her citizens, much damped her joy. To appease the wrath of the gods, ^e recourse was had to the usual remedy, superstition. The *Sibylline* books were consulted, and there it was read, that, to put a stop to the plague, the god *Æsculapius* should be brought to *Rome* from *Epidaurus*, a city of *Peloponnesus*, where he was worshipped under the figure of a serpent. An embassy was accordingly appointed for that purpose ^f.

The consul *Fabius Gurgus* defeated by the *Samnites*.

But *Fabius Maximus* gives them a dreadful overthrow.

Æsculapius brought to *Rome*.

THE consular year being near expired, and the two consuls busied in carrying on the war in their respective provinces, a dictator was appointed to supply their room; but his nomination proving defective, the republic fell into an inter-regnum, when *L. Posthumius*, one of the magistrates named to govern the state till the new election, held the comitia, and, by his intrigues, got himself elected the third time. ^f His colleague was *Junius Brutus*, surnamed *Bubulcus*. *Posthumius*, who was a man of a haughty, enterprising and untractable temper, assumed to himself the command of the war in *Samnium*, without drawing lots with his colleague, or waiting for a decree of the senate in his favour. About this time the god *Æsculapius*, who had been expected a whole year, arrived from *Epidaurus*, to the great joy of the people; and the plague is said to have ceased soon after (A). The two consuls set out for their respective

^a VAL. MAX. l. iv. c. 1.

^b LIV. l. x. c. 47. OROS. l. viii. c. 22. ZONAR. l. viii. FLOR. epit. 11.

(A) *Æsculapius* was a native of *Messene*, a city of *Peloponnesus*. As soon as he was born, his parents exposed him, according to the barbarous custom of those times, in a forest, where he was found by some

a respective provinces, *Brutus* for *Hetruria*, and *Posthumius* for *Samnium*. The former performed nothing which historians have thought worth transmitting to posterity. In *Samnium* the two *Fabii* gained great advantages, and were actually besieging *Cominium*, which the *Samnites* had rebuilt, when *Posthumius* arrived with a new consular army. *Fabius Gurgus* had been continued in the command of the army in quality of proconsul; but nevertheless *Posthumius* sent him orders to desist from the siege, and leave that enterprize to him. *Fabius* had recourse to the senate, acquainting the conscript fathers with the orders he had received from the consul; whereupon the senate immediately dispatched a messenger to *Posthumius*, injoining him to bend his forces another way, and not disturb *Fabius* in the enterprize he was carrying on; but *Posthumius*, without paying any regard to the authority of the senate, gave their messenger this haughty answer, Tell the conscript fathers, that it is their duty to obey their consul, and not his to submit to their commands. He then marched towards *Cominium*, resolved to give the *Fabii* battle, if they did not yield to his obstinate humour. Young *Fabius*, being warranted by the authority of the senate, was for sustaining the attack of the rash aggressor; but his father prevailed upon him, for the sake of the public good, to give way to his imperious rival. Then *Posthumius*, having a clear stage, pressed *Cominium* with such vigor, that he made himself master of it in a few days. From thence he turned his arms against *Venusium*, an important place on the

Cominium re-taken from the Samnites.

some hunters, who, touched with compassion, caused him to be suckled by a bitch. When he became capable of instruction, he was committed to the care of the famous *Chiron*, who taught him physic or surgery; for these two arts were then confounded. The disciple soon excelled his master, and being grown an able physician, settled at *Epidaurus*, a city of *Argos*, and practised his art there. He made some discoveries in the cure of diseases and wounds; for he is said to have invented the probe, to have first made use of bandages, and to have been the first who invented purges, and the art of drawing teeth. For these discoveries the people were pleased to call him the son of *Apollo*, and, after his death, to rank him among the gods. He had a temple erected to him in *Epidaurus*; and the priests, who presided over the worship of this new god, bred one of those snakes, which were easily tamed, and taught to follow any persons where they pleased. This snake the silly vulgar honoured as the god himself. His usual hole was under the feet of the fine stony statue of *Æsculapius*, which the famous sculptor *Thrymides* of *Paros* had made; and whenever he came out of it, his appearance was understood to prognostic the cure of the sick person. The *Roman* envoys were brought into the temple, and it is probable, that the *Epidaurians* made them pay dear for the relief they desired, their reputation and interest being then very small in *Greece*. But however that be, the *Epidaurians* suffered them to carry away the snake, which drew all the people in the neighbourhood into the city. We are told, that the snake came out of its hole, while the ambassadors were viewing the statue of *Æsculapius*, left the temple of its own accord, passed all through the city, went directly to the port, where the *Roman* ship was at anchor, and entering the vessel, curled himself into several circles in the cabin of *Ogulinus*, who was at the head of the embassy, and continued quietly there. The other adventures of the pretended *Æsculapius*, in his passage from *Epidaurus* to *Rome*, have been celebrated both by the poets and historians. It is pretended, that the voyage was exceeding prosperous and happy, till the vessel approached the coasts of *Italy*, when a violent storm arising all on a sudden, forced the mariners to put in at the port of *Antium*, where there was a temple dedicated to *Æsculapius*. The snake, which had hitherto confined himself to *Ogulinus's* cabin, here made his escape, and gliding along, came to the court of the sanctuary where he was worshipped. As the place

was planted with myrtles and palm-trees, the pretended *Æsculapius* got upon one of the largest of them, and twisting his long body round it, continued there three days. At length he returned to the galley of his own accord, and suffered himself to be carried to the place intended. The joy the *Romans* shewed upon the arrival of this salutary god is not to be expressed. Altars were erected all along the banks of the *Tiber*, and numberless sacrifices offered. The *Romans* designed to receive him within their walls, and there build him a temple; but the god is said to have chose his own abode in the midst of the *Tiber*, on an island formed in the infancy of the republic by straw, trunks of trees, sand, and the rubbish of the city. Thither the serpent retired, swimming gently through the water. From that time it was called the island of *Æsculapius*, and a temple was soon erected to him there, and enriched with numberless presents. It was built in the shape of a ship, the higher part of it resembling the stern, and the lower the prow. *Pliny* tells us, that the *Romans*, who had an aversion to physicians and their art, would not suffer *Æsculapius* to be brought within their walls; and indeed it must be owned, that the *Romans* had not that regard for physic, which an art of that importance deserves. For a long course of years they left the practice of it wholly to persons of a servile condition, or freedmen. This contempt for physicians was chiefly owing to the roguery and ignorance of the empirics or quacks, who, under the title of physicians, abused the credulity of the people, made their market of them, and at the same time much endangered the sick under their care. However, the temple of the god of health was much frequented by the common people at *Rome*. The sick came and passed a night in it; and either imagination, or the strength of nature, sometimes wrought cures there, which were ascribed to the power of the god. Those who recovered sacrificed to the god by way of thanksgiving a cock; for this bird was sacred to *Æsculapius*, and a symbol of the vigilance, which is necessary for the cure of diseases. It was in allusion to this, that *Socrates*, when condemned to die, and thereby delivered from all the evils and distempers attending this life, ordered a cock to be sacrificed to *Æsculapius*. There were some remains of the ancient temple of *Æsculapius* to be seen in the sixteenth century, near the church of *St. Bartholomew* in the island of the *Tiber* (19).

(19) *Cic. de nat. deor. l. iii. Val. Max. l. i. c. 8. Ovid. Metamorph. l. xv. Plin. l. xix. c. 1.*

confines

Pontius, the famous Samnite general, put to death at Rome.

confines of *Apulia*, *Lucania*, and *Samnium*, and brought it under subjection to the Romans. He then wrote to the senate, giving them an account of his conquest, which, he hoped, would have reconciled the conscript fathers to him, and made them forget his disobedience. In the same letter he proposed, that a colony might be sent to *Venusium*, to keep the neighbouring provinces in awe. His proposal was approved, but occasion taken from it to mortify him, and make him sensible, that the senate preferred obedience to valour. It was customary for the conqueror of a city to be one of the triumviri sent thither to settle a colony; but, in the case of *Venusium*, the senate, without any regard to *Posthumius*, named three others, allowing him no share in that honour. Nor was this all; to humble the proud *Posthumius* yet more, they granted the honours of a triumph to young *Fabius* his rival, who entered *Rome* triumphantly on the calends of the month *Sextilis*. The brave *Pontius*, famous for having surprized the *Roman* legions, and made them pass under the yoke at the *Caudine Forks*, followed the chariot of the conqueror, and by an act of inhumanity unworthy of a civilized nation, was condemned to lose his head. While young *Fabius* was riding in his triumphal chariot, his father followed him on horseback. He had formerly, in his first triumphs, carried his son in his chariot with him, and was now overjoyed to march after him, to mingle in the crowd, and to hear the acclamations of the people, and the songs of the soldiers in praise of the triumphant victor; however the spectators did him justice, saying, that the son was honoured with a triumph, but that the father deserved it ^e.

Posthumius seeing his rival thus honoured, and himself treated with so much contempt, vented his rage in bitter invectives against the senate, and invented a new kind of revenge, which was to distribute among his soldiers all the booty he had taken in the two conquered cities, without lodging any part of it in the public treasury. He then, out of spite, disbanded his troops before his successor could arrive. His colleague *Brutus* presided in the comitia, when *P. Cornelius Rufinus*, and *Manius Curius Dentatus* were chosen. *Posthumius* was no sooner out of office, than he was brought to a trial before the comitia by tribes. Before he left *Rome*, he had employed a detachment of his troops in the servile work of grubbing up a forest in his own estate. His accusation chiefly turned on his employing in so mean an office men of free condition, and who owed no service but to the public. As this crime offended the people more than his disobedience to the senate, they condemned him to pay a considerable fine ^d.

The republic enters into an alliance with the Samnites. Year after the flood 2714. Before Christ 285. Of Rome 463.

THE war with the *Samnites* had already furnished the *Roman* generals with matter for twenty-four triumphs, but had cost the conquerors a great deal of blood, many fatigues, and vast expences; so that the republic was quite tired with engaging every year the same enemy. In order therefore to put an end to this tedious war, both consuls were ordered into *Samnium*, where they acted separately, each at the head of a consular army, ravaged the country, took several cities, gained some battles, and at length obliged that gallant nation, which, after the loss of their brave general and able governor *Pontius*, was no longer in a condition to oppose the progress of their arms, to sue for peace. The republic readily consented to enter into an alliance with them for the fourth time; but left the settling of the articles to *Curius Dentatus*, a man of great probity, and who, without any vanity or ostentation, lived in that voluntary poverty, and unaffected contempt of riches, which the philosophers of those times cried up and recommended. The *Samnite* deputies found him sitting on a poor wooden seat near the fire, dressing his own dinner, which consisted of a few roots, and offered him a large sum of money; but *Curius* expressed his indignation with a disdainful smile. Without doubt, said he, my poverty inspires you with hopes of corrupting me; but your attempts are vain. I had rather command the rich, than be rich myself. Carry back with you this fatal metal, which men make use of only for their destruction; and tell your countrymen, that they will find it as difficult a matter to corrupt as to conquer me. The conditions *Curius* imposed upon them are not known; but it is probable they were no-ways favourable to that warlike and restless nation. The treaty was no sooner concluded, than the consul returned to *Rome*, where he triumphed, to the unexpressible joy of the people, who found themselves disburdened of a war, which had lasted forty-nine years, and given the republic more trouble than their wars with all the other states of *Italy* together. ^f

^e Liv. epit. 11. FAST. CAPIT. PLUT. in Fab & VAL. MAX. l. ix. c. 7. ^d Dio. HAL. in excerpt. Valer. L. 7. epit. 11.

a AND NOW the conquest of *Samnium* drew after it the intire reduction of the *Sabines*, The Sabines
reunited. whose confederacy with *Rome* was as ancient as the city itself; but, notwithstanding their alliance with the republic, they had joined the *Samnites*. *Curius* being therefore sent against them, brought the whole country under subjection; but as they were old allies, and had not aggravated their offences by any long revolt, or obstinate hatred, the weight of the yoke was lessened, and the right of *Roman* citizenship bestowed upon them, but without the right of suffrage. For the conquest of the *Sabines* *Curius* had a second triumph decreed him the same year, an honour which no general before him had ever enjoyed. As *Curius* was by birth a plebeian, some patricians attempted to cast a stain upon his reputation, accusing him of appropriating to himself part of the spoils taken from the enemy. As the proofs were not clear, *Curius* was put to his oath, and then he confessed, that he had kept a little wooden oil vessel for making libations to the gods; but protested that he had reserved nothing more. Such was the character of his disinterestedness, that he was believed, the malice of his accusers serving only to heighten the lustre of his virtue*.

b IN the following consulate of *M. Valerius Corvinus* and *Q. Cædicius Noctua*, *Curius Dentatus* was sent into *Lucania*, in quality of proconsul, to assist the *Thurini* against the *Lucanians*, who had invaded their territory. In this expedition, being attended with his usual success, he defeated the *Lucanians*, and obliged them to retire into their own country. The two consuls spent their whole year in works of peace, and in sending colonies to the conquered cities; namely to *Adria*, a maritime town, which is said to have given name to the *Adriatic* sea; to *Castrum* in *Picenum*, and to *Sena*, another city on the *Adriatic*, at the mouth of the *Seno*, in the country of the *Senones*. As men were grown more vicious, and the number of malefactors daily increased, as is usual in time of peace, three new judges were appointed to relieve the prætor, and try criminals. The punishments these judges could inflict were confined to pecuniary fines; but nevertheless they were styled *triumviri capitales*, because the care of the Triumviri ca-
pitales. prisons, where the greatest criminals were kept, was committed to them, and they had the direction of their execution. These new magistrates were chosen annually in the comitia by tribes; and from their sentence there lay no appeal. The time of this general peace was also thought a proper season to take a census of the *Roman* people, **d** by which it appeared, that the number of *Roman* citizens fit to bear arms, amounted to two hundred and seventy-three thousand†.

e THE fruit of this new peace abroad was trouble and dissention at home. The people, oppressed by the usuries of the rich citizens, revived a quarrel, which had begun near two hundred years before. They kept themselves at first within bounds, only demanding that some abuses should be reformed with respect to contracts, whereby creditors exacted an immoderate interest for money lent. But the year ensuing, when *Q. Marcus Tremulus* and *P. Cornelius Arvina* were consuls a second time, a new accident drove them to extremities. *T. Veturius*, one of those unfortunate consuls, who had been surprized in the *Caudine Forks*, died insolvent; and his son, who had been educated with great care, and formed to virtue, borrowed a considerable sum of one *C. Plotius*, to defray the expence of his father's funeral. *Plotius*, who had also lent great sums to the father, soon after pressed the son to pay both his father's debts and that which he had lately contracted himself. Young *Veturius*, having neither money nor credit, was forced to submit to slavery, and work for his creditor, till he had discharged the whole debt. He bore his servitude with great constancy, and made it his study to please his creditor in every thing, till that infamous wretch solicited him, as he was a youth of great beauty, to gratify a brutal passion he had conceived for him; but then *Veturius*, remembering his birth, and the lessons he had been **f** taught in his earliest infancy, rejected his shameful addresses with the utmost indignation. His constancy was immovable, tho' his cruel master treated him most unmercifully for his virtuous resistance. One day, being covered all over with blood, and torn with stripes, he made his escape out of the house, appeared in the forum, and there shewed the people the marks of his barbarous creditor's cruelty, and discovered the infamy of his tyrant. The people laid hold of this opportunity to decry the usurers, and to demand the abolition of the law, which impowered them to reduce insolvent debtors to slavery. This inhuman law had been annulled once before on a like occasion; but the patricians had, by their authority and interest, revived it. As

* Flor. in epit. 11. Auth. de illust. viris.

† Liv. epit. 11. Fest. Pomp. l. xvii.

Secession of the
people.

Q. Hortensius
dictator.

Terms of reconcili-
ation.

Fabius Maxi-
mus dictator.

The Tarentines
stir up both new
and old enemies
against Rome.

for the execrable *Plotius*, the tribunes accused him before the assembled centuries, and a got him condemned to death. The plebeians, not content with this first victory, insisted on the abolition of the above-mentioned law. The patricians opposed it to the utmost of their power: This is robbing us, said they, of our security for what we have lent. Debts must be paid, according to the old law, either in body or goods. The people, finding the patricians obstinate and inflexible, had recourse to an expedient, which had ever proved effectual. They left the city, and posted themselves on the hill *Janiculus*, with the *Tiber* between them and their prosecutors. By this removal of the people, the city being left destitute of artificers and labourers, and no provisions being brought thither from the country, for the country-people had likewise their complaints, the patricians and rich citizens found themselves obliged to humour the multitude. The consuls therefore of this year, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *C. Nautilus Rutilus*, were ordered to name a dictator, in order to appease the revolted populace. The person they named was *Q. Hortensius*, who immediately entering into a treaty with the separatists, made them the following concessions, viz. that the law in question should be repealed, and that two other laws, which had been formerly made, but no ways regarded by the patricians, should be strictly observed for the future. These were, that the decrees made by the tribes should be equally observed both by the patricians and plebeians; and that all laws should first pass in the senate, and be afterwards brought to the comitia, to be there approved or rejected. The country-people complained, that justice was not administered at *Rome* on market-days; and that, when any causes were depending, they were forced to leave their work, and return to the city again. This was rectified, and the dictator promised, that market-days should no longer be vacation days for the judges, that the husbandmen might have their causes heard before they went home. When these articles were drawn up, and the people's minds began to be calmed, *Q. Hortensius* died. It being therefore necessary to nominate another dictator, *Q. Fabius Maximus* was raised to that dignity, who chose for his general of the horse a famous plebeian, named *Volumnius Flamma*. By the interposition of these two great men, the work, which *Hortensius* had begun, was soon accomplished; and the people having attained to the highest pitch of their desires, returned to the city, and thought only of enjoying the sweets of tranquillity. The balance of power leaned now rather to their side. The nobility had no other advantage over them but that of great riches, and the respect which is naturally paid to persons of high birth. The peace of the city being therefore no more interrupted by intestine contests, we shall see the republic increase her dominions abroad with incredible rapidity. The great *Fabius* died soon after he had happily accomplished the accommodation. In his life-time he had been looked upon as a prodigy of valour, wisdom and virtue; and upon his death the people contributed to the expence of his obsequies with so much generosity, that his son, with the victims offered at his funeral, gave a public entertainment to the whole city. It is probable, that, after the reconciliation, the dictator *Fabius* presided at the election of the new consuls *M. Valerius Potitus* and *C. Atilius Patus*, whose year proved barren of remarkable events; as did also the following, when *C. Claudius Canina* and *M. Aemilius Lepidus* were consuls. But in the following consulate of *C. Servilius Tucca* and *L. Caelilius Metellus*, the *Tarentines*, jealous of the prosperity of the *Romans*, and apprehending, that they aimed at the conquest of all *Italy*, stirred up both old and new enemies against the republic, and engaged her in one of the most formidable wars she had ever sustained.

Tarentum was a city of *Great Greece*, which comprehended the greatest part of the south coast of *Italy*. Most of the cities in this great province had been founded by *Greeks*, who brought thither with them the *Greek* language, customs and manners. The *Tarentines* in particular were a colony of *Spartans*, who settling on the continent of *Italy*, under the conduct of one *Phalantus*, made themselves masters of a city first called *Oebalia*, and afterwards *Tarentum*, from one *Taras*, or, as others will have it, *Tarentus*, who is said to have increased and embellished the city after the *Greeks* were masters of it. These transplanted *Spartans* soon forgot the severe discipline of *Sparta*, and plunged themselves into all the debaucheries with which the rest of the *Greeks* were reproached. The heat of the climate, the fruitfulness of the country, and the opportunity of supplying themselves by sea with all the delights of *Greece*, sunk them into

* Liv. ibid. VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 9. Auth. de vir. illust. Cic. in orat. pro P. Anco.

a idleness, and all the vices that attend it. Their whole life was spent in feasts, sports, and public entertainments. Buffoons and prostitutes governed the state at their pleasure, and often determined the most important affairs by a joke, or an indecent gesture. They bore a mortal hatred to the *Romans*, and dreaded their dominion, not so much out of fear of losing their liberty, as of being disturbed by that warlike and rough people in the pursuit of their pleasures. They therefore employed all their *Græcian* subtlety to draw such a number of enemies upon them, as still to keep them at a distance from themselves, and this without appearing to be concerned.

b At the same time the *Senones*, having raised a formidable army, marched into *Hebruria*, with a design to besiege *Aretium*, a city about forty leagues from *Rome*, at a small distance from the *Arnus*. The *Aretines* had immediately recourse to the *Romans*, who, they knew, would never suffer the *Gauls* to make conquests in *Hebruria*, and thereby open themselves a way to *Rome*. The republic, alarmed at the least motion of so powerful an enemy, dispatched, without loss of time, the consul *Lucius Cæcilius* with an army to the assistance of the *Aretini*; but, before any act of hostility, a deputation was sent to the *Senones*, to dissuade them from their design. But the proud *Gauls*, instead of listening to the mediation of *Rome*, killed the deputies, and brought their troops before *Aretium*. Hereupon the consul advanced with his army, and came to an engagement with the enemy, in which he himself was killed, with seven legionary tribunes, the best part of the *Roman* knights, and thirteen thousand private men. Upon the news of this dreadful overthrow, the famous *Curius Dentatus* was ordered with new troops into *Hebruria*, to supply the place of the consul *Cæcilius*; but that wise commander, instead of marching to the relief of *Aretium*, and engaging the enemy flushed with their late victory, held his rout along the confines of *Hebruria*, and entering the country of the *Senones*, took advantage of the absence of their best troops to ravage it without opposition. He plundered and burnt their houses, laid waste their fields, put all those to the sword, who were able to bear arms, carried the women and children into captivity, and, in short, reduced the whole country to a vast desert, in which there scarce remained any appearance of its having ever been cultivated or inhabited. Thus he took ample revenge for the murder of the *Roman* embassad rs.

The *Senones* kill the deputies of *Rome*, and defeat the *Roman* army.

c THE next year, in the beginning of the administration of the new consuls *P. Cornelius Dolabella* and *Cn. Domitius Calvinus*, the *Boii*, the *Hebrurians*, and the *Samnites*, once more declared against the republic, being stirred up under-hand by the *Tarentines*; but, notwithstanding this great confederacy, the senate and people reposed so great a confidence in the new consuls, that they did not think of creating a dictator, as was usual in times of great danger. Nor was their confidence ill grounded; for *Domitius* taking the field, and meeting the *Senones*, who had raised the siege of *Aretium*, and were marching strait to *Rome*, to revenge the devastations made in their country, gave them a total overthrow, and covered the field of battle with their dead bodies. Only a small number of them escaped, and saved themselves in the country of the *Boii*, whom they pressed to take arms immediately, and revenge the common cause of the *Gauls*. Accordingly the *Boii*, having raised all the young men in their territory, who were able to bear arms, and being reinforced by a great body of *Hebrurians*, pursued the attempt, which the *Senones* had begun, and marched towards *Rome*; but the consul *Cornelius*, who waited for them on the banks of the lake *Vademonis* in *Hebruria*, now *il Lago di Bassano*, engaged them, killed almost all the *Hebrurians*, and the greater part of the *Boii*. The latter made some faint efforts against the *Romans* the next year; but being defeated a second time, they were forced to sue for peace. As for the *Senones*, they were so utterly destroyed, that there scarce remained any footsteps in *Italy* of a nation, which had distinguished itself so much by the taking of *Rome*.

The *Senones* entirely defeated.

And also the *Boii* and *Hebrurians*.

In the following consulate of *C. Fabricius* and *Q. Æmilius Papus*, almost all *Italy* rose in arms against the imperious republic; but *Fabricius* being sent into *Lucania*, defeated there the confederate forces of the *Lucanians*, *Brutians*, and *Samnites*, and made himself master of their camp. Twenty-five thousand of the enemy, with their general *Statilius*, were slain. The *Romans*, imagining that the god *Mars* had fought in person for them, returned him solemn thanks for his assistance by public supplications (B).

As

Polya. l. ii. Dion. apud Ful. Ursinum.

(B) *Fabricius*, after having defeated the confederate army of the *Lucanians*, *Brutians* and *Samnites*,

found it a difficult enterprize to force their camp. The means, by which he succeeded in it, and which had

The Tarentines, in a hostile manner, fall upon a Roman fleet.

And insult their ambassadors in a most outrageous manner.

They take Thurium.

As for the *Tarentines*, tho' they were the real authors of this war, they had not yet appeared in the field, nor openly declared against *Rome*; but an accident made them at length throw off the mask, and brought on, after a long series of events, their utter ruin. *Valerius*, or, as others call him, *Cornelius*, one of the maritime duumviri, or admirals of the *Roman* fleet, happened to come to the mouth of their harbour with ten ships, while the idle inhabitants of the city were assembled, as usual, in the theatre, which looked towards the harbour. The *Tarentines*, imagining that *Rome*, having at last discovered their secret plots, had sent that fleet to punish them, they all, with one consent, ran down to the port, fell upon the *Roman* fleet with the fury of madmen, sunk one ship, and took four, the other five escaping. All the prisoners fit to bear arms were put to the sword, and the others sold for slaves to the best bidder. The *Romans*, upon the news of this unexpected act of hostility, sent a deputation to *Tarentum*, to demand satisfaction for the insult offered to the republic; but the *Tarentines*, instead of hearkening to their demands, insulted the ambassadors in the most outrageous manner. They admitted them to an audience in the theatre, where *Posthumius Megellus*, who was at the head of the embassy, and had been thrice consul, harangued the assembly in *Greek*. His advanced age, his personal merit, and, above all, the character of an ambassador from a powerful people, ought to have gained him respect; but the *Tarentines*, heated with wine, not only gave no attention to his discourse, but burst into loud laughter, and impudently hissed him, whenever he dropped an improper expression, or pronounced a word with a foreign accent. Nor was this all: when he began to speak of reparation of injuries, they flew into a rage, and rather drove him out of the assembly, than dismissed him. As he was walking off with an air of gravity and dignity, which he preserved, notwithstanding the reception they gave him, a buffoon, named *Philonides*, coming up to him, urined upon his robe, a new source of immoderate laughter to the mad and drunken multitude, who clapped their hands, applauding the outrageous insolence. *Posthumius*, turning about to the assembly, shewed them the skirt of his garment so defiled; but when he found that this had no effect but to increase the loudness of their contumelious mirth, he said, without the least emotion, *Laugh on, Tarentines, laugh on, now while you may; the time is coming when you will weep. It is not a little blood that must wash and purify this garment.* This said, he withdrew, left the city, and embarked for *Rome*. When the *Tarentines* came to themselves, and began to reflect on the enormity of their conduct, and at the same time on the inability of their neighbours to defend them against so powerful a republic, they cast their eyes upon *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus*, whose great reputation for valour, and long experience in war, had gained him the reputation of one of the heroes of *Greece*. They therefore immediately dispatched ambassadors to him, but rather to sound his disposition, and observe the situation of his affairs, than to enter, without farther deliberation, into any engagements with him. As *Pyrrhus* naturally loved action, and the bustle and hurry of war, the ambassadors found him in a disposition to hearken to any proposal, which would furnish him with employment worthy of his ambition.

IN the mean time the *Tarentines*, to amuse the *Romans* till the return of their ambassadors from *Epirus*, besieged *Thurium*, which was defended by a *Roman* garison, and made themselves masters of it. This news was brought to *Rome* a little after the return of *Posthumius* and the other ambassadors, who had been so ill treated at *Tarentum*. The new consuls therefore, *L. Aemilius Barbula*, and *Q. Marcius Philippus*, having assembled the conscript fathers, laid before them the situation of the affairs of the republic on one hand, and the shameful indignity which had been offered the ambassadors on the other. It was dangerous to engage in a new war, when the republic had so many nations to contend with. The *Hietrurians* were still in arms; f

¹ DIO. HAL. in legat. VAL. MAX. l. ii. c. 2. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 2. FLOR. ep. 12. PLUT. in Pyrrho.

had something of the air of a miracle, was probably a stratagem of his own contriving. While he seemed to be in suspense what measures to take, a young man, full of strength and vigor, wearing feathers in his helmet, appeared on a sudden in the midst of the legions, exhorted them to decline no danger for the honour of their country, and then seizing a ladder, advanced to the rampart through a shower of darts, planted his ladder against it, and mounted the

wall. This bold action intimidated the confederates, and inspired the *Romans* with such intrepidity, that they soon made themselves masters of the camp. After the victory, the consul ordered the young man to be sought for, in order to reward him for having first mounted the rampart; and because he was not to be found, the *Romans* immediately imagined, that he was the god *Mars* himself.

the

- 1 the *Samnites*, without regard to the faith of treaties, had declared anew against the republic; and the *Lucanians* and *Brutians* were grown more confident since the taking of *Tburium*. On the other hand, the hostilities committed by the *Tarentines*, and the insult offered to *Posthumius*, whose robe was produced in the senate, left no room to deliberate whether they should enter into a war with that people or not. They were all unanimous as to the necessity of chastising them; but whether it was advisable for the republic to shew her resentment immediately was doubted. Some of the senators were for declaring war forthwith; others for deferring it, till the provinces bordering on the *Tarentine* territories were subdued. Never was debate more tedious, or more perplexing. The same question was discussed, and warmly debated, from sun-rising to sun-set, for several days together. At length the opinion of those, who were for beginning the war immediately, prevailed; and the decree of the senate being confirmed by the people, orders were dispatched to the consul *Æmilius*, who was on his march into *Samnium*, to lay aside that expedition, and turn his arms against *Tarentum*. The *Tarentines*, upon the approach of a consular army, carried on their deliberations with more seriousness; and when the consul sent once again to demand satisfaction before he began hostilities, the better sort of citizens declared for peace. *Æmilius* offered them moderate terms; and, after all, it was but equitable, that they should repair the injuries, and wipe off the reproach they had thrown on a considerable republic without any provocation; but the populace, who had nothing to lose, insisted on a war; and their clamours prevailed over the just reasons of the wisest men in *Tarentum*. The proposal of bringing *Pyrrhus* into *Italy* was revived, and a decree passed for inviting that prince to *Tarentum*. One *Meton*, a citizen of good sense, and no ways infected with the general corruption, which prevailed in the city, endeavoured to divert his countrymen from this mad design (C); but was thrust out of the assembly, and ambassadors were immediately dispatched into *Epirus*, not only in the name of the *Tarentines*, but of all the *Greek* colonies in *Italy*, with magnificent presents for the king, and with instructions to acquaint him, that they only wanted a general of fame and experience; and that as for troops, they could themselves furnish a numerous army of twenty thousand horse, and three hundred and fifty thousand foot, made up of *Lucanians*, *Messapians*, *Samnites*, and *Tarentines*. As soon as the news of this deputation was brought to the *Roman* camp, *Æmilius*, who had hitherto made war on the *Tarentines* but gently, in hopes of adjusting matters by way of negotiation, took other measures, and began to commit all sorts of hostilities. He took cities, stormed castles, and laid the whole country waste, burning and destroying all before him. The *Tarentines* brought their army into the field; but *Æmilius* soon obliged them to take refuge within their walls. However, to induce them to lay aside the design of receiving *Pyrrhus*, he used the prisoners he had taken with great moderation, and even sent them back without ransom. These highly extolled the generosity of the consul, insomuch that many of the inhabitants were brought over to the *Roman* party; and they all began to repent of their having rejected a peace, and sent for *Pyrrhus*. But in the mean time the *Tarentine* ambassadors arriving in *Epirus*, pursuant to the powers they had received, made an absolute treaty with the king, who immediately sent before him the famous *Cyneas*, with three thousand men, to take possession of the citadel of *Tarentum*. This eloquent minister, whose character we have given in our history of *Epirus**, soon found means to depose *Agis*, whom

They invite
Pyrrhus into
Italy.

Cyneas arrives
at *Tarentum*.

* Vide Vol. III. p. 739.

(C) *Meton*, on the day that a public decree was to pass for inviting *Pyrrhus* to *Tarentum*, and when the people were all placed in the theatre, putting a withered garland on his head, and having a flambeau in his hand, as was the manner of the drunken debauchees, came dancing into the midst of the assembly, accompanied by a woman playing on the flute. This silly sight was sufficient to divert the *Tarentines* from their most important deliberations. They made a ring, and called out to *Meton* to sing, and to the woman to play; but when they, expecting to be entertained with a song, were all silent, the wise citizen, assuming an air of great seriousness, You do well, *Tarentines*, said he, not to hinder those

from diverting themselves, who are disposed to mirth, and, if you are wise, you will yourselves take advantage of the present liberty you enjoy to do the same. When *Pyrrhus* comes, you must change your way of life; your mirth and joy will be at an end. These words made an impression upon the multitude, and a murmur went about, that he had spoken well; but those who had some reason to fear, that they should be delivered up to the *Romans*, in case of an accommodation, being enraged at what he had said, reviled the assembly for suffering themselves to be so mocked and affronted; and crowding together, thrust *Meton* out of the assembly (10).

(10) *Plut. in Pyrrho.*

the *Tarentines* had chosen to be their general, and the governor of the city, tho' a sincere friend to the *Romans*. He likewise prevailed upon the *Tarentines* to deliver up the citadel into his hands; which he no sooner got possession of, than he dispatched messengers to *Pyrrhus*, soliciting him to hasten his departure for *Italy*. In the mean time the consul *Æmilius*, finding that he could not attempt any thing with success against the *Tarentines* this campaign, resolved to put his troops into winter-quarters in *Apulia*, which was not far from the territory of *Tarentum*, that was soon to become the seat of the war. As he was obliged to pass through certain defiles, with the sea on one side, and high hills on the other, he was there attacked by the *Tarentines* and *Epirots*, from great numbers of barks, fraught with *ballistæ*, that is, engines for throwing stones of a vast weight, and from the hills, on which were posted a great many archers and slingers. Hereupon *Æmilius* placed the *Tarentine* prisoners between him and the enemy; which the *Tarentines* perceiving, soon left off molesting the *Romans*, out of compassion to their own countrymen; so that the *Romans* arrived safe in *Apulia*, and there took up their winter-quarters. As for the consul, he repaired to *Rome*, where his colleague *Marcus* had a triumph on the calends of *April*, for having vanquished the *Hetrurians*¹.

The arrival of
Pyrrhus.

THE next year *P. Valerius Lævinus* and *Tib. Coruncanius* were chosen consuls. The latter was raised to the consulate purely for his merit; for he was of a mean descent, and not even a *Roman* by birth, but a native of *Camerium*, a *Roman municipium* in *Latium*. It fell to his lot to carry on the war in *Hetruria*, and to his colleague's to conduct that against the *Tarentines*. *Æmilius*, who had acted against the *Tarentines* the last year, was continued in the command of his own troops with the title of pro-consul, and ordered to make war upon the *Salentines*, who had declared for the *Tarentines*. The present exigence of affairs obliged the *Romans* to enlist the *proletarii*, who were the meanest of the people, and therefore, by way of contempt, called *proletarii*, as being thought incapable of doing the state any other service than that of peopling the city, and stocking the republic with subjects. Hitherto they had never been suffered to bear arms, but were now, to their great satisfaction, inrolled as well as others. In the mean time *Pyrrhus* arrived at *Tarentum*, having narrowly escaped shipwreck; and being conducted into the city by his faithful *Cyneas*, was received there with loud acclamations. Thus began the memorable war between the *Romans* and that famous commander, the first foreigner they had to deal with. It was carried on with great vigor on both sides for the space of six years, during which time the following consuls were at the head of the *Roman* armies; the first year *P. Valerius Lævinus* and *T. Coruncanius*; the second *P. Sulpicius Saverrio* and *P. Decius Mus*, whose father and grandfather were both famous for their devotements; the third *C. Fabricius* and *Q. Æmilius*, two men of the most distinguished merit; the fourth *Cornelius Ruffinus* and *C. Junius Brutus*, the former a man extremely covetous and self-interested, but nevertheless promoted by the interest of *Fabricius*, because he was a much abler commander than any of his competitors; the fifth *Q. Fabius Gurgæ* and *C. Genucius*; and lastly the sixth the famous *Curius Dentatus* and *L. Cornelius Lentulus*. But as, in our history of *Epirus*, we have given a very particular account of this war, and the various events which attended it, from the landing of *Pyrrhus* in *Italy*, to his return into his own dominions^m, we shall here only relate what happened after the latter period, referring the reader for an account of the war itself to the above-mentioned history.

The triumph
of Curius.

Pyrrhus having thought it adviseable to leave *Italy*, after the last battle, in which he was defeated by *Curius Dentatus*, with the loss of twenty-three thousand men, *Curius* returned to *Rome*, which he entered in triumph, it being the most magnificent one that had ever yet been seen; great quantities of rich spoil, vessels of gold, purple carpets, statues, pictures, and, in short, all the fineries of the *Greek* cities, were carried before him. Among the captives were *Epirots*, *Thessulians*, and *Macedonians*, not to mention the *Lucanians*, *Brutians*, *Tarentines*, and other *Greek* nations. The appearance and dress of so many foreigners gave the spectators great pleasure; but nothing so much raised their admiration, as the elephants with towers on their backs, animals which had never before been seen in *Rome*. As for the triumphant victor, he rode in a chariot, and the acclamations the people gave him were very sincere; they thought they could never give him sufficient proofs of their gratitude. The senate impowered

¹ FAST. CAPIT. FRONTIN. in stratag. ZONAR. l. viii.

^m Vide Vol. III. p. 745.

him

- a him to appropriate to himself fifty acres of the conquered lands ; but he declined this favour, saying, That he ought to be looked upon as a dangerous subject, who could not live upon the produce of seven acres. Of all the spoils he reserved only a little vessel of beech for his domestic sacrifices. This magnificent triumph of *Curius* was followed by that of his colleague *Lentulus*, who had made a successful campaign in *Lucania*, and taken from the *Samnites* the famous city of *Caudium*. This happy consulate ended with a census and a lustrum. The virtuous *Fabritius* and his constant colleague *Æmilius Papus* being censors, they made a new list of senators, and struck out the names of all those, who led dissolute lives ; nay, *Cornelius Rufinus*, who had been consul and dictator, was excluded, only for having ten pounds weight of silver in plate. Happy times for the republic, when riches and luxury were branded with ignominy ! By the census there appeared to be in *Rome* two hundred seventy-one thousand two hundred and twenty-four citizens fit to bear arms ⁿ.

- The *Romans*, apprehending that the king of *Epirus* would soon appear in *Italy* again with a more numerous army than ever, continued *Curius Dentatus* in the consulate for the next year, giving him for his colleague *Cornelius Merenda*. In the mean time the *Tarentines*, being now well apprised, that *Pyrrhus*, under pretence of going to fetch new supplies, had intirely deserted them, obliged *Milo*, whom the king had left in the city with a strong garison, to confine himself to the citadel. These divisions made *Curius* believe, that the *Tarentines* and *Epirots* would destroy each other ; and upon this belief he neglected to besiege *Tarentum*, and turned his arms against the *Samnites* and *Lucanians*, who retired for refuge to their mountains ; but they appeared again in the field the next year, when *G. Fabius Dorso* and *G. Claudius Carina* were consuls. The latter defeated them, once at least, in a pitched battle ; for we read in the *Fasti Capitolini*, that *Claudius Canina* triumphed over the *Samnites*, *Lucanians* and *Brutians* on the day of the *Quirinalia*, or the festival of *Romulus*, that is, on the seventeenth day of *February*. And now the reputation of the *Romans* being spread into foreign countries, *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, king of *Egypt*, sent ambassadors to congratulate the republic on her success, and to ask the friendship of the *Roman* people. The *Romans*, not to be outdone in civility, sent four ambassadors to *Egypt*, chosen, with the utmost circumspection, by a senate studious to preserve their reputation abroad intire. *Fabius Gurgus* was at the head of this embassy, and with him were joined three curule ædiles, two of them brothers of the *Fabian* family, and the third *Q. Ogulnius*. Their reception was equal to their merit, and worthy of so magnificent a prince. He invited them to his table, and presented each of them with a crown of gold ; which they accepted, being unwilling to disoblige the king by a refusal ; but placed them the next morning on the heads of the king's statues, that were erected in the public places of the city. This contempt of riches gained the *Romans* great reputation in *Egypt* ; however, the king would not suffer them to depart without new presents, both for themselves and their republic ; which they, upon their return to *Rome*, deposited in the public treasury ; but the senate and people ordered the quæstors to restore to the ambassadors what had been given them for their own use.

Embassadors
from Ptolemy
Philadelphus.

- The next year the *Romans*, still under the apprehension that *Pyrrhus* would once more return into *Italy*, raised to the consulate two great men, who had already bore that office, and commanded with great reputation the armies of the republic. These were *L. Papirius Cursor*, the worthy son of an illustrious father, and *Sp. Corvilius*, surnamed *Maximus*. These generals had scarce entered *Samnium* with two armies, when a certain account came of the death of *Pyrrhus*. This news threw the *Samnites* into despair ; they now looked upon their liberty as lost, and, like men in that unhappy situation, put all to the hazard of a battle, in which they were intirely defeated. An historian, in speaking of this victory, says it was so complete, that *Samnium* itself was no more. And thus ended this bloody war, which had lasted seventy-two years, and procured the *Roman* generals thirty-one triumphs. After the intire reduction of *Samnium*, the *Lucanians* and *Brutians* gave way in their turn, and submitted to the yoke ; so that only *Tarentum* remained unpunished ; which the consuls soon invested. There was a kind of civil war between *Milo* in the citadel, and the *Tarentines* in the city ; and the latter, as it is thought, had implored the assistance of the *Carthaginians*, who lay with a fleet before the town, pretending to have no design but against the *Epirots*

The Samnites,
Lucanians and
Brutians sub-
dued.

ⁿ PLUT. in Sylla. VAL. MAX. l. iv. c. 4.

• FLOR. l. i. c. 18.

and the citadel. The Romans, on the other hand, attacked the city, taking care to prevent the Carthaginians from reducing the citadel. With this view Papirius privately signified to Milo, that, if he would surrender the citadel to him, he and his garison should not only have their lives spared, but be safely transported, with all their baggage and effects, into Epirus. Milo readily listened to this offer, and even undertook to put the city as well as the citadel into the consul's hands. Accordingly he assembled the Tarentines, and prevailed upon them to depute him to the consul, promising to make such advantageous terms for them, that they should neither lose their lives nor their goods. Milo was as good as his word; for Papirius, in order to hinder the Carthaginians from getting any footing in Italy, promised him all he asked. The Romans, being soon after admitted into the city, did no violence to the inhabitants. As for the Carthaginians, when they found themselves disappointed, they retired with their fleet, leaving the Romans under just suspicions, that, notwithstanding their ancient alliance, they intended to rob the republic of a city, which, by right of conquest, belonged to them. The Tarentines were all disarmed, their ships taken from them, and their city dismantled, and made tributary to Rome.

Tarentum surrenders.

Year of the

flood 2732

Before Christ

267.

Of Rome 481.

AND now the Sabines, Volsci, Campanians, Hetrurians, and Samnites being utterly subdued, the republic was at leisure to wipe off the dishonour thrown upon her by a Campanian legion soon after the arrival of Pyrrhus in Italy. While that prince was at Tarentum, and the Carthaginians infested all the Ionian sea, the inhabitants of Rhegium, situated in the southern extremity of Italy, near Sicily, applied to the republic for a Roman garison to defend them from an invasion. A legion was raised in Campania for that purpose, and sent to them under the command of one Decius Jubellus. These soldiers, having been used to a laborious life, began soon to envy the inhabitants the pleasures and ease in which they lived; and it was not long before they formed and executed a scheme to make those advantages their own. They forged letters from the Rhegians to Pyrrhus, importing an offer to put the place into his hands; and under this pretence they massacred all the chief men of the city at a banquet, and then falling upon the rest, either put them to the sword, or drove them out of the place. As for the women, they obliged them to marry the murderers of their fathers and husbands. This news was brought to Rome at a time when the affairs of the republic would not allow her to take vengeance of the perfidious legion; but the republic, having now no enemies to fear, as soon as the new consuls C. Quinctius Claudius and L. Genucius Clepsina entered upon their office, ordered the latter to turn his arms against Rhegium, and besiege it. The usurpers not only called to their assistance the Mamertines, who were originally Campanians, and had acted the same part at Messina, as we have related in the history of Sicily, but opened an asylum for all the profligate wretches of the country, who flocked to the city in great crouds from all the neighbouring countries. The Campanians being thus reinforced, made a vigorous defence, and held out, till provisions beginning to fail in the camp of the Romans, Genucius was obliged to have recourse to Hiero king of Syracuse, who, by supplying him not only with the corn he wanted, but with a reinforcement of some Sicilian troops, enabled him at last to make himself master of the place. Of about four thousand men, of which the guilty legion had at first consisted, only three hundred remained now alive, the rest having been killed in the several attacks made upon the city. These, as the Campanians enjoyed the privileges of Roman citizens, were sent prisoners to Rome to be tried there. The senate condemned them all to be first beaten with rods, and then beheaded; but, in order to prevent a mutiny, which so bloody an execution might raise among the populace, the criminals were put to death on different days in the forum, by fifty at a time. By this means Rome cleared herself of the suspicion of having sent the Rhegians succours with no other view but to seize their city. Such of the inhabitants as had escaped the cruelty of the Campanian legion, were, by a decree of the senate, reinstated in the possession of their estates, liberties and laws.

The perfidious legion at Rhegium punished.

The Sarcinates defeated.

THE following year C. Genucius and Cn. Cornelius were raised to the consulate. The former gained a victory over the Sarcinates, a people of Umbria, and was on that account honoured with a triumph. The succeeding consuls Q. Ogulnius Gallus and C. Fabius Pictor, were sent against one Lollius a Samnite, who having made his escape from Rome, where he was kept as a hostage, had seized a strong place in Samnium, and being joined by the Caricini, a people of that country, laid the neighbouring pro-

- a vinces under contribution. The consuls besieged the city of the *Caricini*, which made so vigorous a resistance, that they were very near failing in the enterprize; however, being at length privately admitted into the city by some deserters, they made themselves masters of it; but not without the loss of many legionaries, the besieged defending themselves to the last with incredible bravery. Under the same consuls, the *Romans*, who had hitherto used no money in commerce, except pieces of brass, stamped with the figures of a bull, a ram, and a boar, began to coin silver, and introduce it into commerce. The place appointed for the mint was the temple of *Juno Moneta*, of which we have spoken elsewhere; and hence came the word *money*.^{Silver money coined at Rome}
- b THE following consuls, *P. Sempronius Sophus*, and *Appius Claudius Crassus*, son to the famous *Appius Claudius*, entered *Picenum* jointly; but new commotions in *Umbria* obliging them to separate, *Appius* entered that country; and having made himself master of *Camerinum*, sold all the inhabitants for slaves, contrary to his agreement with them, deposited the money accruing from the sale in the public treasury, and seized all their lands. But the senate had too much equity to authorize so wicked a fraud; they caused all those unhappy wretches to be carefully sought out, allowed them the privileges of *Roman* citizens, granted them a place upon mount *Aventine* for their habitation, and allotted each of them as much land in property as they had lost in *Umbria*. In the mean time the other consul, *Sempronius Sophus*, carried on the war against the *Picentes* with great success. He gained a complete victory over them, which however cost him very dear; for he lost the greater part of his troops in the action (D). *Asulum*, the capital of *Picenum*, submitted to the conqueror, and the whole nation gave themselves up to *Rome*; a great increase of power to the republic, this country alone being able to supply her armies with three hundred and sixty thousand men. After this the *Romans*, the better to secure their new conquests, and keep the conquered nations in awe, sent out two colonies, one to *Ariminum* in the country of the *Picentes*, and another to *Benventum* in that of the *Samnites*. This same year the *Sabines*, who had hitherto had no other privilege but that of being incorporated in the legions, instead of serving as auxiliaries, were admitted to the right of suffrage in the city, which made them intirely *Romans*.^{Picenum conquered.}
- d THE consuls of the following year, *L. Julius* and *M. Atilius Regulus*, began a war with the *Salentines*. Their pretence was, that this nation had favoured the descent of *Pyrrhus*, and espoused the cause of the *Tarentines*, a pretence invented by the ambitious republic to rob her neighbours of their liberty. The chief cities of the *Salentines* were *Hydruntum*, *Aletium* and *Brundisium*. This last port was what the *Romans* chiefly coveted. It was so advantageously situated, that, by being masters of it, they were in a condition to contend with the nations beyond sea, and to carry war into *Africa*, *Asia* and *Greece*. The *Salentines* disputed their country inch by inch; and tho' *Atilius Regulus* took *Brundisium*, yet neither he nor his colleague had the glory of subduing that gallant nation. Their successors, *Numerius Fabius* and *D. Junius Pera*, took *Aletium* and *Hydruntum*, with other cities, and by that means obliged the *Salentines* to submit to the yoke. The same campaign they subdued the *Sarcinates* in *Umbria*; and, on their return to *Rome*, were honoured each with two triumphs for the reduction of two nations, a thing unheard-of before in the republic.^{The Salentines subdued.}
- e AND now the republic was mistress of all the countries in *Italy*, from the remotest part of *Hebruria* to the *Ionian* sea, and from the *Tyrrhenian* sea to the *Adriatic*. But these nations did not all enjoy the same privileges; some were intirely subject to *Rome*, and had no laws but what they received from thence; others retained their old laws and customs, but in subjection to the republic; some were tributary, and others allies, and were obliged to furnish the *Roman* army with troops, and maintain them at their own expence. Some had the privilege of *Roman* citizenship, their soldiers were incorporated in the legions; others had likewise a right of suffrage in the elections made by the centuries in the *campus Martius*. These different degrees of

^a PLIN. l. xxxv. c. 3. SUIDAS IN VOCE ΜΟΝΗΤΑ.

^b VELL. PATERC. l. i.

^c FAST. CAPIT.

(D) We are told, that while the two armies were in sight of each other, and ready to engage, a sudden earthquake greatly terrified the *Romans*, and damped their ardor for fighting; but *Sempronius Sophus*, not surprized at a natural effect, encouraged them, say-

ing, That the earth shook only for fear of changing its masters; and then vowing a temple to the goddess *Tellus*, they quickly recovered their former ardor, and tell upon the *Picenses* with their usual intrepidity (21).

(21) Frontin. Strat. l. i. c. 12. Flor. l. i. c. 19. Orof. l. iv. c. 4.

honour, privileges and liberty, were founded on the different terms granted to the conquered upon their surrender, and were afterwards increased, according to their fidelity, and the services they did the republic.

The Apollonates court the friendship of the republic.

THE fame of the *Roman* name being, after this great increase of power and dominion, spread into foreign countries, their friendship was courted by free cities, and whole nations on the other side the sea. *Apollonia*, situated over-against *Brundisium*, was the first city of *Macedon* that sent ambassadors to desire the protection of *Rome*. These ambassadors were kindly received by the senate; but, upon some occasion not mentioned in history, insulted by *Fabricius* and *Apronius*, two young patricians, and at this time ædiles. The republic would not suffer this breach of the law of nations to go unpunished; they were both tried, and the sentence passed upon them was, that they should be put into the hands of the *Apollonates*, carried into *Macedon*, and there punished at the pleasure of the people, whom they had offended in the persons of their ambassadors. The republic obliged the offenders to abdicate the ædileship, before they set out from *Rome*; and lest the ambassadors should be insulted on the road by the friends and relations of *Fabricius* and *Apronius*, they were conducted to *Brundisium*, together with the prisoners, by a detachment of troops under the command of a quæstor. This was shewing the *Apollonates* great regard; and they, in their turn, shewed a prudent respect for the republic. The prisoners were hospitably received, and then sent back to *Rome*. This event gave rise to a law, which lasted as long as the republic, whereby it was enacted, that if any citizen, of what quality soever, insulted an ambassador, he should be delivered up to the injured nation. ^a

Provincial Quæstors created.

THE republic enjoying now a profound tranquillity both at home and abroad, the new consuls, *Q. Fabius Gurgæ*, and *L. Mamilius Vitulus*, applied themselves wholly to the regulating of the public revenues. These arose from the tributes each nation was to pay from the rents of certain arable and pasture lands, which the republic reserved for herself as her demesns, whenever she distributed any conquered lands among the citizens; from the tenth of the produce of all lands, which were dependent upon her; and lastly, from the imposts upon all merchandize imported into her dominions. The four quæstors already appointed to receive and pay the public monies, were hardly sufficient to go through the business, even before the late conquests. It being now ^d therefore absolutely necessary to augment the number of these officers, four new ones were created, with the title of *provincial quæstors*, to take charge of the four provinces, into which the republic had divided her conquests. The quæstor of the first province resided at *Ostia*, and his quæstorship reached from the springs of the *Tiber* and the *Arno* to the mouth of the *Liris*, and comprehended *Ætruria*, *Latium*, *Sabinia*, *Umbria*, and in short all the coasts of the *Tuscan* sea, and all the lands between that sea and the *Apennines*. The quæstor of the second province resided at *Cale* in *Campania*, and had under his jurisdiction all the country between the *Liris* and the gulf of *Tarentum*; that is, *Campania*, *Samnium*, *Lucania*, the country of the *Brutii* and *Oenotria*. The third province reached from the *Apennines* to the shore of the *Adriatic* sea, and was called ^e the *Gallie* quæstorship. It contained the countries formerly conquered by the *Gauls*, especially the *Senones*, from the *Rubicon* to the *Æsis*, and also *Picenum*, the country of the *Frentani*, and all the other countries as far as *Apulia*. The fourth quæstorship, of which we have not so distinct an account as of the other three, could only comprise *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and the territories of the *Salentines*, *Messapians* and *Tarentines*. For these four provinces *Rome* created four new quæstors; and it was then settled, that all the eight quæstors should for the future be chosen in the comitia by tribes. After the elections, which were renewed every year, the eight quæstors drew lots in the presence of the people, to decide who should have the *Roman*, who the military, and who the provincial quæstorships. The military quæstors attended the consuls ^f in their expeditions, kept the military chest, paid the troops' and sold the prisoners and spoils taken from the enemy. The *Roman* quæstors had care of the public treasury. The provincial quæstorships were mostly desired by the ambitious, before *Rome* had extended her conquests beyond *Italy*; but little coveted after the republic had brought the east and west under subjection, and great kingdoms were become so many provinces under her dominion.

WE have often observed, that it was the fate of the *Romans* to be afflicted with domestic misfortunes, when they were not engaged in any war; and this was the case at present: a contagion broke out, which made a dreadful havock both in the city

^a FLOR. in epit. 15. VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 6. DIG. PARAG. de legat.

and

- a and country. Hereupon recourse being had to the *Sibylline* books, according to custom, it was there supposed to be found, that some secret crimes had drawn down the wrath of heaven upon the republic. A vestal, named *Caparania*, was found, upon diligent inquiry, guilty of incontinence, and condemned to be buried alive without the gate *Collina*. The guilty vestal, to avoid so cruel a death, strangled herself; but the same ceremonies of interment were performed over the dead body, as if she had been living ^w. Notwithstanding the havock made by the plague, we are told, that, by a census taken this year, the number of citizens fit to bear arms appeared to be two hundred ninety-two thousand two hundred and twenty-four. Either the plague did not make great ravages in *Rome*, or in this enumeration the *Sabines* were
- b comprehended, to whom the right of suffrage had been lately granted; for the number of citizens in this census was greater than ever^x. With this census, and the lustrum which followed it, ended the magistracy of the two censors *C. Marcius Rutilus* and *Cn. Cornelius Blasio*, who had been now five years in their office, and were both men of great probity. The former had been, on account of his extraordinary merit, elected, contrary to custom, and his own earnest remonstrances, a second time to this high station; and hence he acquired in all likelihood the surname of *Censorinus*, which was perpetuated in his family. But in order to put a stop to so dangerous a practice, *Marcius* got a law passed, forbidding any person to hold the censorship a second time.
- c WHILE the two consuls, *Fabius Gurgus* and *Mamilius Vitulus*, were employed at home in works of peace, an unexpected war sprung up in the very bowels of the republic. *Volturni*, one of the capital cities of the twelve *Hebrurian* leucumones, had been allowed by the *Romans* to enjoy her ancient laws and form of government; but as the inhabitants no longer considered themselves as a free and independent people, they despised the public offices, and suffered their freed-men to usurp them, giving themselves wholly up to their pleasures. These freed-men became, by degrees, tyrants in that little republic, and made it their whole business to humble their old masters. They took away their wives from them by force, and carried their insolence and licentiousness so far, that they passed a law, that no virgin daughter of a man free-born
- d should be married to a husband of the like condition, till she had submitted to the passion of a freed-man. To these indignities they added the banishments and proscriptions of the most worthy citizens. The *Volturniensis*, despairing of being able to redress their grievances themselves, sent deputies to *Rome*, to implore the assistance of the republic. The deputies set out privately, and carried on their negotiations with great secrecy; but nevertheless the freed-men, getting notice of the whole, put the deputies to death at their return; and when the consul *Fabius*, who was sent against them with a small army of volunteers, appeared before their city, they even ventured to face him in the field, and give him battle. *Fabius* put them to the rout; but as he was entering the town with the runaways, he received a mortal wound from an
- e unknown hand. Thus fell a great man, who had been honoured with triumphs, embassies, and three consulates, and who, contrary to the expectation of the great *Fabius* his father, did no ways degenerate from the virtue of his ancestors. The consul was no sooner carried out of the croud, than the freed-men facing about, fell upon the *Romans* with such fury, that they obliged them to retire. Then *Decius Mus*, lieutenant to *Fabius*, invested *Volturni*, and began to besiege it in form; but it was not taken till the arrival of *M. Fulvius Flaccus*, one of the consuls for the next year, who forced the freed-men to surrender at discretion, and put all those who had acted any part in this scene of villainy to death. The ancient citizens, and those who had not been concerned in the revolt, were transplanted to another place, and their city razed.
- f This conduct of *Flaccus* was so agreeable to the republic, that she granted him the honours of a triumph. He entered *Rome* in state on the calends of *February* in the year succeeding this, which was the year of his consulate. We have anticipated this latter part of history, to avoid blending an affair of so little importance with the great events we are going to relate in the following chapter, namely, those of the first *Punic* or *Cartaginian* war.

A war with
the freed-men
of Volturni.

The consul Fabius
Gurgus,
killed.

Volturni taken,
and razed.

^w OROS. l. iv. c. 5.

^x FLOR. epit. & EUTROP. l. ii.

^y PLUT. in Coriolano. VAL. MAX. l. iv. c. 1.

C H A P. V.

The history of Rome, from the first Carthaginian war to the second.

The occasion of
the first rupture
between Rome
and Carthage.
Year of the
flood 2740.
Before Christ
259.
Of Rome 489

THE Carthaginians, when the war first broke out between their republic and that of Rome, were possessed of extensive dominions in *Africa*, had made considerable acquisitions in *Spain*, were masters of *Sardinia*, *Corfica*, and all the islands on the coasts of *Italy*, and had extended their conquests to a great part of *Sicily*. The occasion of the first rupture between the two republics was as follows: The *Mamertines*, of whom we have spoken at length in the history of *Sicily**, being vanquished in battle, and reduced to great straits by *Hiero* king of *Syracuse*, had resolved to deliver up *Messana*, the only city which they now possessed, to that prince, with whose mild government and strict probity they were well acquainted. Accordingly *Hiero* was advancing, at the head of his troops, to take possession of that important place, when *Hannibal*, who at that time commanded the *Carthaginian* army in *Sicily*, prevented him by a stratagem. The cunning *African* came to meet *Hiero*, as it were, to congratulate him on his victory, and amused him, while some of the *Carthaginian* troops filed off towards *Messana*. Hereupon the *Mamertines*, seeing their city supported by a new reinforcement, were divided into several opinions. Some were for accepting the protection *Carthage* offered them, others were still for surrendering to the king of *Syracuse*; but the greater part were for calling the *Romans* to the assistance of a city, whose inhabitants were originally *Italians*; for the *Mamertines* were a party of *Campanian* mercenaries, who having served under *Agathocles* king of *Sicily*, on their return home, seized on the city of *Messana*, into which they had been admitted, and entertained as friends, massacred the inhabitants, and took possession of their lands, houses and wives. The arrival of their deputies at *Rome* occasioned great debates in the senate; the conscript fathers thought it would cast no small blemish on their reputation to protect a company of villains, who had formerly got possession of *Messana* by the same treachery and cruelty, as the perfidious *Campanian* legion had made themselves masters of *Rhegium*. Shall we, said they, countenance the same actions in some, which we have, with the utmost severity, punished in others? But, on the other hand, looking upon the *Carthaginians* with an eye of jealousy, and being well apprised, that they undertook the defence of that important place, only with a view to seize it for themselves, they were long deliberating what to determine in so nice a point. *Messana*, said they, will be soon subject to the *Carthaginians*; and if we tamely suffer them to get possession of a place, which is divided from *Italy* only by a narrow strait of the sea, we shall soon be obliged to engage in a war with them for the defence of our own continent. This selfish consideration made most of the senators forget the regard they had hitherto shewn for rigid probity, and come into the measures of the people, who, from the very beginning, were eagerly bent upon driving the *Carthaginians* out of *Messana*. Accordingly it was decreed, that *Appius Claudius*, surnamed *Caudex*, who was then consul with *M. Fulvius Flaccus*, should be sent over into *Sicily*, to attempt the deliverance of *Messana*. The consul nevertheless continued at *Rome*, and dispatched in his stead one *Claudius*, a legionary tribune, a man of great boldness and experience in military affairs. The tribune, not thinking it adviseable to expose the few triremes he could get together to the insults of the *Carthaginian* fleet, which infested the straits, went over to *Messana* in a fisher-boat, in order to discover the disposition of the inhabitants. Upon his arrival, he convened the *Mamertines* in the usual place of their assemblies, and acquainted them, that he came as a deputy from the *Romans*, to offer them the assistance which they had desired, and assured them, that the forces of his republic should be withdrawn, as soon as their city and estates were in safety. The *Mamertines*, intimidated by the presence of the *Carthaginians*, who were already in possession of the citadel, made answer, That his

Claudius, a legionary tribune, goes over to Messina.

* Vide Vol. III. p. 83.

- a offers were come too late ; and that every free city had a right to call whom she pleased to her assistance. A free city ! replied *Claudius* with a sneer ; are you then in possession of your liberty ? What do I see here but foreign troops, who begin to make you feel the weight of that slavery, which you cannot avoid without our assistance ? The *Mamertines* being struck dumb at these words, *Claudius*, with great intrepidity, declared, that he looked upon their silence as a tacit consent ; and quitting the assembly, returned strait to *Rbegium*, and from thence to *Rome*, where the senate, upon his report, judged that the *Mamertines* were disposed to receive succours from the republic. The same tribune was therefore ordered to set sail, and steer with the *Roman* fleet to *Messana* (E). But how weak and inconsiderable was this fleet, in comparison of that which the *Carthaginians* had brought into the streights ! How ignorant were the *Romans* at that time of sea affairs ! Nevertheless the bold tribune weighed anchor ; but being attacked by *Hanno* the *Carthaginian* admiral, and having at the same time a storm to struggle with, most of his ships were taken, others dashed in pieces, and he obliged to return to *Rbegium*. While *Claudius* was busy in refitting his fleet, *Hanno* sent back the ships he had taken from him, with a view either to pique the *Romans* in point of honour, or to divert them from sending succours to *Messana* ; but as the deputies, who came to restore the ships, reproached the *Romans* with having first infringed the treaties of friendship between the two nations, and declared, that the *Carthaginians* would never suffer the *Romans* to be masters of the streights between *Italy* and *Sicily*, nay, not even to wash their hands in them, *Claudius* rejected the present with the utmost indignation, and carried on his preparations with great vigour. Having refitted his small fleet in the best manner he could, he put to sea again, and timed his enterprize so well, that he eluded the vigilance of the *Carthaginians*, and got safe into the port of *Messana*. *Hanno*, who was now become commander of the land forces, upon the arrival of *Claudius*, abandoned the city to the *Romans*, and retired into the citadel. *Claudius*, seeing himself in possession of the city, desired the *Mamertines* to summon an assembly, and to invite *Hanno* to it. The *Carthaginians* for fear of shewing a distrust of those whom he pretended to protect, complied with the summons, and appeared in the assembly. The two generals reproached each other in bitter terms, till at length *Claudius* was so provoked, that he ordered some brave legionaries, who attended him, to arrest *Hanno*, and keep him prisoner. The *Mamertines* applauding the resolution of the *Roman*, *Claudius* made good use of this declaration in his favour. What by menaces, and what by persuasions, he prevailed on the *Carthaginian* to surrender up the citadel to him ; a piece of cowardice which cost the unhappy *Hanno* dear ; for he was, on his return home, crucified by order of the senate. The *Carthaginians*, resolved at all events to drive

The Roman
fleet destroyed.

Claudius puts
to sea again,
and gets into
Messana.

(E) *Polybius* tells us (12), that the *Romans* were utter strangers to naval affairs, and quite ignorant of the art of building ships, before the first *Punic* war. He adds, that it would have been impossible for them to build and equip a fleet, had not fortune, who always espoused their cause, by a mere accident, instructed them in the method ; for a *Carthaginian* galley, which was out a cruising, venturing too near the shore, chanced to be stranded, and was taken by the *Romans* before the mariners could get her off. This galley served them for a model ; for they built by it, says he, a fleet of a hundred and twenty gallees. The equipment of this fleet seemed to him a prodigy, and made him resolve to write the history of the first *Punic* war. But that author was certainly mistaken, when he wrote, that the *Romans* had no ships at sea before the first *Punic* war ; nay, it is no easy matter to reconcile him with himself on this subject ; for when he elsewhere (13) speaks of the articles of a treaty agreed on by the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, in the consulship of *Brutus* and *Horatius*, immediately after the expulsion of the *Tarquins*, he tells us, that one of the articles was to this effect, that the *Romans*, and the allies of the *Romans*, should not sail beyond the *Fair Promontory*, unless constrained by weather, or by an enemy. In two other treaties, of which he gives us

the transcripts, there are several clauses to the same effect. These precautions on the side of the *Carthaginians* manifestly suppose, that the *Romans* had at that time ships, traded to *Africa*, and were not so utterly unacquainted with naval affairs, as *Polybius* represents them to have been at the beginning of the first *Punic* war. Neither can *Polybius* be understood as speaking only of ships of war, it being plain from the reasons of the *Tarentine* war agreed on by all historians, that the *Romans* had at that time a fleet of ten gallees ; nay, we are told by all the ancients, that, long before the *Tarentine* war, the consul *Manius*, having ruined the port of *Antium*, carried part of the fleet of the *Antiates*, which consisted of twenty gallees, to *Rome*, and laid them up in the place appointed for building ships. It is no less certain, that many years before the first *Punic* war, the *Roman* people appointed the *duumviri navales*, whose province was confined to the inspection and repairing of ships of the republic. It is therefore false, that the first time the *Romans* had a fleet, or ventured to sea, was in the time of the first *Punic* war ; however, it is certain, that the *Romans*, wholly intent upon the reducing of the neighbouring states, were but little acquainted with naval affairs, till they began to make war out of their own continent.

(12) *Polyb.* l. i.(13) *Idem*, l. iii.

Appius the
consul passes
into Sicily, and
defends Hiero
and the Car-
thaginians.

the Romans out of *Messana*, raised both sea and land-forces, and dispatched them into a
Sicily under the command of another *Hanno*, who arriving with his fleet at *Lilybaeum*,
prevailed upon *Hiero* king of *Syracuse*, to enter into an alliance with his republic, and
to invest *Messana* jointly with him. Hitherto the consul *Appius* had not appeared in
the dispute, so that had the *Carthaginians* stopt their proceedings: all the steps, taken
only by a tribune of the army, might have been disowned. But a monstrous piece of
cruelty, committed by *Hanno*, determined *Rome* to keep no longer any measures with
her rival. That general, upon the refusal of *Claudius* to surrender up *Messana* to him,
caused all the *Italians*, who served in his army, to be inhumanly massacred; which
was no sooner heard at *Rome*, than the consul *Appius* hastened his departure from
thence, and came to *Rhegium*. As he apprehended both danger and dishonour in the b
enterprise, he sent from *Rhegium* deputies to king *Hiero*, conjuring him by the ancient
friendship between the *Romans* and him, to desist from the siege he had undertaken.
Hiero in answer reproached the *Romans* not only with ingratitude to him, but with
deviating from their pretended equity in protecting the treacherous tyrants of *Messana*,
eminently guilty of the same crime which *Rome* had severely punished in the *Campa-*
nian legion at *Rhegium*. *Appius* having received this answer, resolved to pass over
into *Sicily*, pursuant to the orders of the senate; but to conceal his design, he gave
out, that he could not venture upon that enterprise before he consulted the senate.
This report reaching the *Carthaginian* fleet, made them watch the streights with less care
and vigilance. In the mean time *Appius*, going on board a galley, built unskillfully, c
and in great haste, pretended only to coast along the shore in his way to *Rome*; but
as soon as he was out of sight, he tacked about, and being favoured by a dark night,
reached with some transports the nearest shore of *Sicily*, and landed his forces without
being perceived by the enemy either at sea or land. For this bold enterprise he got the
surname of *Caudex*, which then signified a boat ill-built. *Claudius*, encouraged by
this success, advanced in all haste with his legions against the king of *Syracuse*, who
blocked up *Messana* on the side of mount *Chalcis*, and having surprised and defeated
him, entered triumphantly into *Messana*, highly delighted with gaining the first vic-
tory the *Romans* had ever obtained out of their continent. After this defeat *Hiero*, d
thinking himself betrayed by the *Carthaginians*, who had suffered him to be surprised;
by not guarding the streights, decamped hastily in the night, and giving way to his
distrusts, returned to *Syracuse*. *Claudius* receiving next morning intelligence of his
retreat, resolved to lose no time, but forthwith to attack the *Carthaginians*. Pursuant
to this resolution, he made a brisk sally, and routed them with great slaughter. Having
thus raised the siege of *Messana*, he over-ran the lands of the *Syracusians* like a torrent,
pillaged and laid waste the whole country, and having no enemy in the field to con-
tend with, advanced to the very gates of *Syracuse*. But the year being already far
spent, he soon returned with his troops to *Messana*, and having left a strong garison
in that city, passed over to *Rhegium*, and from thence pursued his journey to *Rome*.
Eutropius ² and *Silius Italicus* ³ tell us, that he received the honours of a triumph for e
his *Sicilian* expedition; but we find no mention made of it in the triumphal tables.

The Romans
make an alli-
ance with
Hiero.

THE succeeding consuls, *Manius Octavius Crassus*, and *Manius Valerius Flaccus*,
were ordered to transport into *Sicily* two consular armies, consisting each of eight
thousand legionaries, and twelve hundred horse, with a great number of auxiliaries.
Upon their arrival most of the towns that had submitted to the *Carthaginians* and
Syracusians, delivered themselves up to the *Romans*; insomuch that in a few months
they saw themselves masters of sixty-seven places, among which were *Taurominium*
and *Catana*, two cities of great importance. Encouraged by this success, they resolved
to undertake the siege of *Syracuse*, the capital of the island, and at that time one of f
the greatest cities in the world. They had no sooner invested it, than *Hiero*, being
now sensible that he had formed a wrong judgment touching the issue of the war, and
that the hopes of the *Romans* were founded on better measures than those of the *Cartha-*
ginians, sent out deputies to treat with the former of a peace. The consuls readily
embraced the overture, knowing, that by entering into an alliance with *Syracuse*, they
should be plentifully supplied with provisions, for want of which they had been the
last year reduced to great streights by the *Carthaginians*, who were masters at sea.
They therefore agreed to a treaty with the king on the following conditions; that
Hiero should release all the *Roman* prisoners without ransom, and pay the republic a

² POLYB. l. ii. c. 11. DIODOR. in eclog. VAL. MAX. l. ii. c. 7. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 9. FRONTIN. STR-
TAG. l. i. c. 4. ³ EUTHOP. l. ii. ⁴ SILIUS ITALIC. l. vi.

- a hundred talents of silver. Upon these conditons, which were approved of by the Roman senate and people, *Rome* promised to acknowledge *Hiero* as a friend to their republic, and to protect his dominions from all hostilities ^a.

THE Romans, having now no enemies to contend with but the *Carthaginians*, and being supplied with all manner of provisions by *Hiero*, now their friend and ally, made themselves masters of all the places on the western coast of *Sicily*. The inhabitants of *Segesta* and *Aliena* massacred the *African* garrison, and opened their gates to the consuls. The cities of *Hilara*, *Tyrita*, and *Asclea*, were besieged in form, taken by assault, and treated with great rigor. The campaign being ended, the two consuls carried back most of their troops with them, and putting them in winter quarters on the coast of *Italy*, returned to *Rome*, where *Valerius* was decreed a triumph, which he enjoyed on the sixteenth of the calends of *April*. His surname of *Messala*, and this mark of distinction, which he alone received, plainly shew that he had signalized himself above his colleague in the defence of *Messana*, and the wars with *Hiero* and the *Carthaginians* ^b. This year *Cn. Fulvius Centumalus* was created dictator, who chose *Q. Marcius Philippus* for his general of the horse. But their only business was to drive a nail into the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, to stop a plague which raged at *Rome*.

- THE new consuls, *L. Posthumius Megellus*, and *Q. Mamilius Vitulus*, were both ordered into *Sicily*. But the republic, depending on the alliance of king *Hiero*, thought it adviseable to lessen the number of troops in that service, and therefore appointed them two legions only. They set out from *Rome*, and imbarquing at *Rhegium*, landed at *Messana*, without meeting with any opposition in their passage. They no sooner came ashore, than they assembled the reinforcements they were to receive in the country, and with them marched strait to *Agrigentum*, which the *Carthaginians* had made their magazine of arms and provisions. The place was very strong by nature, and had been rendered almost impregnable by the new works, with which the *Carthaginians* had secured it during the winter, with a view to make it their asylum or place of refuge, in case of any miscarriage or disaster. Besides, it was defended by a very numerous garison under the command of *Hannibal*, a general of known valour, and great experience in war. However, the *Romans* came and incamped before the place, blocking it up on all sides. As it was then harvest time, and the fruitful fields of *Sicily* were covered with corn, the consuls gave their soldiers leave to go and reap it in small parties, in order to provide against the wants which usually attend long sieges. *Hannibal* resolved to take advantage of this relaxation of military discipline, and made two sallies at the same time, one upon the reapers, and the other upon the *Roman* camp. The reapers, not being able to rally soon enough, were overpowered by the *Carthaginians*, and for the most part cut in pieces. But the *Romans* in the camp repulsed the enemy with great slaughter, and pursued them to the very gates of the city. After this action the *Carthaginians* were more cautious in their sallies, and the consuls took care not to suffer their men to go out and forage in small parties. And now the *Carthaginians* making no more sallies, the *Romans* thought it adviseable to divide their army into two bodies. With one they encamped near the temple of *Æsculapius*, at some distance from the city, with the other on the road to *Heraclea*. A large ditch was thrown up round the city to guard the camps against the sallies of the besieged, and a second line beyond the two camps to secure them from any surprize from without, and to prevent provisions from being conveyed into the city. The *Romans* were plentifully supplied with all necessaries from *Erbesa*, a city not far from *Agrigentum*, whither they were brought from all parts of *Sicily*, and safely conveyed from thence to the camps. Thus the *Romans* continued before the place five months, hoping to reduce it by famine. And indeed, as there were no fewer than fifty thousand souls in *Agrigentum*, the city was soon reduced to great streights. But *Hannibal* kept up their courage with promises, and from time to time dispatched, notwithstanding the vigilance of the *Romans*, messengers to *Carthage* to solicit speedy succours. Hereupon the *Carthaginians*, having levied what troops they could in *Africa*, *Spain*, *Gaul*, and *Liguria*, put on board a fleet, under the command of *Hanno*, fifty thousand chosen foot, six thousand horse, and sixty elephants, ordering them to sail to *Sicily*, and attempt at all adventures the relief of *Agrigentum*. *Hanno* without loss of time set sail, and landing his forces at *Lilybæum*, marched from thence to *Heraclea* within twenty miles of

^a POLYB. l. i. c. 16. DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. TIM. ARATAG. l. iv. c. 1. Fab. triumph.

^b POLYB. ibid. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 9. FRON-

Agrigentum. There he received a deputation from some of the inhabitants of *Erbesa*,^a where the *Romans* had their magazines, offering to put the town into his hands. The *Carthaginian*, overjoyed at this message, marched with all his forces strait to *Erbesa*, which was accordingly delivered up to him, so that the *Romans*, who were the besiegers, became themselves besieged: all their convoys were intercepted, and they reduced to such streights, that they often deliberated about raising the siege, and had certainly abandoned the enterprize, had not *Hiero* afforded them what help he could, which with great parsimony supported them, but was not enough for their convenient subsistence; so that distempers, the usual consequences of scarcity, spread in the *Roman* army, and daily swept off great numbers. But in the mean time *Agrigentum* being reduced to the utmost extremity by famine, *Hannibal* found means to acquaint *Hanno* with the deplorable condition of the place, who thereupon resolved to put the whole to the issue of a general engagement, thinking himself now a match for the *Romans*, who were greatly weakened by sickness and distempers. Accordingly, having acquainted *Hannibal* with his design, and ordered him to make a sally the moment the *Romans* appeared in the plain, he marched with all his troops from *Heraclea*, sending his *Numidian* horse before with orders to advance to the very intrenchments of the *Romans*, as if they designed to force them; but in case the *Romans* sallied out upon them, they were to retire towards the army. These orders were punctually executed, and the *Roman* cavalry sallying out upon the *Numidians*, and pursuing them too far, were surrounded by the whole army, and either taken or cut in pieces. Notwithstanding this advantage, *Hanno* posting himself on mount *Taurus*, about a mile and a half from the *Romans*, continued there two months without shewing any inclination to come to a decisive action. At length *Hannibal* giving him notice, as well by signals from the town, as by expresses, that the garison could no longer hold out, and that they deserted by companies to the *Romans*, *Hanno* was forced to venture an engagement, to which the *Romans* were equally disposed, being in great want of provisions. The two armies therefore drew up in a large plain between the two camps, and engaged with incredible fury. The success continued doubtful, till the mercenaries, who were in the van-guard of the *Carthaginian* army, gave way and fled. In their flight they fell in among the elephants, which they put into disorder, and by that means intirely broke the line that sustained the rear. By this accident the whole army being discomposed, the *Carthaginians*, quitting their ranks, betook themselves to a disorderly flight, the *Romans* pursuing them with great slaughter. *Hannibal* attempted to make a sally, and bring his forces to the assistance of *Hanno*; but was repulsed by the troops, which the consuls had posted at all the avenues to the city, and obliged to return after he had lost a great number of his men. In this battle the *Romans* took eleven elephants, wounded three, and killed thirty. As to the number of men killed in the action and pursuit, it is not exactly known. The enemy after the defeat retired to *Heraclea*, which they gained with much difficulty, the plain being all covered with dead bodies^d.

The Carthaginian army defeated.

Agrigentum taken.

Hannibal, perceiving that the *Romans* after the fatigues of so glorious a day were less upon their guard, sallied out at midnight with the greatest part of his troops, and filling up the *Roman* trenches with faggots, made his escape, and retired with his forces to a place of safety. The *Agrigentines*, to revenge themselves for being thus abandoned, and at the same time to make their court to the consuls, massacred the *Carthaginians*, who were left in the city. But such cruelties not being agreeable to the *Romans*, the consuls gave up the city, after it had surrendered at discretion, to be plundered; and above twenty-five thousand persons of free condition were made slaves. Such was the success of a siege, which had lasted at least seven months, and was the most remarkable and difficult the *Romans* had ever yet undertaken. The conquest was both an important and a glorious one: but it cost the besiegers dear; for they are said to have lost, what in the battle and in the frequent skirmishes, and what by famine and other hardships, about thirty thousand men *Romans* and allies*. The campaign being ended with the taking of *Agrigentum*, the consuls returned to *Messana*, and from thence to *Rome*. *Eutropius* tells us, that they both triumphed; but the silence of all other writers, especially of the triumphal tables, inclines us to believe, that the senate and people did not grant them that mark of distinction for reasons unknown to us. Per-

^a POLYB. *ibid.* c. 19. DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 19. ^b EUTROP. l. viii. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 20.

* EUTROP. l. viii. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 20.

- a haps they intended by this refusal to punish them for suffering *Hannibal* to make his escape, which was intirely owing to their neglect in keeping the guards with the usual vigilance.

THE reduction of *Agrirentum* inspired the *Romans* with hopes of conquering all *Sicily*. The only difficulty was how to make themselves masters of the maritime cities without the assistance of a fleet, equal at least to that of *Carthage*. Hitherto they had transported their troops on board of vessels borrowed of their neighbours, the *Tarentines*, *Locrians*, *Neapolitans*, &c. But now the republic formed a design of being as formidable at sea as she was by land, and ordered a hundred and twenty vessels to be built after the model of a *Carthaginian* galley, which venturing too near the shore, had been stranded and taken. The *Romans* immediately set about this laborious piece of work, cut down trees in their forests, and conveyed them to the sea-side with an expedition peculiar to themselves. This fleet was equipped, as *Polybius* informs us, in two months time, reckoning from the day the trees began to be cut in the forests, and consisted of a hundred galleys with five benches of rowers, and twenty with three. While some were employed in building the galleys, others assembling those who were to serve in the fleet, instructed them in the use of the oar after the following manner, which at first seemed somewhat ridiculous: They contrived benches on the shore in the same fashion and order as they were to be in the galleys, and placing their seamen with their oars in like manner upon the benches, an officer by signs with his hand instructed them how to dip their oars all at the same time, and how to recover them out of the water. By this means they became acquainted with the management of the oar; and as soon as the vessels were built and equipped, they spent some time in practising on the water what they had learnt ashore *.

BUT while the galleys were yet on the stocks, the new consuls, *L. Valerius Flaccus*, and *T. Otacilius*, brother to *M. Otacilius*, who had been consul two years before, set out for *Sicily*, where they easily reduced all the cities that were at any distance from the sea. But while they were subduing the inland countries, the *Carthaginians* either kept steady in their interest, or brought under subjection, all the places on the coast. So that both parties were equally successful.

- d IN the beginning of the consulate of *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, and *C. Duilius*, the fleet being equipped, and all things ready for their departure, the two consuls chose their different commands by lot. The command of the fleet fell to *Cornelius*, and that of the land-forces to *Duilius*. The latter immediately set out with two legions, and passed the straits. *Cornelius* followed him with seventeen of the new-built galleys, steering his course along the coast to *Messana* to give directions there for the reception and security of the fleet. Upon his arrival at that port, he was informed, some say by men hired for that purpose by *Hannibal*, that the island and city of *Lipara* would surrender to the *Romans* upon the first summons. *Cornelius*, giving credit to this report, immediately set sail with his squadron for *Lipara*, and entered that port. But at break of day he found himself blocked up by a greater number of *Carthaginian* vessels under the command of one *Boodes* a senator. In this surprize *Cornelius* saw no remedy but to submit, and accordingly yielded up himself and his squadron to the enemy. Thus far *Polybius* †. But *Livy* ‡ tells us, that the *Carthaginian* invited *Cornelius* and his tribunes, that is, the commanders of his galleys, on board his ship, to confer about the differences between the two republics in an amicable manner; and that the consul, being weak enough to trust to the honour of *Boodes*, was seized by him with all his officers, and sent to *Carthage*: this author adds, that the squadron, being thus deprived of all its commanders, surrendered without fighting. Thus the first attempt of the new fleet proved very disadvantageous and unsuccessful. In the mean time the hundred and three *Roman* galleys, which had remained in the ports, set sail according to the orders *Cornelius* had given, and coasting along *Italy*, made the best of their way towards the mouth of the straits. *Hannibal*, upon advice that the *Roman* fleet was at sea, sailed out with a squadron of fifty galleys to take a view of their new-fashioned vessels. But his curiosity cost him dear. For the *Roman* fleet appearing, when he least expected it, immediately attacked his squadron, which was dispersed about, with great vigor, and either sunk or took the greatest part of his galleys, *Hannibal* himself escaping with great difficulty, when his whole fleet believed him lost. Thus the *Carthaginian* admiral, upon the first trial he made in person of the skill of

The Romans equip a fleet.

The consul Cornelius and his squadron taken by the enemy.

The Romans gain a victory by sea.

* POLYB. *ibid.* c. 20.

† POLYB. l. i. c. 21.

‡ In epitome l. xxvii.

the Romans at sea, was obliged to quit the action with shame, and retire, after having been in great danger himself. The Romans, after this victory, pursued their course to Sicily, and being informed of the defeat and captivity of Cornelius, who was to have commanded them, they sent an express forthwith for Duilius, who had the command of the land-forces in the island. Duilius, being now left sole commander both at sea and land, went immediately, without hesitation, on board the fleet. But the reflection he made on the heaviness of his galleys did not a little abate his confidence. For the Romans plainly saw even in the battle, wherein they had all the advantage, that their vessels were not built with great art, but were very unwieldy in working, and wanted the lightness of those they were to engage with. But while he was ruminating on this matter, an engineer in the fleet found means to make amends for this defect by devising that machine, which was afterwards called *corvus*. All historians agree, that the use of this contrivance was to stop the enemy's ships as soon as the Romans came up with them, and thereby give them an opportunity of boarding them. But it is no easy matter to find out how these machines were built. Polybius gives us the following description of them: They erected, says he, on the prow of their vessels a round piece of timber about a foot and a half diameter, and about twelve foot long, on the top whereof they had a block or pulley. Round this piece of timber they laid a stage or platform of boards, four foot broad, and about eighteen foot long, which was well framed, and fastened with iron. The entrance was longways, and it moved about the abovesaid upright piece of timber, as on a spindle, and could be hoisted up within six foot of the top. About this was a sort of parapet knee high, which was defended with upright bars of iron sharpened at the end, towards the top whereof there was a ring, through which fastening a rope, by the help of the pulley, they hoisted and lowered the engine at pleasure. With this they attacked the enemy's vessels sometimes on their bow, and sometimes on their broad-side, as occasion best served. When they had grappled the enemy with those iron spikes, if they happened to swing broadside to broadside, then they entered from all parts; but in case they attacked them on the bow, they entered two and two by the help of this engine, the foremost defending the forepart, and those who followed, the flanks, keeping the bows of their bucclers level with the top of the parapet. Thus Polybius describes the *corvus*.

The *corvus* invented.

The consul Duilius gains a complete victory at sea.

THE invention of this machine, of which a trial was made, giving the consul more confidence, he left the command of the land-forces to his subalterns, and going on board the fleet, set sail for Myla to encounter the enemy, who had made a descent on that coast. The Carthaginians, who despised the Romans as quite ignorant of sea-affairs, were overjoyed when they first descried their fleet. They did not so much as give themselves the trouble to draw up their ships in line of battle, but advanced with a squadron in disorder up to the unwieldy triremes of the Romans, dreaming of nothing but certain victory. As they approached, they were at first surprised at the sight of the engine we have described above, and stood some time in suspense, not knowing the use of it. But the boldest of the Carthaginians, looking upon those machines as some foolish invention of persons not acquainted with the sea, rowed up with confidence to the Roman galleys, and by the boldness with which they attacked them, shewed how little account they made of their engines. But the Romans grappling with them by the help of their *corvi*, and boarding their ships with great ease, fought hand to hand with them upon deck as on firm ground. As the Romans were more expert in this kind of fight than the Carthaginians, and better armed, they soon gained the ascendant over them, and took thirty ships, with all those who were on board of them. Among these was the admiral's own galley, which was a *septiremis* taken formerly by the Carthaginians from king Pyrrhus. Hannibal himself was on board of it; but when he saw the Romans entering his galley, he leaped into a small boat, and escaped, when he was by all given for lost. At length the rest of the Carthaginian fleet, consisting of a hundred and twenty galleys, came up, and fell upon the Roman fleet. As they had greatly the advantage in the lightness of their vessels, they nimbly rowed round the Roman galleys, in order to avoid the *corvi*. But the Romans having learnt the art of working their ships so as to present their machines to the enemy, which way soever they approached them, they took fifty more of the Carthaginian ships, and obliged the rest to retire into the neighbouring ports of Sicily. In these two engagements the Romans took seven thousand prisoners, killed seven thousand men,

^b POLYB. *ibid.*

funk

- a sunk thirteen ships, and took eighty. After this victory *Duilius*, going ashore, put himself at the head of the land-forces, relieved *Segesta* besieged by *Hamilcar*, and made himself master of *Mucella*, though defended by a numerous garison. The campaign being ended, *Duilius* returned to *Rome*, but left his legions in *Sicily*. During his absence a dispute arose between them and the *Sicilian* auxiliaries. The *Sicilians* complained that the *Romans* were always placed in the most honourable posts, that is, in the most dangerous. The difference came to such a height, that the *Sicilians* separated from the *Romans*, and encamped by themselves. *Hamilcar*, who was too vigilant not to draw advantages from this misunderstanding, attacked the *Sicilians* in their intrenchments, and put four thousand of them to the sword. He then drove the *Romans* from their posts, took several cities from them, and over-ran great part of the country. In the mean time *Hannibal*, after having been overcome in the sea engagement by the *Romans*, leaving *Sicily*, sailed with the remains of his shattered fleet to *Carthage*. But in order to secure himself from punishment, sent one of his friends with all speed, before the battle was known there, to acquaint the senate, that the *Romans* had put to sea with a good number of heavy ill-built vessels, carrying some machines, which the *Carthaginians* had never seen before, and consequently knew not the use of them. After the messenger had given the senate this account of the *Roman* fleet, he asked them whether it was their opinion, that *Hannibal* should attack them? The answer was unanimous; Let our admiral, they cried out with one voice, fight the *Romans*, and punish them for daring to brave us on our element. Then *Hannibal's* friends acquainted them with what had happened. What you now command, said he, *Hannibal* has ventured to do. Fortune indeed has not favoured him; but who can be answerable for the event of things? *Hannibal* thought as you do. And shall the uncertainty of fortune be deemed a crime? As the senators could not condemn him without condemning themselves, they spared his life, but deprived him of the command of the fleet ¹.

The Carthaginians gain some advantages over the Romans.

- WHILE the *Carthaginians* were thus disgracing their unfortunate admiral, the *Romans* were heaping honours on the brave *Duilius*. A victory gained by sea was more valued at this juncture, than all the conquests their consuls and dictators had formerly made by land. The consul entered the city in triumph, attended with the acclamations of all *Rome*. A mark of distinction was granted him, which had never been heard of before. Whenever he returned from supper, he was attended with music and flambeaux. This honour was granted for once only, to those who triumphed; and this was when they returned home in the evening from the solemn feast, which was prepared at the expence of the public for the close of the triumph. But to *Duilius* this distinction was continued as long as he lived. *Cicero* ² and *Florus* ³ seem to insinuate, that *Duilius* assumed this uncommon mark of distinction without the consent of the senate and people. But it is not probable, that either the patricians or plebeians, who called the least step towards an independency a state crime, would have suffered a private person to assume this singular privilege. It is more probable, that *Duilius* demanded it as a reward for his services. To perpetuate the memory of his triumph, medals were struck, and a pillar of white marble was erected to his honour in the *Forum Romanum* (F).

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¹ POLYB. DIODOR. SICUL. *ibid.* VAL. MAX. L. viii. c. 3. AUTH. VIR. ILLUSTR. ZONAR. *ibid.* * CIC. DE SENECTUTE. ² FLOR. L. iii.

(F) This pillar, called *Columna Rostrata* from the beaks of ships, in *Latin*, *rostra*, that were fastened to it, was still standing in the forum in *Pliny's* time. *Silius Italicus* (24) speaks of it in the following lines:

*Æquorum juxta decus, & navale trophæum,
Rostra gerens, nivea surgebat mole Columna.
Exuvias Marti donumque Duilius alto
Ante omnes, merita Peritorum classe, dicebat;
Cui nocturnus honos, funalia clara, sacerque
Post epulas sibi cœna adest, castosque penates
Insignis læti repetebat murmure cantus.*

Silius speaks more like an historian than a poet in

this place. The *Columna Rostrata* was accidentally recovered in 1560, and placed by the care of cardinal *Alexander Farnese* in the capitol. *Justus Lipsius* and *Ciaconius* have endeavoured to fill up the chasms of the inscription on the pedestal, which are in old *Latin*. The substance of it, according to their interpretation, is as follows: Caius Duilius consul, the son of Marcus, general of the Roman army in *Sicily* against the *Carthaginians*, forced *Hamilcar* to raise the siege of *Segesta*, a city in friendship and alliance with the Roman people, and obliged him to return on board his fleet, after he had left his camp, and nine elephants, to the mercy of the enemy. Then he took *Macella*, one of the strongest places in *Sicily*. He fitted out a fleet in the space of sixty days, defeated the *Carthaginians*

(24) *Sil. Italic. l. vi.*

A dangerous
conspiracy at
Rome.

THE consuls for the next year were *L. Cornelius Scipio*, and *C. Aquilius Florus*. The command of the fleet fell by lot to the former, and that of the land-forces to the latter. They were both ordered into *Sicily*, but *Cornelius* had leave to make an attempt upon the islands of *Corfica* and *Sardinia*, if an opportunity offered. While he was getting ready the fleet in the different ports of *Italy*, his colleague was detained at *Rome* to suppress a dangerous conspiracy. The republic had caused a great number of men to be brought to *Rome*, from all the provinces subject to her, to serve as rowers on board her galleys. Among these were four thousand *Samnites*, who being unwilling to enter into the sea service, and finding a plot already formed by the discontented slaves to burn and plunder the city, readily entered into the conspiracy, and joined the slaves, who were three thousand in number. As they wanted a head, they pitched upon one *Errius Potitius*, who commanded the auxiliaries, and was a man of known experience. *Errius* seemed to go heartily into their measures, till he had learnt the whole secret, and then he discovered it to the senate. All the slaves were put in irons by their masters, and the *Samnites* imprisoned.

The Romans
conquer Cor-
fica and Sar-
dinia.

DURING these distractions at *Rome* *Cornelius* had weighed anchor, and was already on the coasts of *Corfica*. As men are generally fond of new undertakings, the consul thought the two islands of *Corfica* and *Sardinia* worthy of a campaign. And indeed, no conquest, next to that of *Sicily*, could so well answer the end the republic then had in view, which was to gain the empire of the sea. The *Carthaginians*, who were then masters of them, had fortified some cities there, in order to be nearer to *Italy*, and make themselves formidable to the maritime cities. The first the consul attacked was *Corfica*, which he easily reduced, after he had made himself master of *Aleria*, the only strong place in the island. From *Corfica* he sailed to *Sardinia*, and appeared with his fleet off *Olbia*, a large city on the east side of the island. But as the place was defended by a numerous garison, and the consul wanted land-forces, he sailed back to *Italy*, took on board his fleet as many troops as he could conveniently carry, and returning to *Sardinia*, made a descent, and laid siege to *Olbia*. *Hanno*, who had behaved so well in *Sicily*, defended the place with incredible bravery; but he being killed in one of the attacks, the *Carthaginians* were obliged to surrender the place to the conqueror, who gave the *Africans* an instance of humanity, to which they were utter strangers. He honoured the dead body of their general with magnificent obsequies, and attended it in person to the place of burial. The consul did not suffer the ardor of his troops to cool; but besieged and took most of the maritime cities, driving the *Carthaginians* every-where before him.

Mystratum in
Sicily taken.

IN the mean time *Aquilius*, arriving in *Sicily*, repaired the losses the republic had sustained there since the departure of *Duilius*. *Hamilcar* had taken from the Romans the cities of *Enna* and *Camerina*, and fortified *Drepanum*, a place of great importance on account of its harbour. As the consul *Aquilius* had been detained at *Rome* to suppress the conspiracy, and did not arrive in *Sicily* till the campaign was near ended, the republic recalled his colleague *Cornelius* to preside at the election of the new consuls; when *A. Atilius Collatinus*, and *C. Sulpicius Paterculus*, were chosen. The command of the fleet fell to the latter, and that of the land-forces to *Atilius*. As for *Aquilius*, he was continued in the command of the army in *Sicily* with the title of proconsul, till the arrival of *Atilius*; during which short time he drove *Hamilcar* quite out of the field, and laying siege to *Mystratum*, a city of great strength, which the Romans had often endeavoured in vain to reduce, brought it to such straits, that it surrendered to his successor *Atilius* soon after his arrival. The proconsul upon his return to *Rome* was honoured with a triumph, as was his colleague *Cornelius* for the conquests he had made in *Sicily* and *Sardinia*. From *Mystratum* *Atilius* led his army to *Camerina*, but on his way was all on a sudden surrounded in a deep valley by the *Carthaginians*, who, under the command of *Hamilcar*, lay concealed on the hills all round it, so that all the avenues being blocked up, he could neither advance nor retire. In this extremity a legionary tribune, called by some writers *Caditius*, by

¹ OROS. L. IV. C. 7. VAL. MAX. L. V. C. 1.

² Tab. triumph.

*thaginians commanded by Hannibal, at sea, took from them thirty ships, with all their rigging, and the *sesiremis* which carried the admiral himself; sunk thirty, and took several prisoners of distinction, who walked before his chariot, and added to the glory of his triumph.*

In memory of which exploits, the Roman senate and people erected this pillar. This inscription on the basis of the pillar, which every curious stranger visits at Rome, shews us the way of writing in the early times of the republic.

- a others *Laberius*, but by the greatest number *M. Calpurnius Flamma*, desired the consul to give him three hundred chosen men, promising to find the enemy so much employment with this small company, as should oblige them to leave a passage open for the Roman army. He performed his promise with a bravery truly heroic; for having seized, in spite of all opposition, an eminence, and intrenched himself on it; the *Carthaginians*, jealous of his design, flocked from all quarters to drive him from his post. But the brave tribune kept their whole army in play, till the consul, taking advantage of the diversion, drew his army out of the bad situation, into which he had imprudently brought it. When the legions were out of danger, they hastened to the relief of their brave companions; but all they could do was only to save their bodies from the insults of the enemy, for they found them all dead in the place, on which they had posted themselves, except *Calpurnius*, who lay under a heap of dead bodies covered all over with wounds, but still breathing. His wounds were immediately dressed, and it fortunately happened, that none of them proved mortal. The brave officer recovered, and for this glorious enterprise was rewarded with a crown of *græmen*, which was in those happy days a greater encouragement to the *Romans* to serve their country, than the hopes of more substantial rewards.

The Roman army saved by the bravery of a legionary tribune.

- Attilius* being thus rescued from the *Caudine Forks*, we may say, in *Sicily*, pursued his march to *Camerina*, which he took by the help of engines sent him by *Hiero* king of *Syracuse*, and sold all the *Carthaginians* in the place for slaves. He then marched to *Enna*, the inhabitants of which place opened the gates to him, delivering the *Carthaginians* up to the *Romans*, who put them all to the sword. *Sittana* was taken by assault, and the army, which came to relieve it, put to flight. From thence the consul led his army into the country of the *Agrigentines*, and by making himself master of *Camicus* and *Erbesa*, drove the enemy quite out of that fruitful territory. *Attilius*, flushed with this success, rashly laid siege to *Lipara*, expecting it would surrender upon the first summons. But *Hamilcar*, having conveyed himself privately into the city with some chosen troops, made a sally, when the *Romans* were beginning to scale the walls, and repulsed them with great loss.

The Romans take several cities in Sicily.

- As for *Sulpicius*, who commanded the fleet, he completed the conquest of *Corfica* and *Sardinia*, and assisted his colleague in the reduction of the maritime cities of *Sicily*. But this was not enough for the brave consul. He was ambitious of signaling his campaign by a naval victory; but as no *Carthaginian* fleet appeared at sea, he spread a report, that he intended to go in quest of it, and burn the ships of the *African* republic in their harbours. This news alarmed the *Carthaginians*, who thereupon trusted *Hannibal* once more with the command of a considerable fleet. He immediately put to sea, and met *Sulpicius* not far from the coast of *Africa*. But while both fleets were preparing for an engagement, a sudden storm parted them, and drove the *Roman* as well as the *Carthaginian* vessels into the ports of *Sardinia*. The storm no sooner began to abate, than *Sulpicius* putting to sea, surprised *Hannibal* in the harbour, and either sunk or took most of his ships. This misfortune occasioned a mutiny among the seamen of his fleet, who seizing on the person of their commander, crucified him in the city of *Sulci* in *Sardinia*, where he had taken refuge. Such was the end of old *Hannibal*, as he is called by the historians to distinguish him from the second *Hannibal*, who proved so fatal to the *Romans*. *Sulpicius* after this victory returned to *Rome*, where he received the honours of a triumph.

The Carthaginian fleet surprised by the Roman.

- THE consuls of the following year, *C. Attilius Regulus*, and *Cn. Cornelius Blasio*, having, according to custom, drawn lots for their commands, that of the fleet fell to *Regulus*, and the leading of the land-forces to *Cornelius*. *A. Attilius* was continued in the command of the army in *Sicily* with the title of proconsul. *Regulus*, who commanded the *Roman* fleet, being at *Tyndaris*, descried that of the *Carthaginians* lying along the coast in disorder. Whereupon at the head of a squadron of ten galleys only, he advanced to observe their number and strength, ordering the rest of his fleet to follow with all possible expedition. But as he drew too near the enemy, he was on a sudden invested by a far greater number of *Carthaginian* galleys. The *Romans* fought with their usual bravery, but being overpowered by numbers, were obliged to yield. HOWEVER, the consul found means to make his escape, and join the fleet, which was following the unfortunate squadron in line of battle. He then had his full revenge on the enemy, who were put in disorder at the first onset, and obliged to save them-

• ZONAR. l. viii. c. 12. LIV. epit. l. xviii. Auth. vir. illustr. in excerpt. FLOR. l. ii. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 12.

• POLYB. ibid. c. 24. DIODOR. SICUL.

The Carthaginians defeated at sea.

selves in the port of *Lipara*, after having lost eighteen ships, ten of which were taken with all their crews, and eight sunk. For this victory, *C. Attilius Regulus* on his return to *Rome* received the honours of a triumph, as did also *A. Attilius* for his exploits at land during his consulship and proconsulship. As for the consul *Cornelius*, he had no opportunity to signalize himself: he is said only to have pillaged some open villages, and laid waste the island of *Melita*, which were too inconsiderable exploits to deserve a triumph. *Rome* was terrified with several prodigies, during this campaign, whereupon the senate thought themselves obliged to renew the *Feria Latina*, which had been for some time neglected. *Q. Ogulnus* was created dictator to preside at them, and he appointed *M. Latorius* for his general of the horse.

The battle of Heraclea.

THE war with *Carthage* had already lasted eight years. The *Carthaginians* had lost *Corfica*, *Sardinia*, and all their dominions in *Sicily*, except *Lilybaeum*, *Panormus*, and a few places in that neighbourhood. *Sicily* had long seemed to be the utmost limits of the ambition of the *Romans*. But now they thought of nothing less than reducing *Carthage* itself. With this view the new consuls, *L. Manlius Vulso*, and *Marcus Attilius Regulus*, whose name is famous in history, were ordered to pass into *Africa*, and to make that country the seat of the war for the future. Their fleet for this expedition consisted of three hundred and thirty galleys of different sizes, and aboard of each galley were a hundred and twenty soldiers, and three hundred rowers. The enemy's fleet under the command of *Hanno* and *Hamilcar*, was yet more formidable; for it consisted of three hundred and sixty sail, and was far better manned than that of the *Romans*. With this fleet the *Carthaginian* admirals set sail, and arrived at the port of *Heraclea* in *Sicily*, in order to watch the motions of the *Romans*, and oppose at all events their descent upon the coast of *Africa*. The consuls nevertheless pursued their course, and appearing off *Heraclea* with their fleet, drew up in line of battle. *Hanno* and *Hamilcar* accepted the challenge; whereupon a bloody engagement ensued, which lasted the greater part of the day with equal success, the soldiers and commanders on both sides distinguishing themselves on this occasion in a most eminent manner. But at length fortune, which from the beginning of this war had espoused the cause of the *Romans*, declared in their favour. The *Carthaginians* were entirely routed; thirty of their ships were destroyed, threescore and three taken with their crews; and the rest obliged to take shelter in the ports of *Sicily* and *Africa*. In the whole action the *Romans* lost but twenty-four galleys, which were all sunk.

The Romans make a descent upon Africa.

IN pursuance of this complete victory, the consuls returning into the ports of *Sicily*, equipped with all possible expedition the ships they had taken from the enemy, embarked new troops, and took in fresh provisions, in order to make the intended descent upon *Africa*. *Hanno* endeavoured to amuse them by conferences about a peace, in hopes of receiving in the mean time supplies from *Carthage*; in order to venture a second engagement. Nay, he had the boldness to come in person to confer with the consuls, as a deputy from his republic. He no sooner arrived, than the multitude cried out, that he should be detained prisoner by way of reparation for the treachery practised five years before on the person of the consul *Cornelius Asina*. *Hanno*, alarmed at these clamours, with an air of confidence put this flattering and artful question to the consuls: What advantage can it be to you, O consuls, to imitate our perfidiousness? It will only be said, that *Rome* produces as bad men as *Carthage*. The consuls, piqued in honour at these words, replied, that though the perfidious *Carthaginians* had violated the law of nations, it became the probity of the *Romans* to observe them even with traitors, and suffered him to return untouched. But as for peace, there being no disposition to it on either side, *Hanno* made the best of his way to *Carthage* to give notice of the approaching invasion. At length the consuls set sail, and the weather proving favourable, had a fortunate passage. The first land in *Africa* they set their eyes on was cape *Hermea*; and there the fleet lay at anchor some time waiting till all the galleys and transports came up. From thence they coasted along till they arrived before *Clupea*, a city to the east of *Carthage*, and there they made their first descent. *Clupea*, or, as the Greek writers call it, *Aspis*, was very conveniently situated for a magazine of arms and provisions, and had near it several ports for sheltering such ships as should come from *Italy*. The *Romans* therefore having laid up their fleet in one of these ports, and secured it on the land-side with a rampart and a large ditch, summoned the city to surrender. Some writers tell us, that

¹ POLYB. *ibid.* c. 25. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 32.
² ZONAR. l. viii. c. 32.

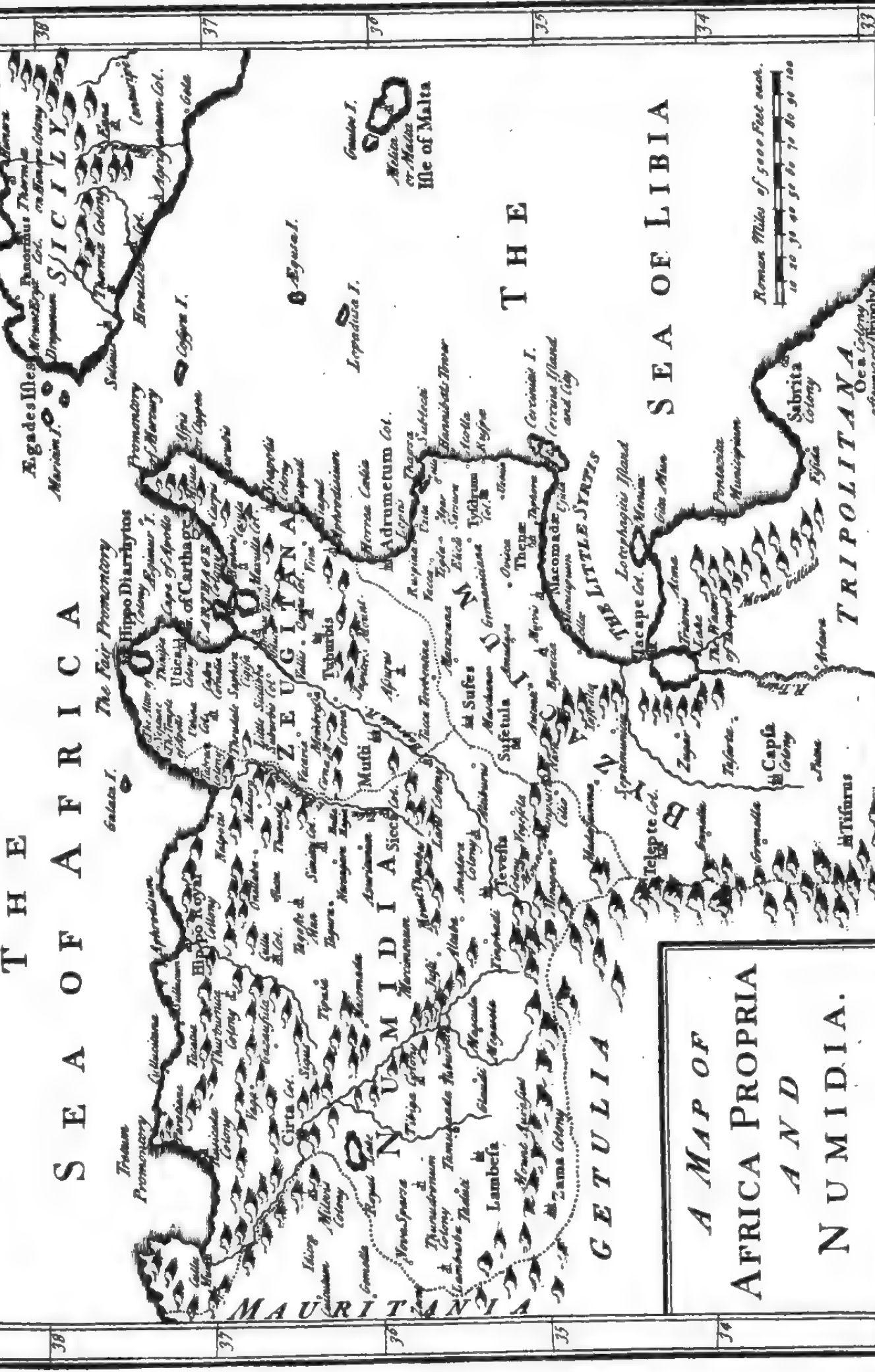
³ POLYB. *ibid.* c. 26—28. OROS. l. iv. c. 8.

THE SEA OF AFRICA

THE

SEA OF LIBIA

A MAP OF AFRICA PROPRIA AND NUMIDIA.



a this important place submitted upon terms; others, that it was abandoned by its inhabitants. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the consuls soon became masters of it, and fortified it after the *Roman* manner, in order to make it the general rendezvous of the *Italian* fleets, and a key to *Africa*. From *Clupea* they dispatched a messenger to *Rome* to acquaint the senate and people with their success, and to receive fresh instructions as to their proceedings. For at this time the consuls did little more than execute the orders of the conscript fathers, who being for the most part able and experienced commanders, were capable of directing the conduct of their new and often inexperienced generals. While the consuls waited for the return of the messenger, they marched up into the country, and ravaging the fruitful plains of *Africa*, where no enemy had long appeared, returned to the coast with an immense booty. We are told, that in these incursions they took above twenty thousand prisoners. While they were thus living at discretion in the enemy's country, the messenger returned from *Rome* with orders for *Manlius* to repair to *Italy* with the fleet, and for *Regulus* to pursue the war in *Africa* with as many troops and ships as he thought proper for that service. But *Regulus*, either out of some secret foreboding of the misfortunes that were to befall him, or because he was impatient to receive the honours of a triumph for his late naval victory, appeared greatly dissatisfied with the province assigned him, and desired to be recalled. His pretence, which would be now thought a very trifling one, shews the character and manners of the *Romans* in those times. He represented to the senate, that upon the death of the husbandman, who had the care of his little farm of seven acres of ground, he had been obliged to intrust a day-labourer with the manuring of it, who had stolen his cattle, and carried off all his stock; so that his presence was necessary at home to provide for the subsistence of his wife and children. Upon this the senate ordered his wife and children to be maintained at the expence of the public, but directed him to continue in *Africa*, and command the army there with the title of proconsul, when the year of his consulate should expire. Pursuant to these orders, *Attilius* remained in *Africa* with forty ships, fifteen thousand foot, and five hundred horse, while his colleague returned to *Rome* with the rest of the army, carrying aboard his fleet twenty-seven thousand prisoners.

d THE following year the republic raised *Ser. Fulvius Nobilior*, and *M. Æmilius Paulus* to the consulate; but all the attention of the republic was upon *Regulus*, who now, as proconsul, pushed on his conquests with incredible rapidity. To oppose his progress, *Hamilcar* was recalled from *Sicily*, and to him were joined *Bostar* and *Asdrubal*. *Hamilcar* commanded an army just equal to that of *Regulus*; the other two headed separate bodies, which were to join him, or act apart, as occasion required. But before they were in a condition to take the field, *Regulus*, pursuing his conquests, arrived on the banks of the *Bagrada*, which empties itself into the sea at a small distance from *Carthage*. There he had a monster to contend with, in the description of which the *Latin* historians have employed so much art and eloquence, that we cannot help thinking they have exaggerated their accounts beyond all measure. This monster, say they, was a serpent of an immense size, which infected the waters of the river, poisoned the air, and killed all other animals with its breath alone. When the *Romans* went to fetch water, this huge dragon attacked them, and twisting itself round their bodies, either squeezed them to death, or swallowed them alive; so that it was necessary to fight this furious monster in form. As its hard and thick scales were proof against their darts and arrows, they were forced to have recourse to the balistas, which they made use of in sieges to throw great stones, and beat down the walls of the besieged cities. With these machines, they discharged showers of huge stones against this new enemy, and had the good luck with one of them to break his back-bone, which disabled him from twisting and winding his immense body, and by that means gave the *Romans* an opportunity of accosting and dispatching him with their darts and javelins. But his dead body corrupted the air, and the water of the river, and spread so great an infection all over the country, that the *Romans* were obliged to decamp. We are told, that *Regulus* sent the skin of this frightful monster to *Rome*, which was a hundred and twenty foot long, and that it was hung up in a temple, where it was preserved to the time of the *Nimantine* war. This story has been totally omitted by *Polybius*, and by other *Greek* writers so qualified, as to have some appearance of truth. Upon the whole, this dreadful monster seems to have been a crocodile, an animal common in *Africa*, but never before seen by the *Romans*; who, surprised at the sight of it,

The Romans
kill a serpent
of an immense
size on the
banks of the
Bagrada.

* POLYB. *ibid.* c. 29. VAL. MAX. l. iv. c. 4.

and

and frightened at the mischief it might have done them, transmitted hyperbolic accounts of the whole to *Rome*, which were copied by the *Latin* historians¹.

Attilius having passed the *Bagrada*, besieged *Adis*, or *Adda*, not far from *Carthage*, which the enemy attempted to relieve; but as they encamped among the hills and rocks, where their elephants, in which the main strength of their army lay, could be of no use to them, *Regulus* attacked them in their camp, killed seventeen thousand of them, took five thousand prisoners, and eighteen elephants. Upon the fame of this victory, which was soon spread all over *Africa*, deputies came from all quarters to submit in the name of their respective cities and states to the conqueror; inasmuch b

Regulus in a few days became master of fourscore towns, among which were the city and port of *Ulica*. This increased the alarm at *Carthage*, which was reduced to despair, when *Regulus* laid siege to *Tunis*, a great city about nine miles from that capital. The place was taken in the sight of the *Carthaginians*, who from their walls beheld all the operations of the siege, and suffered the *Romans* to carry on their attacks, and batter the place, without offering to relieve it. And to complete their misfortunes, the *Numidians*, their neighbours, and irreconcilable enemies, took up arms, entered their territory, laid waste their fields, and committed every-where most dreadful devastations, which soon occasioned a great scarcity of provisions in the city. The public magazines were soon exhausted; and as the city was full of selfish merchants, who took advantage of the public distress to sell their provisions at an excessive price, a famine ensued with all the evils which attend it. In this extremity *Regulus* advanced c

to the very gates of the city, and having encamped under the walls, sent deputies to treat of a peace with the senate. It may seem strange, that the consul should shew so much indulgence for a republic, which rivalled his own, at a time, when one single stroke more would, in all probability, have brought her under subjection. But it must be owned, that though the proconsul loved his country, he likewise loved his own glory and reputation. He considered, that his proconsulate was ready to expire; that at the end of the year *Rome* would appoint him a successor, who would rob him of the glory of a conquest, the beginnings of which had cost him a great deal of labour and fatigue, and that at *Rome* those who put the last hand to great conquests, were much more regarded than the generals, who had happily begun them. Upon d

these considerations, he resolved to conclude the war to his own glory, and the benefit of his republic, by such an advantageous peace, as should ever do honour to his memory. With these views he resolved to spend the rest of the campaign, which he thought was not sufficient to accomplish the reduction of *Carthage*, in treaties and negotiations. The deputies sent by the proconsul were received at *Carthage* with unexpressible joy; but the conditions they proposed were such, that the senate could not hear them without the utmost indignation; and *Regulus*, as if he had made a complete conquest of *Carthage*, would abate nothing of his first demands. The conditions were; 1. That the *Carthaginians* should relinquish all claims to *Sardinia*, *Corfica*, and *Sicily*. 2. That they should restore to the *Romans* all the prisoners they had taken e

from them ever since the beginning of the war. 3. That if they cared to redeem any of their own prisoners, they should pay so much a head for them, as *Rome* should judge reasonable. 4. That they should for ever pay the *Romans* an annual tribute. 5. That for the future they should fit out but one man of war for their own use, and fifty triremes to serve in the *Roman* fleet at the expence of *Carthage*, when required by any of the future consuls. These extravagant demands provoked the senators, who loudly and unanimously rejected them, protesting that they would rather die a thousand times, than submit to so shameful a slavery. The *Roman* deputies, in leaving the assembly, told the senate, that the *Roman* proconsul would not alter a single letter in the proposals, and that they must either conquer the *Romans*, or obey them. After f

this formal declaration, the *Carthaginians* had nothing left but to sell their lives dear, and die with honour, in defence of their country².

BEFORE this negotiation the *Carthaginian* republic had sent to hire mercenaries in *Greece*, and this reinforcement arrived just in the height of her distress. Among these mercenaries was a *Lacedæmonian*, by name *Xantippus*, a man of great bravery and experience in war. We do not find that he had any considerable post in the troops of his own country. He was one of those subalterns, who are often more able

¹ Vide FLOR. l. ii. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 13. OROS. l. iv. VAL. MAX. l. i. c. 8. GELL. l. vi. c. 3. PLIN. l. viii. c. 14. ² POLYB. ibid. c. 30. OROS. l. iv. c. 8. EUTROP. l. ii. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 13. DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt.

- a soldiers than their generals, and only want an opportunity of exerting themselves. The *Lacedæmonian* having informed himself of the circumstances of the late battle, declared publicly that their overthrow was owing more to their own misconduct, than to the superiority of the enemy. His discourse being spread among the people and soldiery, came to the knowledge of the senate; and the senators immediately commanded him to be brought before them. Being introduced to them, he explained himself so clearly, and talked so judiciously, that the *Carthaginian* generals, as well as the rest, were for putting him at the head of the army; and a decree was made for that purpose. *Xantippus* being thus invested with the supreme command, applied himself in the first place to the disciplining of his troops; and having taught them how
- b to march, incamp, widen, and close their ranks, and rally after the *Lacedæmonian* manner under their proper colours, he took the field with twelve thousand foot, four thousand horse, and about an hundred elephants. The *Romans* were surprised at the sudden change they observed in the enemy's conduct. However, *Regulus*, elated with his late success, came and incamped at a small distance from the *Carthaginian* army in a vast plain, where the enemy's elephants and horse had room to act. The two armies were parted by a river, which *Regulus* boldly passed, and by that means left his troops no way to retreat in case of a misfortune. This was what *Xantippus* wanted, who immediately cried out, *The gods favour us*, and drew up his men in order of battle. In the first line he placed his dart-men, with orders to retire
- c into the spaces between the battalions, as soon as they had made their discharge. Behind them, but at some distance, were placed the elephants in a long front, carrying wooden towers filled with men. Behind the elephants was the *Carthaginian* phalanx, consisting of the best infantry of the army; and these were the main body. As for the wings, *Xantippus* posted his light-armed troops in the left, and the mercenaries in the right. These two wings were supported by the *African* cavalry. *Regulus* on the other hand drew up his troops after the *Roman* manner; but was guilty of one great fault: to prevent the elephants from breaking in upon him, he made his main body too narrow and too deep, which exposed it to the danger of being surrounded *.

Xantippus appointed general of the Carthaginian army.

- Xantippus* began the attack, ordering the leaders of the elephants to advance, and
- d attempt the breaking of the enemy's first line. The *Romans* stood the shock of those dreadful animals with great bravery. But in the mean time the *Roman* cavalry in the wings being charged by the *Carthaginian*, which was greatly superior in number, were overpowered, put into confusion, and obliged to fly. On the other hand, *Regulus's* left wing falling upon the mercenaries, whom *Xantippus* had posted in his right, broke them, and pursued them to their camp, whither they retired in disorder. But in the mean time the main body of the *Romans*, which *Regulus* commanded in person, being attacked in front by the elephants, and in the rear by the *African* cavalry, was put into disorder; the elephants bore all down before them, and such of the *Romans* as attempted to make their escape to avoid the fury of those monstrous
- e animals, fell in among the horse, and were cut in pieces. The main body being thus broke, and cast into confusion, the whole army was put to the rout, and the slaughter was universal. Of all the *Roman* army, only two thousand, who pursued the mercenaries, escaped, and arrived safe at *Clupea*. *Regulus* himself with five hundred chosen men who kept constantly about him, was surrounded by the enemy, and taken. The rest, to the number of thirty thousand men, were cut in pieces either in the battle, or the pursuit. The loss of the *Carthaginians* was scarce above eight hundred men, most of them mercenaries in the right wing, which was routed. The victorious army returned to the capital of *Africa*, which *Xantippus* entered, as it were, in triumph, leading the *Roman* consul with him among the rest of the prisoners. All the people
- f of *Carthage* ran to meet their deliverer, and could scarce believe their own eyes. They beheld with unspeakable pleasure the proud *Roman* in a state to implore that compassion, which he had refused them. As for *Xantippus*, they looked upon him as a hero sent by the gods to rescue a miserable people from despair and oppression, and bestowed on him all the honours which a sincere gratitude could suggest. But the wise *Lacedæmonian*, foreseeing that the service he had done them, which was too great for a reward, would create him both envy and danger, resolved to content himself with the glory of so noble a victory, and without waiting for any other reward, to return to *Lacedæmon*. His departure is differently related, but all accounts reflect

The Romans defeated, and Regulus taken prisoner.

* POLYB. C. 33. FRONTIN. l. ii. c. 8.

an eternal shame and dishonour on the *Carthaginian* nation. Some say, that the *Carthaginians*, jealous of his glory, put privately on board with him assassines, who murdered him, and threw his dead body into the sea. Others tell us, that a leaky vessel was got ready for him; but that the artful *Greek*, being apprised of their wicked design, went on board another galley, and arrived safe in his own country. However that be, neither *Xantippus's* victory, nor the monstrous ingratitude of the *Carthaginians*, will ever be forgot. As for *Regulus*, he was treated with all the cruelty revenge could dictate. After they had made him the sport of the multitude, and exposed him to the insults of an enraged and cruel populace, they shut him up in a public prison, affording him no more food than was barely sufficient to prolong his life, and in all other respects treating him as the criminals, who were under the same confinement. b

THE defeat and captivity of *Regulus* caused as much grief at *Rome*, as joy at *Carthage*. The senate no sooner received an account of the posture of their affairs in *Africa*, so contrary to their expectation, but they ordered the consuls for the year, *Fulvius* and *Emilius*, who had hitherto continued at *Rome* inactive, to take proper measures for the securing of the coasts of *Italy* from an invasion, to hasten into *Sicily*, and from thence, if they thought it advisable, to pass over into *Africa*, and save the remains of *Regulus's* army and conquests. In the mean time the *Carthaginians* sat down before *Clupea*, but the garison made so brave and obstinate a defence, that the enemy, notwithstanding their utmost efforts, were obliged to raise the siege. From *Clupea* they marched to *Utica*, which they likewise besieged, but abandoned the enterprise upon the news they received, that the *Romans* were equipping a fleet of three hundred and fifty sail. And indeed this formidable armament was ready before the end of the summer; so that the consuls from *Sicily*, where they left some land-forces, set sail for *Africa*, in order to make a second descent. The *Carthaginians*, who had, with incredible expedition, refitted their old vessels, and built a good number of new ones, met the *Roman* fleet off cape *Hermea*, or cape *Mercury*, and gave them battle. But the loss they sustained was much greater, than the advantage they had gained over *Regulus*. An hundred and four of their ships were sunk; thirty taken, and fifteen thousand of their soldiers or rowers killed in the action. After this the *Romans* pursued their course to *Clupea*, where they had no sooner landed, than d

The Carthaginians defeated both by sea and land.

they were attacked by the *Carthaginian* army, under the command of the two *Hanno's*, father and son. But as the brave *Lacedæmonian* was no longer with them, notwithstanding the new discipline he had taken great care to teach them, they were routed at the very first onset, in which they lost nine thousand men, and among them many of their chief lords. After these two glorious victories, the one by sea, and the other by land, the *Romans* found themselves obliged, for want of provisions, to drop their *African* expedition, and to evacuate both *Clupea* and *Utica*. In their way home they were desirous of signalizing the end of their consulate by some important conquests on the coast of *Sicily*, where some cities still adhered to the *Carthaginians*. They thought that the sudden appearance of a victorious fleet with a formidable army would awe them into subjection. Instead therefore of returning home, they steered their course to the northern coast of *Sicily*, contrary to the opinion of all the pilots in the fleet, who advised them, as the season was far advanced, to sail strait for *Italy*. Their obstinacy proved the destruction of the fleet; for a more violent storm arising than had been known in the memory of man, the fleet was almost intirely destroyed; for of three hundred and seventy vessels, which composed it, fourscore only escaped shipwreck, the rest being either swallowed by the sea, or dashed against the shore. This was by far the greatest loss *Rome* had ever sustained; for besides the great number of ships that were cast away with their crews, a numerous army was destroyed with all the riches of *Africa*, which had been by *Regulus* amassed and deposited in *Clupea*, and were now transporting from thence to *Rome*. The whole coast from *Pachinum* to *Camerina* was covered with dead bodies, and strewn with the wrecks of the ships; insomuch that history can scarce afford an example of the like dreadful disaster. The *Romans* on this occasion experienced the constant friendship of good king *Hiero*, who supplied such as escaped the common calamity, with cloaths, provisions, and ships to convey them to *Messana*. This misfortune however was not imputed to the consuls, who were continued each in the command of an army the next year with the title of proconsul. The new consuls were, *Cn. Cornelius Asina*, and *A. Atilius Calatinus*. The former f

The Roman fleet destroyed by a storm.

* APPIAN. in PUNICIS.

† ZONAR. l. viii. c. 13.

- a had been treacherously taken prisoner by *Hanno* the *Carthaginian*, as we have related above, and kept in captivity till the first descent of the *Romans* in *Africa*, when he was delivered from slavery, during which he had been obliged to drive a plough¹.

- THE *Carthaginians* upon advice of the misfortune which had befallen the *Romans* ^{They fit out a new fl. et.} at sea, renewed the war in *Sicily* with fresh fury, hoping the whole island, which was now left defenceless, would soon fall into their hands. But the *Romans* having in the space of three months launched a hundred and twenty new galleys, which with the old ones that were refitted, made a fleet of two hundred and fifty sail, both the consuls and proconsuls were ordered to pass over into *Sicily*, the former to command at sea, and the latter on land. As they besieged only maritime cities, they acted jointly, the land-forces investing them on one side, and the fleet on the other. Their first attempt was on the city of *Cephalædium* on the north coast not far from the mouth of the *Cephalædrium* *Himera*, which was betrayed to them by some of the inhabitants. From thence they sailed to *Panormus*, the capital of the *Carthaginian* dominions in *Sicily*, and having seized the port, summoned the town to surrender. But the inhabitants and garison being determined to stand a siege, the consuls landed all their troops, and began to batter the walls with their engines, by which a tower standing near the sea was quickly ruined. At this breach the *Romans* entered, and made themselves masters of the quarter called the *New City*, those who defended it, retiring into the *Old City*, whither they carried with them terror and famine; so that the inhabitants soon sent a deputation to the consuls, offering to surrender upon condition that their lives, liberties and effects were spared. But the consuls, not ignorant of the extremity to which they were reduced, would not even grant them their lives and liberties, unless they paid so much a head by way of ransom. The unhappy people were obliged to submit, and forty thousand of them paid two minæ each, that is, 6l. 9s. 2d. for their ransom. Those who could not advance that sum, were made slaves to the number of about thirty thousand, and sold to the best bidder. After this considerable conquest, the consuls set sail for *Rome*; but in their passage the transports, on which they had put the money and spoils brought from *Panormus*, were taken by the *Carthaginian* fleet. The two proconsuls entered *Rome* in triumph for the victory gained over the *Carthaginians* at sea during their consulate. ^{And Panormus taken by the Romans.}

- d THE consuls for the new year, *Cn. Servilius Cæpio*, and *C. Sempronius Blæsus*, with a fleet of two hundred and sixty galleys set sail for *Sicily*, and appeared off *Lilybæum*; but finding this place too strong, and too well garisoned for them to attempt the siege of it, they steered from thence to the eastern coast of *Africa*, where they made several descents, surprised some cities, and plundered several towns and villages. But as they were returning with the spoils of that rich country, they narrowly escaped losing their whole fleet on the flats of the *Lesser Syrtis*, near the island of the *Lotophagi*; where by coasting too near the shore their vessels grounded, and stuck on the sand-banks, till the flood brought them off again; and then they made off so fast, that the *Africans* took their departure for a flight. They arrived safe at *Panormus*, and from thence after a few days set sail for *Italy*, having a fair wind till they came off cape *Palinurus*, where so violent a storm overtook them, that a hundred and sixty of their galleys, and a great number of transports, were lost. And now the republic, considering the two tempests, which had destroyed her two fleets, as a declaration of the will of the gods against her design of depriving the *Carthaginians* of the empire of the sea, made a decree, that for the future no more than fifty vessels should be equipped, and that these should be employed only in guarding the coast of *Italy*, and transporting troops into *Sicily*. The proconsul *Cornelius* commanded this campaign the land-forces in *Sicily*, and though historians give us no account of his exploits, there is no room to doubt but they were very considerable, since he was, on his return to *Rome*, decreed a triumph, as was also the consul *Sempronius Blæsus*, but not his colleague *Servilius Cæpio*; which is somewhat surprising, since he seems to have had a share in all the exploits of this campaign. Both the triumphal tables, and several medals, which have reached our times, confirm the triumphs of *Cornelius* and *Sempronius*^b. ^{The Roman fleet destroyed by another storm.}

C. Aurelius Cotta, and *P. Servilius Geminus*, being the ensuing year raised to the consulate, passed over into *Sicily* to command the land-forces there, and made themselves masters of *Himera*, a city standing at the mouth of a river bearing the same name. *Aurelius*, animated with this important conquest, which put his republic in possession

¹ POLYB. ZONAR. OROS. & DIONOR. SICUL. ibid.

^a POLYB. l. i. c. 38. DIONOR. SICUL. in excerpt.

^b Tab. triumph. Vid. VAILLANT. firm. consular.

Lipara taken
by the Ro-
mans.

of a fruitful territory, formed a design upon the island and city of *Lipara*; and being supplied with ships by that ever faithful friend to the republic, king *Hiero*, he transported some of his chosen troops into the island, and sat down before *Lipara* the metropolis. But being seized with some unaccountable scruple touching the auspices, he returned to *Messana* to consult the auguries anew. During his absence, *Q. Cassius*, and *P. Aurelius Pecuniola* his relation, both legionary tribunes, being intrusted with the command of the army, made an attempt upon the city, contrary to their general's express command. But the besieged made so vigorous a sally, that they repulsed the aggressors, and pursuing them with great warmth, burnt their palisades, and had like to have taken their camp. The consul, upon his return to the camp, deprived *Cassius* of his employment, and reduced *Aurelius*, after he had caused him to be beaten with rods, to the state of a private soldier, obliging him to go through the servile drudgeries of a common centinel. After this the consul applied himself wholly to the siege of the place, took it by assault, and put almost all the inhabitants to the sword. The consul having finished this conquest, returned to *Sicily*, and with an army of forty thousand foot, and a thousand horse, laid siege to *Ereia*, a strong-hold of great importance; but as soon as the *Carthaginian* army appeared, they abandoned the enterprise, the *Romans* being too much disheartened ever since the defeat of *Regulus*, and too much afraid of the elephants to hazard a battle in the open country. They would fain have drawn the enemy up upon the eminences, thereby to render their elephants useless. But neither party coming into the measures of the other, the campaign ended without any considerable action. As for the consul *Servilius*, he probably acted separately; but did not signalize himself by any great exploit.

The Carthi-
ans fit out a
new fleet.

THIS year a plebeian, by name *Tib. Coruncanius*, by some unknown revolution was raised to the dignity of *pontifex maximus*. As he was a man of eminent probity, he concurred with the consul *Aurelius*, who was naturally severe, and the censors, to punish those who neglected the worship of the gods, led irregular lives, or transgressed the laws of military discipline. Thirteen senators were ignominiously struck out of the list; and at the motion of *Aurelius*, four hundred knights, who had refused to obey his orders in the island of *Lipara*, were degraded. Their horses were taken from them, and they deprived of the right of suffrage in their centuries, without being exempted from the taxes. The pay likewise, which the republic owed them for their past services, was declared forfeited. *Aurelius*, who had taken *Himera* and *Lipara*, was honoured with a triumph, which he obtained on the ides of *April*. By a census taken this year, there appeared to be in *Rome* 297797 men fit to bear arms. The *Carthaginians* seeing themselves now masters of the sea, and their hopes of reconquering *Sicily* increasing in proportion as they found their rivals reduced to act upon the defensive, began to make new levies in *Africa*, to hire troops in *Gaul* and *Spain*, and to equip a new fleet. But their treasures being exhausted, they sent an embassy to *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, intreating him to lend them two thousand talents. That prince being resolved to stand neuter, refused to assist them against the *Romans*, telling them, that he could not, without breach of fidelity, assist one friend against another. However, the *Carthaginian* republic made an effort, and exerting herself, equipped a fleet of two hundred sail, and raised an army of thirty thousand men, horse and foot, and an hundred and forty elephants, appointing *Asdrubal* commander in chief both of the fleet and army.

The Romans
put a new fleet
to sea.

WHILE *Carthage* was making these great preparations, *Rome* raised *L. Cæcilius Metellus* and *C. Furius Pacilus* to the consulate. They both went into *Sicily*, and there acted only upon the defensive, pursuant to their instructions from the senate. But though the conscript fathers approved of the obedience of their generals, yet they began to reflect, that so much caution and circumspection dishonoured the commanders, and greatly abated the courage of the soldiers. They resumed therefore their former vigor, and forgetting their shipwrecks, resolved to put a new fleet to sea, there being no other means to preserve *Sicily*. While the vessels were building, the comitia chose two consuls, who were both men of great valor and experience, viz. *L. Manlius Vulso*, and *C. Attilius Regulus*, cousin-german to the famous captive. The late consul *Furius* was recalled from *Sicily*; but his colleague *Metellus* continued there, with the title of proconsul, to oppose the formidable army under the command of *Asdrubal*. *Metellus*, who was an able commander, being allowed by the senate to act according to his

^a FRONTIN. l. iv. c. 8. VAL. MAX. l. i. c. 7. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 14. ^b POLYB. l. i. c. 39. Diodor. in excerpt. ^c Tib. triumph. VAL. MAX. l. ii. c. 9.

- a own judgment, soon recovered the former reputation of the *Romans* in *Sicily*. For *Metellus* gains by pretending fear, he drew *Asdrubal* into a disadvantageous spot of ground near *Panormus*, and then sallying out upon him, gave him a terrible overthrow, and obtained one of the most signal victories mentioned in the *Roman* history. Twenty thousand of the enemy were killed, and many elephants, of these latter a great number were also taken with their leaders, and sent afterwards to *Rome*, where they swelled the pomp of the conqueror's triumph. *Asdrubal* after this defeat fled to *Lilybæum*, which he reached with great difficulty; and the proconsul having no more enemies to contend with in the field, returned to *Rome*, which he entered in triumph on the seventh of the ides of *September*. The *Romans* had never seen a more magnificent entry. The elephants, to the number of a hundred and four, marched through the city in procession. The air rung with acclamations at the sight of those animals, and of the great number of prisoners in chains, among whom were thirteen officers of distinction. As the *Romans* had resolved never to make use of elephants in war, and did not care to be at the expence of feeding them, they ordered them to be hunted, and put to death in the circus by their *asbleta* or wrestlers; so that the people were at the same time diverted, and taught to despise the animals they had hitherto so much dreaded. As for the unhappy *Asdrubal*, he was condemned in his absence, and on his return home crucified, one single misfortune blotting out the remembrance of his many former important services^f.
- c AND now the two consuls with the new fleet of two hundred and forty galleys, and sixty smaller vessels, passing over into *Sicily*, resolved by a noble emulation, to surpass, if possible, their predecessor *Metellus*, and to drive the *Carthaginians* quite out of the island. With this view they laid siege to *Lilybæum*, a city deemed impregnable, and the only place of retreat for the *Carthaginian* armies. But *Lilybæum* proved a second *Troy*; the siege lasted ten years, the forces of the two republics being exhausted within and without the walls of one single city. The people of *Carthage*, upon the news of this enterprize, were so discouraged, that they began to think of a peace. The war had already lasted fourteen years; they had lost their best commanders; their elephants had been taken from them; their fleets had been destroyed as fast as they had put them to sea; their finances were as much exhausted as their armies were diminished; the only towns they had now left in *Sicily* were *Lilybæum* and *Drepanum*, the one invested, and the other exposed to the insults of the enemy's new fleet. These considerations induced them to think of putting an end to so destructive a war by a speedy peace. With this view they began to soften the rigors of *Regulus's* confinement, and endeavoured to engage him to go to *Rome* with their ambassadors, and use his interest there to bring about a peace upon moderate terms, or at least an exchange of prisoners. *Regulus* obeyed his masters, and imbarqued for *Rome*, after having bound himself by a solemn oath to return to his chains, if the negotiation did not succeed. The *Carthaginian* ship arrived safe in *Italy*; but when *Regulus* came to the gates of the city, he refused to enter them; My misfortunes, said he, have made me a slave to the *Carthaginians*; I am no longer a *Roman* citizen; the senate gives always audience to foreigners without the gates. His wife *Marcia* went out to meet him, and presented to him his two young children. But he only casting a kind of wild look on them, fixed his eyes on the ground, as if he thought himself unworthy of the embraces of his wife, and the caresses of his children. When the senators assembled in the suburbs, he was introduced to them with the *Carthaginian* ambassadors, and together with them made the two proposals with which he was charged: Conscript fathers, said he, being now a slave to the *Carthaginians*, I am come on the part of my masters to treat with you concerning a peace, and an exchange of prisoners. Having uttered these words, he began to withdraw, and follow the ambassadors, who were not allowed to be present at the deliberations and disputes of the conscript fathers. In vain the senate pressed him to stay, and give his opinion as an old senator and consul. He refused to continue in the assembly till his *African* masters ordered him, and then the illustrious slave took his place among the fathers; but continued silent with his eyes fixed on the ground, while the more ancient senators spoke. When it came to his turn to deliver his opinion, he addressed himself to the conscript fathers thus: Though I am a slave at *Carthage*, yet I am free at *Rome*, and will therefore declare my sentiments with freedom. *Romans*, it is not for your interest

Metellus gains a signal victory in Sicily.

The Carthaginians send Regulus to Rome to treat of a peace.

^f ZONAR. l. viii. c. 14. POLYB. c. 41. OROS. l. iv. c. 9.

His speech in
the senate.

either to grant the *Carthaginians* a peace, or to make an exchange of prisoners with them. *Carthage* is extremely exhausted, and the only reason why she sues for peace, is, because she is not in a condition to continue the war. You have been vanquished but once, and that by my fault; a fault which *Marcellus* has repaired by a signal victory. But the *Carthaginians* have been so often overcome, that they have not the courage to look a *Roman* in the face. Your allies continue peaceable, and serve you with zeal. But your enemy's troops consist only of mercenaries, who have no other tie but that of interest, and will soon be disobliged by the republic they serve, *Carthage* being already quite destitute of money to pay them. No, *Romans*, a peace with *Carthage* does not by any means suit your interest, considering the condition to which the *Carthaginians* are reduced. I therefore advise you to pursue the war with greater vigor than ever. As for the exchange of prisoners, you have among the *Carthaginian* captives several officers of distinction, who are young, and may one day command the enemy's armies. But as for me, I am advanced in years, and my misfortunes have made me useless. Besides, what can you expect from soldiers, who have been vanquished, and made slaves? Such men, like timorous deer, that have escaped out of the hunter's toils, will ever be upon the alarm, and ready to fly. The senate, greatly affected with his disinterestedness, magnanimity, and contempt of life, would willingly have preserved him, and continued the war in *Africa*. Some were of opinion, that in *Rome* he was not obliged to keep an oath, which had been extorted from him in an enemy's country. The *pontifex maximus* himself being consulted in the case declared, that *Regulus* might continue at *Rome* without being guilty of perjury. But the noble captive, highly offended at this decision, as if his honour and courage were called in question, declared to the senate, who trembled to hear him speak, that he well knew what torments were reserved for him at *Carthage*; but that he had so much of the true spirit of a *Roman*, as to dread less the tortures of a cruel rack, than the shame of a dishonourable action, which would follow him to his grave. It is my duty, said he, to return to *Carthage*. Let the gods take care of the rest. This intrepidity made the senate still more desirous of saving such an hero. All means were made use of to make him stay, both by the people and senate. He would not even see his wife *Marcia*, nor suffer his young children to take their leave of him. Amidst the lamentations and tears of the whole city, he imbarqued with the *Carthaginian* ambassadors to return to the place of his slavery with as serene and chearful a countenance, as if he had been going to a country seat for his diversion. The *Carthaginians* were so enraged against him, that they invented new torments to satisfy their revenge. First, they cut off his eye-lids, keeping him for a while in a dark dungeon, and then bringing him out, and exposing him to the sun at noon-day. After this they shut him up in a kind of chest stuck with nails, having their points inwards, so that he could neither sit nor lean without great torment; and there they suffered him to die with hunger, anguish, and want of sleep (G) &c.

Returns to
Carthage, and
is put to a
cruel death.

WHEN the news of these cruelties reached *Rome*, the senate, by way of retaliation, gave up the chief of the *Carthaginian* captives to the revenge of *Marcia* the wife of *Regulus*, who venting her rage upon those unhappy wretches, caused them to be shut up two and two in great chests thick stuck with nails, and there to suffer the same torments which her husband had endured at *Carthage*. *Bostar* died the fifth day; but *Hamilcar*, notwithstanding the stench and corruption of the dead body of his companion, lived ten days, having as much food allowed him as was sufficient to prolong his life in misery. At length the senate put a stop to this cruel usage, and commanded *Bostar's* ashes to be sent home, and the rest of the prisoners, who had survived their tortures, to be used with more humanity &c.

APPIAN. in Punic. VAL. MAX. l. i. c. i. CIC. de off. AUL. GELL. noctes Atticæ, &c. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xxiv. AUL. GELL. ibid.

(G) It is somewhat strange, that *Hoffman* should look upon a fact, attested by a cloud of credible witnesses, as a fable. It is true, that *Polybius*, in other cases a most exact historian, does not mention the cruel death of *Regulus*. But is the silence of one single author, who is wholly taken up in describing battles and sieges, sufficient to weigh down the express testimonies of *Cicero*, *Livy*, *Appian*, *Zonaras*, *Valerius Maximus*, and especially of *Tuditanus*, who lived in the same age with *Polybius*? All these writers agree, that *Regulus* died in the midst of most

exquisite torments; though it must be owned, that they relate the circumstances of his death very differently. Some say, that he was crucified; others, that he died of the miseries of a long imprisonment: but the most common opinion is that which we have inserted in the text. *Regulus* was not the only person the *Carthaginians* sacrificed to their revenge. *Valerius Maximus* tells us, that with unparalleled cruelty they crushed great numbers of the *Roman* prisoners to death with the weight of the galleys that were upon the stocks.

- a** In the mean time the two consuls, *Manlius* and *Attilius*, carried on the siege of *Lilybaeum* with great vigor. *Himilco*, a general of great experience and personal valor, commanded in the place, which was strong both by nature and art, and defended by a very numerous garison, consisting of ten thousand mercenary *Gauls* and *Greeks*, besides a prodigious number of *Carthaginian* and *African* troops. The consuls divided the attacks between them, the one investing the city on the side of the sea, the other of the land. Their camps had a communication by a deep ditch, covered with a rampart and a wall, so that they could mutually assist each other. The first attack was made at the point of cape *Lilybaeum*, where it jets out most into the sea, and where there were seven towers, which had a communication with each other, and reached in a direct line to the town. These towers being taken one after another, the consuls prepared to batter the wall of the city; but were obliged first to fill up a ditch sixty cubits broad, and forty deep, in order to bring their machines up to the wall. This proved a laborious piece of work, the besieged drawing up the earth into the city by certain engines, as fast as the besiegers threw it into the ditch. But the *Romans*, by the superior number of their workmen, gained their point. Then *Himilco*, with incredible expedition, threw up a rampart, and built a new wall to cover the wall of the city. The *Romans* endeavoured to undermine it; but the enemy countermining them, attacked the *Roman* miners under-ground, and prevented them from carrying on their work. The besieged however were reduced to great straits, numbers of them being killed in the frequent sallies they made, and the rest harassed day and night in defending their works against two consular armies. The town must have soon fallen into the enemy's hands, had it not received a seasonable reinforcement. The *Romans* had shut up the port so closely, that *Himilco* could not find means to acquaint the senate of *Carthage* with the unhappy condition to which he was reduced. But nevertheless, it was concluded there, that after so long and streight a siege the place must stand in need both of men and provisions. A supply was therefore decreed them of provisions, and as many men as could be transported in a squadron of fifty galleys; which were accordingly dispatched under the command of *Hannibal* the son of *Hamilcar*. That brave commander arriving safe at the island of *Aegusa*, at a small distance from the coast of *Sicily*, sheltered himself there, waiting for a proper time to force his way through the enemy's fleet, which lay at the mouth of the harbour. As soon as a brisk south wind blew, he crowded all his sails, and ordering his rowers to ply their oars, passed through the midst of the *Roman* fleet, and arrived safe in the port with a reinforcement of ten thousand men, and a great quantity of provisions. The sudden appearance of the *African* squadron, and the fear of being forced into the port with the enemy by the violence of the wind, prevented the *Romans* from attacking *Hannibal*, so that he got into *Lilybaeum* without the loss of a single man. *Himilco*, encouraged by this new reinforcement, made the very next day a brisk sally at the head of twenty thousand men, in hopes of destroying the engines of the *Romans*. Never was action begun or carried on with more bravery; but at length the besieged were repulsed with great loss, without being able to set fire to the engines as they intended ¹.

The Romans
carry on the
siege of Lily-
baeum.

The besieged
receive a sup-
ply of men and
provisions.

- f** The night after this obstinate fight, *Hannibal*, finding himself to be of no use in *Lilybaeum*, put all the *Carthaginian* cavalry on board his galleys, sailed boldly through the *Roman* fleet, and got safe to *Drepanum*, whence he made incursions into the territories of the allies of the *Romans*, and intercepted the provisions which were designed for the consular armies. This occasioned a great scarcity in the two camps, which obliged one of the consuls to retire with his two legions from the rest of the army. In the mean time his colleague endeavoured to shut up the harbour with a bar, made of strong beams, fastened together with iron braces. But this work was soon destroyed by the winds, and strong currents. However, the report being spread at *Carthage* that the harbour was quite shut up, no vessel would venture out for some time to bring them from *Lilybaeum* an account of the siege. At length a *Rhodian*, by name *Hannibal*, undertook to get into the place, and bring them intelligence how their affairs stood there, provided the harbour was not yet quite barred up. His undertaking was well received, but little dependence was had upon it, in regard the *Roman* fleet lay at anchor before the mouth of the harbour. Nevertheless the *Rhodian* with a vessel of his own put to sea, and getting safe to one of those islands, which lie

Bold underta-
king of Han-
nibal the Rho-
dian.

¹ POLYB. c. xlv. DIODOR. SICUL. ibid.

opposite to *Lilybaeum*, the very next morning with a fair wind and a fresh gale he passed ^a through the enemy's fleet, and to their great surprize entered the port. The consul gave strict orders to have a more careful eye on the entrance of the haven, and ordered ten of his lightest vessels to be placed there, with their oars, like so many wings, displayed, and ready to fly after the prey they expected. But the *Rhodian*, depending upon his skill in sea affairs, and the lightness of his vessel, not only escaped safely, but in contempt of the *Romans*, who pursued him, would often lie upon his oars, till they got near him, and then row quite round their vessels. He thus passed and repassed several times, carrying to *Carthage* an account of the siege, and to *Lilybaeum* the orders of the senate, the *Romans* being enraged and confounded to see one single galley triumph as it were over their whole fleet. The successful temerity of the *Rhodian* ^b encouraged several *Carthaginians* to make the like attempt. But one of these adventurers, less skilful than *Hannibal*, in the knowledge of the currents between the rocks and the flats, grounded, and was taken by the *Romans*. The consul immediately put on board this light galley the best crew he had, and waited with impatience for a fresh insult from the *Rhodian*. It was not long before the *Rhodian* entered the port again in the night-time, according to his custom, and was preparing to sail out in broad day, not knowing that the *Romans* were now masters of a galley, which was as good a sailer as his own. He weighed anchor with great confidence, and sailed out of the port in sight of the enemy's fleet; but was greatly surprized to see the *Romans* pursue him close, and at length come up with him, notwithstanding the lightness of his vessel. ^c He had now no way left but to engage them, which he did with an undaunted bravery; but the *Romans*, who were all chosen men, soon put an end to the dispute. The *Rhodian* vessel was boarded, and taken with all her crew. The *Romans*, being now in possession of two light galleys, shut up the port so effectually, that no *Carthaginian* ever after attempted to enter it ^d.

He is taken by
the Romans.

THE besieged were not discouraged by being deprived of this advantage; they boldly resisted two general attacks of the besiegers, and obliged them to retire with great slaughter, after they had got possession of the first rampart. The advantage they gained in these attacks was followed by another, which had like to have reduced the *Romans* to despair. A sudden storm arising, and the wind blowing from the land ^d with such violence, as almost to overturn the machines of the *Romans*, the *Carthaginians*, by the advice of some mercenary *Greeks* in their service, took advantage of this accident, and sallying out, set fire to the galleries, platforms, towers, and balistæ, of the besiegers. As the storm blew full in the faces of the *Romans*, they were so blinded with the smoke, that they could only throw their darts at a venture, while the flame, which spread very fast, gave light to the enemy. So that the work of several months was consumed in a few hours. The boasted constancy of the *Romans* would not have been able to bear up under this terrible disaster, had not their generous friend *Hiero* raised their drooping spirits, by sending them convoys of provisions, and exhorting them not to abandon the enterprize ^e.

The works be-
fore Lilybaeum
destroyed.

AFTER this shock the consul, not finding himself in a condition to take *Lilybaeum* by force, turned the siege into a blockade. At *Rome* the news of this disaster made different impressions on the people and the senate. The people were more animated by it to continue the siege. Nay, ten thousand of them entering into an association to serve in the army before *Lilybaeum*, passed over to *Messana*, and from thence marched on foot to the *Roman* camp. But in the senate many were for concluding a peace, and the dispute arose to such a height, that from words they came to blows, and one senator was killed for appearing too zealous for a peace ^a. The next year, when *P. Claudius Pulcher*, and *L. Junius Pullus*, were consuls, proved still more unfortunate for *Rome*. The former, who had the command of the land-forces, and had inherited ^f all the pride and rashness of the *Claudian* family, no sooner arrived at the camp, but he began to defame his predecessors, and reproach the soldiery with indolence and cowardice. Though he had but little knowledge in the art of war, his fiery temper put him upon projects, which required great skill in military affairs; and he was too proud to take advice. He had scarce taken upon him the command of the army, when, without consulting the other officers, he formed a design of surprising *Drepanum*, where *Adherbal*, an able captain, commanded for the *Carthaginians*. With this view he put to sea in the dead of the night with a fleet of a hundred and twenty galleys

^a POLYB. c. 45—48. DIODOR. SICUL. ibid. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 15.
^b ZONAR. l. viii. c. 15.

^c POLYB. & DIODOR. ibid.

that

- a that lay before *Lilybæum*, having on board the flower of his land-forces. *Adherbal* was greatly surpris'd, when at break of day he discovered the enemy's fleet; but recollecting, that if he suffered the harbour to be blocked up, he must endure all the calamities incident to a siege, he resolv'd to venture an engagement; and accordingly, sail'd out of the port with a squadron of ninety galleys, and conceal'd himself behind some rocks, till the *Roman* fleet began to enter the mouth of the haven. He then appear'd all on a sudden, and falling upon the enemy's squadron before they could draw up in line of battle, put them into great confusion. All the *Roman* officers advis'd *Claudius* not to engage the enemy, but to return before *Lilybæum*, which he might easily have done. But the consul, obstinate to venture an engagement, tack'd about, and made a signal to the headmost galleys to do the same. It was with the utmost difficulty, that he drew them up in line of battle along the coast. His situation was highly disadvantageous; for in case his vessels should be oblig'd to give way in the least, they could not avoid running aground on the flats, or splitting against the rocks. Notwithstanding this disadvantage *Claudius* persist'd in his former design of engaging the enemy, not only contrary to the opinion of his officers, but in defiance of the auspices, which it was then thought highly impious to despise. For when the sacred chickens were consult'd in his presence, and refus'd to feed, he threw them coop and all into the sea: *If they won't eat, let them drink*, said he, not reflecting that such a contempt of religion would discourage his troops. And indeed the *Romans* seem'd to have forgot themselves in the action which ensu'd. They made but a faint resistance, and suffer'd themselves, like mere cowards, to be board'd by the enemy, and driven either upon the shore, or against the rocks. As for *Claudius*, who had been so forward to hazard a battle, he no sooner saw the victory incline to *Adherbal's* side, than he made off as fast as he could with thirty galleys, leaving the rest to struggle with the waves, the rocks, and the enemy. The *Romans* lost ninety galleys in this ill conducted action. Eight thousand of their men were either killed or drowned, and twenty thousand taken, and sent prisoners to *Carthage*. The *Carthaginians* gain'd this signal victory without losing a single man, or one galley ^a.
- d THE news of this fatal action no sooner reach'd *Rome* than *Claudius* was recalled, and order'd to name a dictator. The proud consul, to insult the senate, and in derision of the laws, nominat'd to that supreme dignity one of his own clients, nam'd *Claudius Glycias*, a man of the meanest of the people, who had no other office in the city but that of *viator*, or, as we may call him, tipstaff to *Claudius* during his consulate. This unseasonable jest highly provok'd all orders of men against *Claudius*. The mock-dictator was forc'd to abdicate, but the senate allow'd him to wear the robe border'd with purple, call'd *prætecta*, in the theatre and circus the rest of his life, for having resign'd his dictatorship with a good grace. *M. Attilius Calatinus* succeed'd him, who appoint'd the famous *Cacilius Metellus* for his general of the horse. As for *Claudius*, he was, after his deposition, tri'd before the people for his misdemeanors. Some writers say, he was condemn'd; others tell us, that the people was prevented from condemn'g him, and driven from the forum by a sudden storm, which they look'd upon as a tacit absolution given him by the gods, and therefore did not call him to judgment again ^b. But this has the air of a fable, invent'd to wipe off the stain from the *Claudian* family, which was in great power at *Rome*. *Polybius* says, he was tri'd, and load'd with a very rigorous sentence ^c.
- e As for the other consul, *Junius Pullus*, he sail'd with a fleet of a hundred and twenty galleys, and eight hundred other vessels, to *Syracuse*, in order to take in provisions there for the camp before *Lilybæum*. From *Syracuse* he sent the quæstors before him with a squadron to supply the present wants of the army, while he follow'd with the rest of the fleet. *Adherbal*, who carefully watch'd all the motions of the *Roman* fleet, no sooner heard that the consul was at sea, than he detach'd *Carthalo* from *Drepanum* with a hundred galleys, ordering him to cruise off of *Heraclea*, and there wait for the *Roman* fleet and convoys. He had no sooner put to sea, than news was brought him, that a *Roman* squadron, which was that of the quæstors, appear'd at some distance. Hereupon, as he had the *Romans* in great contempt since their last defeat, he prepar'd to engage them, promising himself a sure victory. But the quæstors, diffident of their own strength, shelter'd themselves among certain rocks near *Phintia*, a city subject to the *Romans*, where *Carthalo* attack'd them, but was

Claudius Pulcher defeated at sea by the *Carthaginians*.

Claudius deposed and tri'd.

^a POLYB. c. 49. DIONOR. SICUL. ibid. OROS. l. iv. c. 10. VAL. MAX. l. i. c. 4.
DION. l. ii. & c. divin. VALER. MAX. l. viii. c. 1.

^b CIC. de nat.

^c POLYB. l. i. c. 52.

not attended with the success he expected, the *Romans* defending their vessels with ^a balistæ and other engines, which they had brought in great haste from the town, and planted on the shore; so that *Carthalo*, after having taken only a few transports, retired to a harbour in a neighbouring river, where he came to an anchor, and kept a vigilant eye on the motions of the *Roman* fleet. While he was thus waiting for the quæstors, he was informed by the vessels he had sent out to make discoveries, that the consul *Junius* had with a numerous fleet doubled cape *Pachynum*, and was steering his course for *Lilybæum*. Upon this important piece of news he immediately weighed anchor, resolved to give the consul battle before he could join the quæstors' squadron. He crowded all the sail he could, and came in sight of the consul's fleet off of *Camerina*. But *Junius*, not caring to hazard a battle, chose to act the same part his quæ- ^b stors had done, though he did not know it. For he turned to the coast, and took sanctuary among the rocks that were next at hand, thinking it more adviseable to run some hazard, than expose by the loss of the fleet, which might be the consequence of a battle, the land-forces to the mercy of the enemy. *Carthalo* forebore attacking them in so dangerous a post, but retiring to a place between the two fleets, kept that station, carefully observing their motions. While matters stood thus, the *Carthaginian* pilots, who were well skilled in the weather, and acquainted with those seas and coasts, foreseeing by certain signs that a storm would soon arise, advised *Carthalo* to weigh anchor, double cape *Pachynum*, and shelter himself under the opposite shore. *Carthalo* followed their advice, and with great difficulty doubled the cape, and secured ^c his fleet, while the *Roman* ships were either dashed against the rocks, or driven upon the coast. Never was there a more complete shipwreck. We are told, that of the consul's fleet, and the quæstors' squadron, which consisted of a hundred and twenty galleys, and eight hundred transports, laden with all sorts of provisions and military stores, not one vessel, nay, not a plank, was saved, which could be used again ^d. Thus *Rome* was deprived once more of all her naval force, and once more renounced the empire of the sea. But neither did this dejection last long, their ambition getting the better of all difficulties.

The Roman
fleet intirely de-
stroyed.

As the *Romans*, notwithstanding these losses, were still stronger by land, the blockade of *Lilybæum* was continued. The consul *Junius*, to repair his misfortune, made an ^d attempt upon *Eryx*, a place of great strength, and situated on the declivity of a mountain bearing the same name, and the highest in *Sicily*, except mount *Ætna*. He succeeded in his attempt, and surprised the place in the night by the help of some soldiers, who betrayed it to him. To secure this conquest, he built a fort at the foot of the mountain, and placed a garison in it of eight hundred men. But *Carthalo* soon after made a descent, took the fort by assault, and put the garison to the sword ^e. Some writers say, that *Junius* was taken prisoner in defending the place ^f; others, that he laid violent hands on himself for fear of being condemned at *Rome* for his ill conduct, or out of melancholy for so fatal a campaign ^g.

Eryx surpris'd
by the consul
Junius.

ONE of the consuls being dead, and the other deposed, the dictator's presence ^e became necessary in *Sicily*. As from the foundation of *Rome* no dictator had appeared out of *Italy*, great things were expected from him. But *Attilius* performed no remarkable exploits. He gained some small advantages before *Lilybæum*, and then returned to preside at the elections for the ensuing year; when two were promoted to the consulate, who had enjoyed that dignity once before, *C. Aurelius Cotta*, and *P. Servilius Geminus*. The *Romans* had now no fleet, and therefore both the consuls were ordered to pursue the siege of *Lilybæum*, and to prevent the *Carthaginians* from carrying succours or provisions into that place, or into *Drepanum*. *Carthalo* attempted both, but finding the *Romans* every-where upon their guard, he endeavoured to draw one of the consuls out of *Sicily*, by making a descent upon *Italy*, and ravaging the provinces ^f belonging to the republic. But upon the first advice, that he had landed in *Lucania*, the prætor of *Rome* putting himself at the head of an army, which was immediately raised in the city, forced him to reimbarque and return to *Sicily*. And now his mercenary troops began to murmur for want of pay, no money having been sent them for some time from *Carthage*, which was almost quite exhausted with so long and expensive a war. To put a stop to the mutiny, he punished the most seditious with great rigor: some were transported to desert islands, and there left to perish; others were sent to *Carthage*, and there executed. This provoked even those who were the most

^a POLYB. c. 54.

^b POLYB. c. 55.

^c ZONAR. l. viii. c. 15.

^d CIC. de nat. DEOR. l. ii.

a peaceably inclined; inasmuch that the rebellion becoming general, *Carthalo* was reasonably recalled, and a commander sent in his room, who became afterwards famous for his implacable hatred to the *Romans*, which he did not suffer to die with him, but transmitted to his posterity. This great man was *Hamilcar*, surnamed *Barcas*, Hamilcar Barcas sent into Sicily. the father of the famous *Hannibal*, the greatest officer *Carthage* ever produced. *Hamilcar*, having appeased the sedition which his predecessor had raised by his unseasonable rigor, sailed to *Italy*, and more successful than *Carthalo*, laid waste the territories of the *Locrians* and *Brutians*, and returned to *Sicily* with an immense booty. Having landed his troops, he incamped on a steep rock between *Panormus* and *Eryx*, both belonging to the *Romans*; and from thence making incursions into the lands of the allies of *Rome*, so harassed the consuls, that they could make but little progress in the siege of *Lilybaeum*. *Hamilcar's* campaign was looked upon at *Carthage* as a masterly piece of conduct. He had subsisted in spite of the *Romans*, and at the expence of their allies, between two of their cities, and at a great distance from any place allied to *Carthage*, and at the same time disconcerted all the measures of the consuls.

b THE new consuls, *L. Cæcilius Metellus*, and *Fabius Buteo*, were both ordered to *Sicily*; the former, who had been consul once before, and was so famous for his magnificent triumph, was appointed to carry on the siege of *Lilybaeum*, and his colleague to besiege *Drepanum*. But *Hamilcar* by innumerable sallies from his eminence kept both the consuls in play, and by his masterly conduct prevented them from gaining any considerable advantage during the campaign. According to the best historian of those times, the brave *Hamilcar* seemed to be every-where; his foresight extended to all particulars, and his valour was sufficient for any attempt.

c WHILE affairs were in this situation in *Sicily*, the *Romans* pillaged the coasts of *Africa* with a fleet built and equipped at the expence of private persons; for the republic had laid aside all thoughts of building new galleys, after the losses she had sustained by sea. However, she passed a decree, empowering all her subjects to build, equip, and arm ships at their own charges, to pillage the coast of *Africa*, and apply all the plunder to their own use. Nay, the republic lent the galleys she had left to private persons *gratis*, with this proviso only, that they should return them in as good a condition as they had received them. This fleet of privateers committed great devastations on the coast of *Africa*, entered the port of *Hippo*, set fire to the ships and houses, and put to sea again loaded with a rich booty. On their return to *Sicily* they met off *Panormus* a *Carthaginian* fleet carrying provisions to *Hamilcar*, and gained a considerable advantage over it. However, the pride of the *Romans* being now in a good measure abated by their many late misfortunes, they consented at last to an exchange of prisoners; and they were accordingly exchanged man for man. As the *Carthaginians* had more captives to redeem than the *Romans*, the latter received money for the overplus, which recruited their exhausted treasury. The number of the *Roman* citizens appeared by a census taken this year to be no more than 251220, which was less by 86575 than the number at the last census. A very considerable diminution, which can only be ascribed to the war, and the many shipwrecks which the republic had suffered.

A fleet of Roman privateers defeats a Carthaginian fleet.

f THE following year, *M. Ottacilius Grassus*, and *M. Fabius Licinus*, were created consuls; but they made little or no progress in the siege of *Lilybaeum*, which was the province allotted to them, being daily harassed by parties sent out by *Hamilcar*. As they did not return before the time of their consulate expired, *Tib. Coruncanius* was appointed dictator to preside at the election of new magistrates, when *M. Fabius Buteo*, and *C. Attilius Bulbus*, were chosen consuls. At this time a woman of the first rank was severely punished only for dropping some words, which betrayed a want of affection for the public. *Claudia*, the sister of the late *Claudius Pulcher*, a woman thoroughly tinctured with all the vices of her family, returning in a chariot from a public show, happened to be pressed in the throng. Upon this she cried out in a transport of rage; *I wish my brother Claudius were alive again, that he might rid Rome, as formerly, of this scoundrel mob, with which the city is crowded.* For these words she was cited by the two ædiles to appear before the tribes; and notwithstanding all the whole body of the nobility could say or do in her favour, she was forced to appear before the tribunal of the *Roman* people, which had never before happened to any woman, and was condemned to pay a fine of twenty five thousand asses of brass, that is, 80*l.* 14*s.* 7*d.*

Claudia punished for treasonable words against the people.

^a PONT. c. 56. DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt.

^b POLYB. c. 57.

^c ZONAR. l. viii. c. 16.

which

which the ædile *Sempronius* employed in building a little chapel on the hill *Aventinus*, dedicated to *Liberty* *.

Hamilcar supplies Lilybæum with provisions.

THE two new consuls had no sooner entered upon their office, than they set out for *Sicily*. The *Romans* hoped to reduce *Lilybæum* at length by famine, and therefore persisted in carrying on the siege. But in spite of all the care and vigilance of the two consuls, the brave *Hamilcar* found means to supply the place with fresh provisions. He sailed with his small fleet from the port of *Epiroeste*, near which place he lay incamped, and in the night ordered a good number of transports, loaded with provisions, to advance behind the islands *Ægates*, which covered the port of *Lilybæum*. In the morning he himself appeared out at sea with the small remains of his galleys, bidding, as it were, the enemy defiance. The *Roman* galleys, which guarded the port, made what haste they could to attack him. But when they had got a great way from the port, the *Carthaginian* ships, which lay concealed behind the islands, entered it, unloaded their provisions, landed some fresh troops, and got out to sea again before the *Romans* returned from their vain pursuit †. This same year the *Roman* privateers gained a considerable victory over a *Carthaginian* fleet within sight of the island of *Ægimur* near *Africa*; but were afterwards dashed in pieces by a storm, which drove them against the rocks on the coast of *Africa* ‡.

The Roman privateers destroyed by a storm.

NOTWITHSTANDING all these misfortunes, the *Romans* with an unaccountable steadiness continued the siege of *Lilybæum*, and dispatched their two new consuls, *A. Manlius Torquatus*, and *C. Sempronius Blaesus*, into *Sicily*, with orders to use their utmost efforts against the place. As it was well stored with provisions, *Hamilcar* gave himself no farther trouble about relieving it, or sending in new stores. His mind was wholly bent upon a more noble design, which was to recover the city of *Eryx*, taken formerly by the consul *Junius*. This was a difficult and dangerous enterprise. The city of *Eryx* stood about the middle of the mountain of that name, and was fortified by art as well as by nature. The *Romans* were in possession of the temple of *Venus Erycina* on the summit of the mountain, and had a fort at the bottom of it defended by a good garison. But nothing could discourage the *Carthaginian* general. He set out from his camp in the dead of the night, and winding round the mountain in a profound silence, arrived undiscovered at the gates of the city, which he easily forced open in that surprise, and made himself master of the place. All those who were found under arms, he put to the sword, and sent the rest prisoners to *Drepanum*. The war now took another turn: the *Romans* made it their whole business to dispossess *Hamilcar* of this advantageous post, and the *Carthaginian* did all that lay in his power to maintain himself in it. The *Romans*, who were masters of a fort at the foot of the mountain, besieged him; and he at the same time besieged the *Romans*, who were posted at the top of it in the temple of *Venus*. In this post between two garisons of the enemy, *Hamilcar* maintained himself, and amused the *Romans* two whole years. And this diversion was of great service to his country; for in the mean time the siege of *Lilybæum* advanced but slowly, and that of *Drepanum* was raised. Of so great a weight in the scale was the valour and address of one single man. The new consuls, *C. Fundanius*, and *C. Sulpicius Gallus*, endeavoured in vain to drive *Hamilcar* from his post. The besieged and the besiegers suffered, each in their turn, all the miseries of war and famine. Never was fury more uninterrupted, or battles more frequent. No day passed without some rencounter. Both parties seemed, as *Polybius* expresses it, quite insensible of pains and fatigues, fought as if they had been invulnerable, and bore the inconveniencies of hunger and watching, as if their bodies had been proof against all pain and hardships. After the consuls had by a thousand stratagems attempted in vain to make themselves masters of the disputed city of *Eryx*, the *Gauls*, who made up the best part of *Hamilcar's* garison, being at length tired out with continual fighting, and not receiving their pay, plotted together to put the place into the hands of the *Romans*. But *Hamilcar*, too vigilant to be surprised, discovered and defeated their design. However, they delivered up to the consuls an advanced post, which they guarded, and entered into their service. This is the first time we read of foreign forces in the pay of the republic, whose armies had hitherto consisted either of *Roman* citizens, who were paid by the public, or of *Italian* allies, who were maintained by their respective states.

Hamilcar takes Eryx by surprise.

* AUL. GELL. l. i. c. 6. VAL. MAX. l. ii. c. 1. SUETON. in Tiberio.
† FLOR. l. ii.

‡ FRONT. strat. l. iii. c. 10.

- ^a But now the senate being thoroughly convinced, that the republic could never establish her dominion in *Sicily*, so long as the *Carthaginians* were masters of the sea, turned their thoughts anew to the building of a fleet, resolving to try fortune a third time, how averse soever she had hitherto been. They proposed to man their vessels with hired troops from foreign countries, that in case of new misfortunes, *Rome* might not suffer so great a loss of her own citizens as she had done formerly. The great difficulty was, how to find money for such an undertaking, the public treasury being quite exhausted. On this occasion the senators gave to the rest of the citizens an example of zeal for the service of their country. The most wealthy among them built, each a *quinqueremis*, at his own expence. Others taxed themselves at so much a head, and a galley was fitted out at the joint expences of three or four. In short, a fleet of two hundred *quinqueremes* was put to sea by private persons, without any other burden on the republic, than that of reimbursing the private persons, when she should be in a condition to do it. This new armament far excelled any of the former ones, all the galleys, that composed it, having been built upon the model of that light galley, which was taken from *Hannibal* the *Rhodian* ¹.
- ^b The consuls chosen for the new year, were *C. Lutatius Catulus*, and *A. Posthumius*; but the latter being at the same time high-priest of *Mars*, *Cacilius Metellus*, at this time *pontifex maximus*, would not suffer him to exercise any military function; so that he had the bare name of consul. But the republic, not thinking it adviseable to trust the command of her armies to one general, and being well apprised of the inconveniences which would arise from the too long absence of the prætor, to whom it naturally fell to supply the place of the consul, created a second prætor, that one might be at the head of the army, and the other reside at *Rome*, and administer justice there. This new institution continued even when both consuls took the field. One of these prætors was to hear causes between citizen and citizen, and the other between citizens and foreigners, whence the former was called *prætor urbanus*, and the latter *prætor peregrinus*. The two prætors chose their provinces by lot, and were themselves chosen, as the consuls, in the *comitia* by centuries ². *Valerius Falto* was the first *prætor peregrinus*. He embarked on board the new fleet to make war together with the consul *Lutatius* in *Sicily*. They began the campaign with the siege of *Drepanum*, and soon made a breach in the wall with their engines, which battered the place day and night. But as the consul was mounting the breach at the head of his men, he received a dangerous wound in the thigh. As he was greatly beloved by the soldiers, they all hastened to his relief, and giving over the attack, carried him back to the camp. After this he did not push on the siege with great vigour; but being persuaded that the *Carthaginian* fleet would soon appear, and that a victory at sea would contribute much more, than the taking of a single town, towards the intire conquest of *Sicily*, he turned all his thoughts to the disciplining of his men, and preparing them for a naval engagement. He was not yet cured of his wound, when news was brought him, that a *Carthaginian* fleet of four hundred ships, under the command of *Hanno*, had been seen at sea. This terrible armament was the last effort of the *African* republic. *Hanno* had on board new levies, arms, money, provisions, and all sorts of stores; and his design was to touch at the port of *Eryx* before the *Romans* could have account of his motions, and to sail from thence in quest of the enemy's fleet, after he had unloaded his vessels, and taken on board the flower of the troops there together with *Hamilcar*, whose name he thought was enough to fill the *Romans* with terror. But *Lutatius*, indisposed as he was, having caused himself to be carried on board the *Prætorian* galley, immediately ordered the fleet to join the squadron before *Lilybaeum*, and steer their course directly from thence to the islands called *Ægates*, the place of rendezvous for the enemy's fleet. He had scarce left *Lilybaeum*, when he descried the *Carthaginian* fleet off *Hiera*, shaping their course to *Eryx*. Hereupon he ordered the commanders of his vessels to prepare for a battle. The wind was then favourable for the *Romans*; but it changed all on a sudden, and at the same time the sea began to run very high. However, the consul, after having been some time in suspense, and undetermined what to do, resolved in the end not to defer the engagement one moment. After all, said he, we shall have a greater advantage in fighting with ships that are heavy laden, than disadvantage in the roughness of the sea. If *Hanno* carries his fleet to *Eryx*, takes *Hamilcar* on board, imbarques his brave mer-

A new Roman fleet built at the expence of private citizens.

A prætor peregrinus created.

² POLYB. c. 59. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 6.

¹ Liv. in epit. l. xix.

The Romans
gain a complete
victory at sea.

cenaries, and gets rid of these new recruits, the success will be more doubtful, and the victory longer disputed. Upon these considerations *Lutatius* drew up his fleet in line of battle, and made directly towards the enemy. As the *Carthaginians* were on this occasion inferior to the *Romans* in every thing, except the number of their ships, the dispute was soon decided. The *Romans* routed them at the first onset. Fifty of the *Carthaginian* vessels were sunk, and seventy taken, with all the mariners and soldiers they had on board. The rest, by an uncommon instance of good fortune, made their escape. For the wind, which had hitherto been favourable to the *Carthaginians* in their voyage to *Sicily*, changed all on a sudden, and favoured their escape. After the battle the consul steered his course to *Lilybaeum*, to dispose of the money, arms, provisions, and above all of the prisoners he had taken, who were at least ten thousand in number. Such was the battle of the *Ægades*, which determined the fate of *Sicily*.^b

Conditions of
peace between
Rome and
Carthage.

Hamilcar was the first who felt the effects of this terrible defeat. The consul *Lutatius* had no sooner disposed of his booty and captives, than he marched against him, and in several skirmishes killed above two thousand of his men. Hereupon that gallant commander, having no longer any hopes of succours, was forced to capitulate. The *Romans*, elated with their late victory, insisted upon his passing under the yoke with his garison. But he rejected the proposal with the utmost indignation, protesting, that he would rather suffer all extremities, than submit to such an indignity, or abandon a place with disgrace, which he had so long defended with honour. While he was treating with the consul, he received full powers from his republic to do whatever he judged to be most for her interest. Being thus appointed mediator between *Carthage* and *Rome*, he considered that *Carthage* was too much exhausted to maintain her conquests in *Sicily*, and therefore thought it more advisable to yield the island by a treaty of peace, than to be driven shamefully out of it, and at the same time expose *Africa* to the ravages of a victorious fleet. For this purpose therefore he sent deputies to *Lutatius*, who received them with great joy, being desirous to put an end to the war before his consulship expired, that his successors might not have the glory of finishing a work, which had cost him so much blood and labour. Both parties being thus disposed to pursue the same end, after some slight difficulties, the consul drew up the following articles, while he lay before *Eryx*, as the terms of a peace between the two republics. There shall be peace and friendship between *Rome* and *Carthage* upon the following conditions, if the people of *Rome* approve thereof:
1. The *Carthaginians* shall evacuate all the places which they have in *Sicily*, and intirely quit the island. 2. They shall in twenty years pay the *Romans*, at equal payments every year, two thousand two hundred talents of silver, that is, 437250 l. sterling. 3. They shall restore the *Roman* captives and deserters without ransom, and redeem their own prisoners with money. 4. They shall not make war upon *Hiero* king of *Syracuse*, or his allies. These articles being agreed on, *Hamilcar* surrendered *Eryx*, upon condition that all his soldiers should march out with him upon his paying for each of them eighteen *Roman denarii*. Hostages were given on both sides, and this long war concluded with a truce.^c The only thing now remaining was to get these articles confirmed by the *Roman* people assembled in the comitia, they being the sole arbiters of peace and war. For this purpose both *Lutatius* and *Hamilcar* sent deputies to *Rome*. The republic, though overjoyed at the consul's success, was dissatisfied with the too easy terms he had granted the *Carthaginians*, and therefore appointed ten commissioners to treat personally with *Hamilcar*, and demand farther advantages. These, after having thoroughly informed themselves of the state of affairs, added to the former articles two more; viz. 1. That a thousand talents should be paid immediately, and the two thousand two hundred in the space of ten years at equal payments. 2. That the *Carthaginians* should quit all the little islands about *Italy* and *Sicily*, and never more come near them with ships of war, or raise mercenaries in those places. Necessity obliged *Hamilcar* to consent to these new terms; but he returned to *Carthage* with a hatred to the *Romans*, which he did not even suffer to die with him, but left an inheritance to his son, the famous *Hannibal*. He had no sooner given his consent to these articles, than he set out for *Lilybaeum*, and from thence sailed to *Carthage*, not caring to be a witness of the solemn oath, which was to be the last ratification of the peace.^d It may be justly said of *Hamilcar*, that his country had never yet produced a general equal to him in valor and prudence. He always conquered as long as his republic

^b POLYB. c. 60. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 17. EUTROP. l. i.
OROS. l. iv. c. 11.

^c POLYB. c. 61. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 17.

^d POLYB. c. 61. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 17.

could

- a could support him, and only sunk in the common misfortunes of his country. At last he returned into *Africa* to be the defender, or rather the deliverer, of *Carthage*, in the cruel war, which she was to maintain with her discontented mercenaries, as we shall relate in the history of *Carthage*.

- THE next year the consul *Lutatius*, and the prætor *Valerius*, who had acted as his colleague, were continued in *Sicily*, the first in quality of proconsul, and the second in that of proprætor, while the two new consuls, *Q. Lutatius Cerco*, and *A. Manlius Atticus*, marched an army into *Hetruria* to quell a sudden rebellion of the *Falisci*, who had affronted a tribune of the people, named *Genucius*, and not only refused to give the republic satisfaction, but openly revolted, and even ventured to take the field against some *Roman* troops that were sent against them. The two consuls were therefore ordered to enter *Hetruria*, and bring the *Falisci* back to their duty. The rebels did not confine themselves to the defence of their city, but taking the field, fought two pitched battles in the space of six days. The success of the first was pretty equal; but the second turned so much to their disadvantage, that they were obliged to lay down their arms, and deliver up their city to the conquerors, after they had lost fifteen thousand men. Their capital, situated on an inaccessible mountain, was razed, but they were allowed to build a new one in the plain; their arms, horses, part of their moveables, and half their lands, were confiscated. From *Hetruria* the consuls returned to *Rome*, and from thence passed over into *Sicily* to put the last hand to the peace, which was ratified by the solemn sacrifice of a sow, and the mutual oaths of the two nations. Thus ended the first *Punic* war, the longest and most memorable which had ever been waged till that time. It had lasted full four and twenty years, during which time the conquerors lost seven hundred ships, and the conquered only five hundred. But the *Romans* prevailed at length by their constancy, or, as *Polybius* expresses it, by a certain inflexibility of resolution peculiar to themselves.

- AND now the great affair at *Rome* was to determine the fate of *Sicily*, the manner in which it should be governed, and the emoluments which the republic should draw from so fine a conquest. The whole island, except the kingdom of *Syracuse*, was declared a *Roman* province, that is, a country to be governed by *Roman* laws, and *Roman* magistrates. A prætor was to be sent annually thither to be governor and judge in civil causes, and a quæstor to receive the revenues of the republic. These revenues were either fixed or casual. The fixed were called *tributes*, and consisted of a certain sum of money, which the province was every year to pay into the public treasury. The casual were the tenths of the product of the lands, and the duties upon merchandize exported and imported. Certain officers, called *publicans*, generally chosen out of the body of the *Roman* knights, were appointed to levy both these sorts of taxes; and the latter sort were farmed by the *publicans* at a certain annual rent, which they constantly paid the republic at all events. However, these fixed revenues did not hinder the *Romans* from often demanding of the provinces extraordinary supplies of men, ships, corn, &c. Thus *Sicily*, the first province *Rome* established out of *Italy*, was deprived of its own laws, and consequently of the best part of its liberty. By becoming *Roman*, it was indeed less free, but more happy. It had been long the scene of war between three nations, the *Carthaginians*, the *Mamertines*, and the *Syracusians*, contending for the dominion of it. The *Romans*, who came after them, increased at first the calamities of that unhappy people, but afterwards secured their tranquillity. There were now but two sovereigns in the whole island, *Hiero* and the *Romans*; and as there reigned a perfect union between them, the *Sicilians* enjoyed all the blessings of an uninterrupted peace.

- Sicily* being thus settled in perfect tranquillity, the two consuls, *Lutatius Cerco*, and *Manlius Atticus*, the proconsul *Lutatius Catulus*, and the proprætor *Valerius*, returned to *Rome* with their troops to receive there the honourable reward of their labours. The proconsul and proprætor triumphed for the naval victory at the *Ægades*, and the consuls for having vanquished the *Falisci* in *Hetruria*.

THE joy of the people of *Rome* for their late prosperity was much damped by two dreadful misfortunes, which followed close upon one another. The *Tiber* on a sudden overflowed with such violence, as to overturn a great many houses in the lower grounds; and the water continued stagnated so long in the forum, as greatly to damage the foundations of the houses there. After this a fire broke out in the upper city, and thence spread as far as the forum. *Rome*, says *Livy*, lost more wealth in one day,

* *Liv. in epit. l. xix.*

than

than she had got by many victories. The temple of *Vesta* was not exempted from the common misfortune, and the most ancient monuments of religion had been destroyed, had not *Cæcilius Metellus*, the present *pontifex maximus*, ventured his life to save them. He made his way through the flames, went into the sanctuary, where the *palladium* was kept, and saved it from the fire, an action more celebrated in history than the glorious victory which he gained over the *Carthaginians* at the head of a consular army. One of his arms was much hurt in the attempt, and, which was much worse, he intirely lost his sight. This heroical action procured him a mark of distinction, which had never before been granted to any man; he was allowed to be drawn to the senate-house in a chariot^t. This year the tribes were probably augmented to thirty-five, by the addition of the tribes *Velina* and *Quirina*. It is certain at least, that from this time the tribes were reckoned to be thirty-five, which number was never afterwards increased. The consular year was closed with a census made by the censors *Aurelius Cotta*, and *Fabius Buteo*; and unless there be some mistake in the cyphers, *Eusebius* reckons us up but one hundred and sixty thousand citizens. If his numbers are right, a prodigious multitude of citizens must have perished by the inundation and fire.

THE new consuls, *C. Claudius Cento*, and *M. Sempronius Tudianus*, having no employment abroad, turned their thoughts to the securing of their frontiers against the *Gauls* and *Ligurians*, by planting colonies in their neighbourhood. In the first year after the *Punic* war *Livius Andronicus*, the reformer of the *Roman* stage, appeared at *Rome*. He introduced connected fables after the *Greek* manner, instead of the buffooneries and rambling discourses with which the people to that time had been entertained. He was the freedman of *Marcus Livius Salinator*, whose children he had educated. His poetry was grown obsolete in *Cicero's* time, and, in the judgment of that orator, would not bear a second reading. *Andronicus* flourished about an hundred and fifty years after the death of *Euripides* and *Sophocles*, and fifty-two after that of *Menander*. The following consulship of *C. Mamilius Turinus*, and *Q. Valerius Falto*, proved an interval of peace. The *Romans* indeed had some thoughts of taking arms anew against the *Carthaginians*, who having seized some of their merchants carrying arms and provisions to the revolted mercenaries, had made five hundred of them prisoners, and thrown some of them into the sea. But they were appeased by a respectful embassy from *Carthage*, and continued faithful to the treaty of peace, though the city of *Utica*, which had declared for the rebels, would have submitted to *Rome*, and the mercenaries, who had seized *Sardinia*, invited them to take possession of that island. About this time *Ennius* the famous poet was born at *Rudes*, an ancient city of *Calabria* near *Tarentum*. He was the inventor of *hexameter* verse among the *Latins*, though the *Greek* was his mother-tongue. The life of *Scipio Africanus*, which he wrote in *Coriacks*, was his master-piece. By this work he gained the affection of the *Cornelian* family, who shewed their gratitude to him even after his death, depositing his ashes in the same tomb with those of *Scipio Africanus*, and erecting a marble statue to him near the statue of that great commander. Besides the life of *Scipio*, he wrote the history of *Rome* in eighteen books, recording in verse the events, of which he himself had been witness. His poem was a history in verse, the *Romans* in his time being too grave to have any taste for poetical fictions^e. The poet *Nævius*, who was his contemporary, after having made some campaigns in the first *Punic* war, wrote the history of that war in verse, according to the taste of those times^b.

Carthage, during her war with the revolted mercenaries, affected to pay a great deference to *Rome*, and even restored all the *Italian* merchants, who had been taken in carrying arms and provisions to the rebels. The *Romans* were so well pleased with this instance of respect, that they sent back to *Carthage* without ransom all the *Carthaginian* prisoners, who were still detained at *Rome*, prohibited their merchants all intercourse and traffick with the rebels, and allowed them to supply the *Carthaginians* with arms, provisions, and whatever they wanted^c. But notwithstanding the sincere friendship, which seemed to subsist at this time between the two rival republics, *Hamilcar* had no sooner by his valor and conduct put an end to the rebellion at home, than he turned all his thoughts to the humbling of a republic, whose interests were so opposite to those of his own. With this view, as *Carthage* was not then in a condition to renew the war with *Rome*, he formed two schemes, both worthy of a great genius, which, if wisely pursued, might at length have crushed the imperious republic, or at least

Ennius the poet born.

The poet Nævius.

^t PLIN. l. vii. c. 43.

^e Vide Voss. de Script. Latin. VAL. MAX. l. viii. c. 15.

^b D. Hieron. in chron. Eusebii.

^c ZONAR. l. viii. c. 17. POLYB. l. i. c. 83.

^d AUL. GELL.

bring.

- a bring her upon a level with *Carthage*. The first was to extend the *Carthaginian* dominions in *Spain*, that his republic might, by this means, be able to raise within her own dominions a sufficient number of forces to make head against those multitudes of soldiers, with which *Italy* furnished the *Romans*. The second was to form young *Hannibal* his son so that he should inherit his valor, his experience, and his hatred to the *Romans*, and steadily pursue his designs. He had no sooner appeased the intestine troubles, than he applied himself wholly to the pursuit of these two projects. But before he passed the streights, known then by the name of the *Pillars of Hercules*, in order to make war in *Spain*, he took an opportunity to inspire his son, though but nine years old, with his own sentiments. Before he imbarqued, he ordered a solemn sacrifice to be offered to *Jupiter*; and when all things were ready, and the victim just going to be slain, he took his son by the hand, and leading him to the altar, asked him whether he was willing to attend him in his *Spanish* expedition? The courageous boy not only consented to go, but conjured his father by the gods present to form him to victory, and teach him the art of conquering. That I will joyfully do, replied *Hamilcar*, and with all the care of a father who loves you, if you will swear upon the altars, to be an eternal enemy to the *Romans*. *Hannibal* readily complied with the motion; and the solemnity of the ceremony, and the sacredness of the oath, made such an impression upon his mind, as nothing afterwards could ever efface. He then first imbibed that hatred for *Rome*, which ended only with his life. *Hamilcar* by this proceeding plainly declared, that he passed into *Spain* with no other view than that of falling afterwards on the *Romans*. But we must leave him making conquests there, and return to the affairs of *Rome*.

Hannibal takes an oath to be an eternal enemy to the Romans.

- THE *Italic Gauls*, called *Boii*, who had been subdued by the *Romans* before the first *Punic* war, threw off the yoke, and joined the *Falisci* in *Etruria*. On the other hand the *Ligures* were in motion, and seemed to threaten the republic with an approaching war. The present consuls therefore, *C. Mamilius Turinus*, and *Q. Valerius Falto*, divided their forces. The latter, who marched against the *Gauls*, was defeated by them with the loss of three thousand five hundred men. Upon the news of this defeat, *M. Genucius Cipus*, one of the prætors, was immediately dispatched from *Rome* with a reinforcement for the consul. But *Valerius*, looking upon this as a personal affront, resolved to conquer the enemy before the succours arrived, or perish in the attempt. Accordingly, he fell upon the *Gauls* with such fury, that he killed fourteen thousand of them, and took two thousand prisoners (H). However, this victory did not procure him a triumph, because he had by his rashness exposed the *Roman* army to the danger of a second defeat. As for *Sempronius*, the other consul, he gained a battle, though not a decisive one, against the *Ligurians*; but had not time to pursue his victory, being by the republic ordered into *Sardinia*. This island had been formerly subdued by the *Romans*, as we have related above, but soon after returned, we know not how, under the dominion of its ancient masters. The revolted mercenaries had seized it, and offered to put the *Romans* in possession of it, in order to engage them to take their part. But *Rome* made it then a point of honour not to side with rebels. However, this scrupulous fit of honour was short-lived. As this island was of great importance, and had never been yielded to the *Carthaginians* by any treaty, the senate thought they might justly claim it by right of conquest. They therefore sent, on trifling pretences, *Sempronius* with a fleet to take possession of it. The consul on

The Boii defeated.

(H) It is pretended, that *M. Genucius Cipus*, then one of the prætors, who was charged to lead these reinforcements to the consul, was scarce got out of the city, when two horns grew out of his forehead. Being alarmed at this prodigy, he consulted a diviner of *Etruria*, in order to learn what misfortunes it foreboded to him. The *Etrurian* told him, that he should one day be invested with royal authority; which made *Cipus* dread his fate, as the *Romans* were bred up with an utter aversion to monarchy, and do all that lay in his power to prevent the accomplishment of the prediction. From that moment he resolved never to enter *Rome*, intreated the senate to assemble without the walls, and there pressed the conscript fathers to pass a decree of perpetual banish-

ment against him. The senate admired his disinterested affection for his country, and granted him his request; but at the same time, to reward his virtue, allowed him as much ground as he could inclose in a circle in one day, with a plough drawn by two oxen, and guided by himself; and besides erected a statue of brass, representing *Cipus's* head with the two horns, and placed it over the gate of the city, at which he went out. From this monument the gate was called the *brazen gate*. This prodigy is related by *Festus*, *Valerius Maximus*, and *Ovid*; but they all look upon it as a fable, though the statue of *Cipus* was still to be seen in their time over the *brazen gate* (25).

(25) *Val. Max. l. v. c. 6. Ovid. Metam. l. xv.*

The Romans
recover Sar-
dinia.

his arrival acquainted the *Carthaginian* commander, that if his republic did not immediately withdraw her troops from *Sardinia*, and relinquish all pretensions to that island for ever, he would, in the name of the senate and people of *Rome*, declare war with *Carthage*. The *Carthaginians*, who had just put an end to the war with the mercenaries, were so terrified at this express declaration made by a consul at the head of an army, that they readily submitted, and gave up all claims to *Sardinia* for ever. But this was not enough for the consul; he obliged them to defray the charges of his armament, and the further sum of twelve hundred talents. An extortion, which contributed most of all to confirm *Hamilcar* in his hatred to the *Romans*, and to render *Hannibal* inexorable in the wars, which we shall soon see him carry on with great cruelty in *Italy*¹.

The Ligurians
defeated.

THE new consuls, *L. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, pursued the war with the *Gauls* and *Ligurians*, in which they were attended with good success, so long as the two consular armies incamped together. But the love of glory and booty having made the consular armies separate, *Fulvius*, who had entered the country of the *Gauls* bordering on the *Po*, was obliged to continue in his intrenchments, and there pass a melancholy and shameful campaign, under continual apprehensions of a surprise. *Cornelius* had better success against the *Ligurians* nearest to *Hetruria*; for in one action he killed twenty-four thousand of the enemy, and took five thousand prisoners. For this victory he was honoured on his return with a triumph².

Corfica sub-
dued.

THE new consuls, *P. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *C. Licinius Varus*, were obliged to take the field to oppose the *Gauls*, whose chiefs depending on the vast multitudes of men they had assembled, and the expectation of a strong reinforcement of their countrymen from the other side the *Alps*, demanded the restitution of *Ariminum* from the *Romans*. The consuls, not having their troops complete, referred the affair to the senate, and in the mean while proposed a truce to the *Gauls*, who readily consented to the proposal, upon the news they received that a numerous army of *Transalpine Gauls* under the conduct of *Atys* and *Galatius*, two generals, or rather kings, were in full march to join them. This army was so numerous, that it gave no small jealousy to the *Italian Gauls*, who thereupon turned their arms against those who were come to assist them, killed their two leaders, and put the whole body to flight. The enemy having thus defeated themselves, *Lentulus* with one consular army brought both the *Boii* and *Ligurians* to reason, depriving the former of a part of their territory, and taking several strong-holds from the latter. In the mean time *Varus* was preparing to pass over into the island of *Corfica*, which by the secret intrigues of the *Carthaginians*, had been induced to shake off the *Roman* yoke. The consul, not finding a fleet ready to transport his whole army, was forced to send a squadron before him under the command of that *Claudius Glycias*, who had been formerly named dictator in derision. He had since that time been honoured with several military employments, and always distinguished himself among the troops. When he saw himself at the head of part of the consular army, swelled with ambition, he thought it would be much to his honour to gain this island to the republic without bloodshed; and therefore without the consent either of the consul or senate, he made a shameful peace with the *Corficans*. But the consul on his arrival disannulled the treaty, renewed the war, and subdued the island by force of arms. As for *Claudius*, he was delivered up to the *Corficans*, whom he drew, said they, into a bloody war by a fallacious peace. In which sentence the senate had likewise the further view of preventing the reproach, which might have been cast upon the consul for having made war upon a people, who depended on the faithful execution of a treaty. The *Corficans* had more honour than to treat him with severity. They sent him back to *Rome*, where he was put to death in prison; and then his body being carried to the top of the steps, called *Scala Gemonia* (1), was dragged by an iron hook from thence to the *Tiber*, into which it was thrown³.

¹ POLYB. l. i. c. 55. CORNEL. NEP. in Hannib.

² Tab. triumph.

³ VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 3.

(1) The *Gemonia* was a place appointed either for torturing criminals, or for receiving their dead bodies after their execution. Some derive the name of *Gemonia* from one *Gemonius*, who was the first executed there; others from the *Latin* word *gemere*, to groan, because the place rung with groans and complaints of those who were put to death. It was on the hill

Aventinus, and there were several steps which led up to it; whence it had the name of *Scala Gemonia*. The dead bodies of those who died by the hand of the executioner, were dragged thither with an iron hook, and after they had been some time exposed to public view, thrown into the *Tiber* (26).

(26) *Vide Plin* l. viii. c. 40.

- HOWEVER, this execution of *Claudius* did not appease the *Corficans*, who had been amused by a treaty of peace, that *Rome* might have the better opportunity of subduing them by a war. They communicated their discontents to the *Sardinians*, who being stirred up under-hand by the *Carthaginians*, attempted to shake off the *Roman* yoke. The republic had too much penetration not to see from whence the blow came, and was less concerned at the loss of the two islands, than at the renewal of a war with a powerful republic; but the senators were all of opinion, that, if it was really necessary to come to an open rupture with *Carthage*, war could not be declared too soon. Preparations were accordingly made at *Rome*, and all over *Italy*, for beginning it with vigour. *Carthage*, alarmed at this news, sent ambassadors after ambassadors to negotiate an accommodation; but the *Romans* answered them only with reproaches and bitter words. At length she dispatched ten of her principal men for the same end, among whom was one *Hanno*, a young lord of great spirit and vivacity, who, enraged at the haughty answers of the proud republic, cried out with an air of equal pride, If you are resolved to break the treaty, reinstate us in the condition we were in before it was concluded; restore us the cities we possessed in *Sicily*. These were the price we paid for the peace, which, it was agreed, should be perpetual; otherwise you have made us pay very dear for this short truce. Equity ought to prevail over avarice. Would not that trader be thought unjust, who, after he had gone from his bargain, should keep both the money and the merchandize? This discourse filled the senators with confusion, who being either really just, or affecting to appear so, dismissed the *Carthaginian* ambassadors with the strongest assurances of peace¹.
- THE new consuls, *C. Attilius Bulbus* and *T. Manlius Torquatus*, drew lots for their provinces. The former continued in *Italy*, while the latter, by a few slight engagements, recovered *Sardinia*, and made it tributary; but without reducing it to the form of a *Roman* province. And now peace reigning every-where, the temple of *Janus* was shut for the first time since the reign of *Numa Pompilius*. But this tranquillity lasted only a few months. The consuls for the following year, *L. Posthumius Albinus* and *Sp. Carvilius*, were obliged to raise new forces to act against the *Sardinians*, *Corficans* and *Ligurians*, who had engaged, by mutual treaties, to assist each other.
- d The consul *Carvilius* was employed against the *Corficans*, whom he soon reduced. The prætor *Cornelius* made war with the *Sardinians*; but the bad air and water of *Sardinia* caused a plague in his army, and he himself was carried off by the contagion; which accident would have ruined the affairs of the republic there, had not *Carvilius* transported his legions thither from *Corfica*. Upon his arrival, the rebels ventured to face him in the open field; but the consul had all the advantage over them, which disciplined troops always have over confused multitudes. The *Sardinians* were defeated; and, by one single victory, the whole island was brought under subjection. As for the consul *Posthumius*, whose province it was to make head against the *Ligurians*, historians tell us, that he had all the success he could have wished for^m.
- e IN this consulship, the censors, observing the number of citizens to be considerably lessened, and imputing it to mens marrying only with a view to interest, and afterwards deserting their wives, and carrying on unlawful intrigues with other women, obliged all the citizens to swear, that they would not marry with any other view but that of increasing the subjects of the republic. This oath raised many scruples, and caused many ruptures between husbands and wives. Among the rest one *Carvilius Ruga*, a man of distinction, thought himself bound by his oath to divorce his wife, whom he passionately loved, because she was barren. Accordingly he put her away, and married another. This is the first instance of a divorce since the foundation of *Rome*, tho' divorces were allowed by the laws of marriage settled by the first kings. Afterwards they became scandalously frequent, as a corruption of manners prevailed in the republic. And now marriage-contracts were introduced, to secure womens portions in case of divorces. This same year a vestal, named *Tutia*, was condemned to be buried alive for an intrigue with a slave; but she prevented the execution of the sentence, by laying violent hands on herselfⁿ. In the present consulship, the poet *Navius* introduced the first regular comedy after the *Greek* manner on the *Latin* stage.
- f IN the following consulate of *M. Pomponius Matro* and *Q. Fabius Maximus*, surnamed *Verrucosus*, from a wart or wen upon his lip, the *Sardinians* and *Ligurians* rose

The Carthaginians secretly excite the Sardinians to revolt.

But pacify the Romans by an embassy.

The temple of Janus shut.

A new oath concerning marriages.

The first divorce.

¹ DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt.

^m LIV. in epit. OROS. l. iv. c. 12.

ⁿ LIV. ibid.

up in arms anew. It fell to *Fabius's* lot to make war with the latter; and he drove them out of the plain country, and obliged them to take shelter among the *Alps*. This is that *Fabius*, whom we shall soon see restoring, at the head of the *Roman* army, the affairs of his distressed country by his wise delays. He had the surname of *Maximus* from his great-grandfather *Fabius Rullus*, of whom we have made frequent mention above. In his infancy he was called *Ovicula*, or the *Little sheep*, on account of his natural sweetness of temper and docility. He was even in his earliest years remarkable for that conduct and behaviour, free from all precipitation and rashness, which afterwards rendered him so serviceable to his country. As for his colleague *Pomponius*, he sailed for *Sardinia*, where he found, that the frequent revolts of that island were owing to the intrigues of the *Carthaginians*, whose ships were continually passing from *Carthage* to *Sardinia*, and the other islands, and inspiring the people, where-ever they came, with an hatred to the *Roman* name. In order therefore to sound their sentiments, the senate sent an embassy to *Carthage*, under pretence of demanding the sums which they had stipulated to pay the *Roman* republic. The deputies were ordered to add threatenings of renewing the war, in case the *Carthaginian* ships presumed to touch at any port belonging to the *Roman* state. But the *Carthaginians*, flushed with the success of *Hamilcar* in *Spain*, being no-ways moved by these menaces, the deputies, pursuant to their instructions, presented them a caduceus, the symbol of peace, and a little javelin, the emblem of war, saying, *Take your choice*. The *Carthaginian* dictator answered, That he was ready to take which soever they should think fit to leave him. However, this haughty answer did not absolutely destroy the treaties between *Rome* and *Carthage*, but raised such mutual distrusts, as we shall soon see break out into a flame. As for *Pomponius*, he gained some advantages over the *Sardinians*, for which a triumph was granted him.

A new tribunal
instituted.

THE *Romans* at this time instituted a new tribunal of justice, at the motion of two tribunes of the people, both *Ebutii*. As the two prætors, who were often obliged to take the field, could not dispatch all civil affairs, which multiplied in proportion to the increase of the republic, it was enacted, that three able and judicious men should be chosen out of each tribe, and form a new tribunal, subordinate to the prætor. These new judges were called, for brevity's sake, *centumviri*, tho' they were a hundred and five in number, and were divided into four courts or chambers. The causes, which fell under their cognizance, were such as related to proscriptions, guardianships, last-wills, inheritances, &c. This tribunal subsisted ever after in *Rome*, and the judges, tho' in after-ages increased to the number of a hundred and eighty, still continued to be called *centumviri*.

IN the following consulship of *M. Æmilius Lepidus* and *M. Publius Malleolus*, *Flaminius*, tribune of the people, made a motion to the people, to pass a law for distributing a fruitful country, lately taken from the *Gauls*, among the poor citizens. The patricians, who had always opposed motions of this kind, united their strength and interest to hinder the passing of this law; but neither the threats of the consuls, nor the intreaties of the senate, nor the tears of old *Flaminius*, whom the patricians had gained over to their party, could prevail on the tribune to desist from pursuing his point. On the day appointed for proposing the law to the people, he mounted the rostra, and began to harangue the multitude with great warmth; but while he was yet speaking, his father appeared, ascended the rostra, and taking the hot-headed tribune by the arm, ordered him to follow him home. *Flaminius*, without pleading either his dignity, or the actual exercise of his office, obeyed his father, and left the affair he was so bent upon, when it was almost finished; and, what is most extraordinary, not a murmur was heard in the whole assembly, which immediately dispersed. Afterwards indeed the affair took another turn; for the tribune *Carvilius* revived it, and succeeded: but the distribution of lands among the *Romans*, which had long belonged to the *Gauls*, so provoked that nation, that they took up arms, and began a war, which endangered *Rome* itself, as we shall see anon.

Corfica and
Sardinia made
a Roman province.

IN the following year the new consuls, *M. Pomponius Matro* and *C. Papirius Mæso*, finished the conquest of *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, which two islands they reduced to the form of a *Roman* province, upon the same foot as *Sicily*. *Pomponius* continued in the new province, which consisted of both the islands, all the next year, and governed it in quality of prætor. *Papirius*, who had subdued *Corfica*, returned to *Rome*, where

• Tab. triumph. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 18. • AUL. GEL. l. xvi. c. 10. POMP. de orig. juris. PLIN. jun. l. v. epist. Cic. l. i. de orat. • VAL. MAX. l. v. c. 4.

- a he found that a dictator had been created to hold the comitia for electing new consuls. He demanded a triumph; but not having interest enough to obtain it, he took a method intirely new to do himself justice. He put himself at the head of his victorious army, and marched to the temple of *Jupiter Latiaris*, on the hill of *Alba*, with all the pomp that attended triumphant victors at *Rome*. He made no other alteration in the ceremony, but that of wearing a crown of myrtle instead of a crown of laurel, and this on account of his having defeated the *Coriscans* in a place where there was a grove of myrtles. The example of *Papirius* was afterwards followed by a great many generals, to whom the senate refused triumphs.
- THE next year, when *M. Æmilius Barbula* and *M. Junius Pera* were consuls, a new war sprung up in a kingdom out of *Italy*. *Illyricum*, properly so called, which bordered upon *Macedon* and *Epirus*, was at this time governed by a woman, named *Teuta*, the widow of king *Agron*, and guardian to her son *Pinaus*, who was under age. The success of her late husband against the *Ætolians* had flushed her to such a degree, that instead of settling the affairs of her ward in peace, she commanded her subjects to cruize along the coast, seize all the ships they met, take what places they could, and spare no nation. Her pirates had, pursuant to her orders, taken and plundered many ships belonging to the *Roman* merchants; and her troops were then besieging the island of *Issa* in the *Adriatic*, tho' the inhabitants had put themselves under the protection of the republic. Upon the complaints therefore of the *Italian* merchants, and to protect the people of *Issa*, the senate sent two ambassadors to the *Illyrian* queen, *Lucius* and *Caius Coruncanius*, to demand of her, that she would restrain her subjects from infesting the seas with piracies. She answered them haughtily, That she could only promise, that her subjects should not for the future attack the *Romans* in her name, and by public authority; but as for any thing more, it is not customary with us, said she, to lay restraints on our subjects, nor will we forbid them to reap those advantages from the sea, which it offers them. Your customs then, replied the youngest of the ambassadors, are very different from ours. At *Rome* we make public examples of those subjects who injure others, whether at home or abroad. *Teuta*, we can, by our arms, force you to reform the abuses of your bad government.
- d These unseasonable threatenings provoked *Teuta*, who was naturally a proud and imperious woman, to such a degree, that, without regard to the right of nations, she caused the ambassadors to be murdered on their return home. When so notorious an infraction of the law of nations was known at *Rome*, the people demanded vengeance; and the senate, having first honoured the manes of the ambassadors, by erecting, as was usual in such cases, statues three foot high to their memory, ordered a fleet to be equipped, and troops raised, with all possible expedition. But now *Teuta*, reflecting on the enormity of her proceedings, sent an embassy to *Rome*, assuring the senate, that she had no hand in the murder of the ambassadors, and offering to deliver up to the republic those who had committed that barbarous assassination. The *Romans*, being at that time threatened with a war from the *Gauls*, were ready to accept this satisfaction; but in the mean time the *Illyrian* fleet having gained some advantage over that of the *Achæans*, and taken the island of *Corcyra* near *Epirus*, this success made *Teuta* believe herself invincible, and forget the promise she had made to the *Romans*; nay, she sent her fleet to seize on the island of *Issa*, which the *Romans* had taken under their protection. Hereupon the consuls for the new year, *P. Posthumius Albinus* and *Cn. Fulvius Centumalus*, embarked for *Illyricum*, *Fulvius* having the command of the fleet, which consisted of a hundred gallies, and *Posthumius* of the land forces, which amounted to twenty thousand foot, besides a small body of horse. *Fulvius* appeared with his fleet before *Corcyra* in the *Adriatic*, and was put in possession both of the island and city by *Demetrius* of *Pharos*, governor of the place for queen *Teuta*. Nor was this all; *Demetrius* found means to make the inhabitants of *Apollonia* drive out the *Illyrian* garison, and admit into their city the *Roman* troops. As *Apollonia* was one of the keys of *Illyricum* on the side of *Macedon*, the consuls, who had acted hitherto jointly, no sooner saw themselves in possession of it, than they separated, the fleet cruizing along the coast, and the army penetrating into the heart of the queen's dominions. The *Andyæans*, *Partbini* and *Atintanes* voluntarily submitted to *Posthumius*, being induced, by the persuasions of *Demetrius*, to shake off the *Illyrian* yoke. The consul, being now in possession of most of the inland towns, returned to the coast, where, with the assistance of the fleet, he took many strong holds, among which was *Nutria*, a place of great strength, and defended by a numerous

Triumphal
processions on
the hill of Alba.

The occasion of
the war with
the Illyrians.

rous garison; so that it made a vigorous defence, the *Romans* having lost before it a great many private men, several legionary tribunes, and one quæstor. However, this loss was repaired by the taking of forty *Illyrian* vessels, which were returning home laden with booty. At length the *Roman* fleet appeared before *Issa*, which, by *Teuta's* orders, was still closely besieged, notwithstanding the losses she had sustained. However, upon the approach of the *Roman* fleet, the *Illyrians* dispersed; but the *Pharrians*, who served among them, followed the example of their countryman *Demetrius*, and joined the *Romans*, to whom the *Issani* readily submitted.

The conditions
of peace be-
tween the Ro-
mans and Illy-
rians.

In the mean time *Sp. Corvilius* and *Q. Fabius Maximus* being raised to the consulate a second time, *Posthumius* was recalled from *Illyricum*, and refused a triumph for having been too prodigal of the *Roman* blood at the siege of *Nutria*. His colleague *Fulvius* was appointed to command the land forces in his room, in quality of proconsul. Hereupon *Teuta*, who had founded great hopes on the change of the consuls, retired to one of her strong holds, called *Rhizon*, and from thence early in the spring sent an embassy to *Rome*. The senate refused to treat with her; but granted the young king a peace upon the following conditions: 1. That he should pay an annual tribute to the republic. 2. That he should surrender part of his dominions to the *Romans*. 3. That he should never suffer above three of his ships of war at a time to sail beyond *Lyssus*, a town on the confines of *Macedon* and *Illyricum*. The places he yielded to the *Romans* in virtue of this treaty, were the islands of *Corcyra*, *Issa* and *Pharos*, the city of *Dyrrachium*, and the country of the *Atintanes*. Soon after *Teuta*, either out of shame, or compelled by a secret article of the treaty, abdicated the regency, and *Demetrius* succeeded her. The proconsul *Fulvius*, having thus put an end to the *Illyrian* war, dispatched ambassadors to the *Ætolians* and *Acæans*, acquainting them with the true motives of their coming into *Illyricum*, of the success of their arms, and the articles of the treaty, which were publicly read in the dyets of these two states. The ambassadors were received with great respect by the *Greeks*, who were overjoyed to see themselves delivered from the piracies of the *Illyrians*. At the same time the senate sent ambassadors to *Athens* and *Corinth*, to acquaint those republics with the advantages they had gained over the *Illyrians*, and the tranquillity they had procured for all the maritime cities, by reducing those pirates. The *Athenians* shewed their gratitude, by admitting the *Romans* to partake of the mysteries of *Eleusis*, of which we have spoke in the history of *Greece*; and the *Corinthians* ever after permitted the *Romans* to be present at the *Isthmian* games. Thus the *Romans* became first known to the people of *Greece*. The proconsul, on his return to *Rome*, was decreed a triumph, which he enjoyed on the tenth of the calends of the month *Quintilis*.

A new treaty
with the Car-
thaginians.

BEFORE this foreign war was ended, the *Gauls* began to be in motion in *Italy*, and at the same time the republic was greatly alarmed at the incredible progress the *Carthaginians* made in *Spain*. The senate therefore thought it necessary, by some means or other, to put a stop to their increase of dominion. To this end they sent a deputation to *Carthage*, and at the same time to *Asdrubal*, who had succeeded *Hamilcar* in the command of the *Carthaginian* forces in *Spain*. *Carthage*, unwilling to give her rival umbrage, agreed to the two following articles: 1. That she should not extend her conquests beyond the river *Iberus*; and, 2. that *Saguntum*, a city between the *Iberus* and that part of *Spain* which belonged to the *Carthaginians*, should remain free.

Two Gauls and
two Greeks bur-
ied alive at
Rome.

THE new consuls, *P. Valerius Flaccus* and *M. Atilius Regulus*, continued in a manner inactive all their year, tho' the *Gauls* were raising troops, and making extraordinary preparations for war. *Rome* seemed to be afraid to enter the lists with so warlike a nation. At this time a prophecy, pretended to be found in the *Sibylline* books, was spread about *Rome*, viz. that the *Gauls* and *Greeks* should one day make themselves masters of it. The new consuls therefore, *M. Valerius Messala* and *L. Apustius Fullo*, having consulted the pontifices, to appease the superstitious populace, caused an edict to be published by the decemviri, who had the care of the *Sibylline* books, commanding two *Greeks*, a man and a woman, and two *Gauls*, likewise a man and a woman, to be buried alive in the ox-market. By this they persuaded the credulous multitude, that the prophecy was fulfilled, and that the *Gauls* and *Greeks* had taken possession of *Rome*. The difficulties, which superstition had raised, being

* POLYB. l. ii. c. 11. DIONOR. SICUL. l. ii. c. 12. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 12.

* POLYB. l. ii. c. 13.

* Tab.

triumph. * POLYB. l. ii. c. 13. APPIAN. in Hisp.

* LIV. epit. l. xx.

GROS. l. iv. c. 13.

sur-

- a surmounted by this cruel piece of policy, *Rome* made it her whole business to raise divisions among the *Gauls*, and found means to gain over to her party the *Cænamani* and *Veneti*, two considerable nations among them; but this loss the *Gauls* repaired with the new levies they made beyond the *Alps*, where, by their ambassadors, they engaged the *Gæsatae* to join them. The *Gæsatae*, according to *Polybius*, were a very warlike people, and ready to fight for any nation that would pay them; whence they had the name of *Gæsatae*, that is, *birdlings*. Others derive this name from a sort of weapon, which they used, and in their language called *Gæsum*. The consuls, *Valerius* and *Apustius*, spent the greater part of the year in raising troops for their successors; and indeed *Rome* had never before had so numerous an army on foot. All the
- b nations of *Italy*, subject to the republic, were exhausted, and none excused from sending their quotas. We are told by a credible historian*, that the number of forces *Rome* raised on this occasion, amounted in all to eight hundred thousand men. Of this incredible multitude two hundred forty-eight thousand foot, and twenty-six thousand six hundred horse, were *Romans* or *Campanians*. Nevertheless the *Gauls*, with only fifty thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse, began hostilities, forced themselves a passage through *Hebruria*, and took their rout towards *Rome*.
- In the mean time the republic raised *L. Æmilius Papus* and *C. Atilius Regulus* to the consulship. The latter was sent into *Sardinia*, to quiet some commotions there, while his colleague took upon him the conduct of the war with the *Gauls*, who were now joined by the *Gæsatae* from the other side the *Alps*, to the number of above two hundred thousand men, commanded by two kings, *Concolitanus* and *Aneroestus*. The consul *Æmilius*, not knowing what rout the *Gæsatae* would take, incamped near *Ariminum*, in order to prevent them from entering the *Roman* lands by the coasts of the *Adriatic* sea. At the same time a prætor, whose name is not mentioned in history, was sent into *Hebruria* with a body of fifty thousand foot, and four thousand horse. In the mean time the *Gæsatae*, having left the coast of the *Adriatic* to avoid *Æmilius's* army, crossed *Insubria*, and joined the troops of their nation in *Hebruria*; whence this terrible army marched strait to *Rome*. They found means to bring the prætor to a battle, in which they killed six thousand of his men, and obliged the rest to fly
- d in confusion to a neighbouring hill, where they entrenched themselves; but were the next day invested by the *Gauls*, who attacked their entrenchments with a fury not to be expressed. The *Romans*, in this distress, defended themselves with great resolution, hoping that fortune, which had espoused their cause, would, by some means or other, rescue them out of the hands of so cruel an enemy; and accordingly an unexpected accident delivered them from death or slavery. The consul *Æmilius* being informed, that the *Gauls* were in full march to *Rome*, had left his camp at *Ariminum*, in order to cover the city. As he drew near *Fasula*, he received an account of the advantage the *Gauls* had gained over the prætor's army, and of the deplorable situation to which he was reduced. Upon this advice he did not deliberate a moment, but immediately ordered the legions to advance in good order to the enemy's camp, while he himself led the cavalry to the foot of the hill, which the *Gaulish* cavalry kept closely invested. The *Gauls* were so alarmed at the unexpected arrival of the consular army, that they decamped in great confusion, in order to return home through *Insubria*, and secure the booty and wealth which they had amassed. In their march they kept along the shore of the *Hebrurian* sea; and *Æmilius*, strengthening his army with the remains of the prætor's troops, followed them close, with a design rather to harass than engage them; but it luckily happened, that *Atilius* having put a speedy end to the troubles of *Sardinia*, had, on his return home, landed his army at *Pisa*, and was now marching along the shore towards *Rome*, not expecting to find an enemy in his way. He was overjoyed when he learned by
- f his scouts the situation of affairs; and, in order to intercept the *Gauls*, he drew up his troops near *Telamon*, a little port in *Hebruria*, making as wide a front as he could. With his cavalry he posted himself on an eminence, over which the enemy must necessarily pass. The *Gauls* imagining, that this body of *Roman* horse was a detachment from *Æmilius's* army, sent some squadrons of their horse to attack it. As for *Æmilius*, he knew not that his colleague was so near; he had only learned, that he had left *Sardinia*, and was arrived at *Pisa*; but as soon as he perceived at a distance the two parties engaged, he immediately concluded that *Atilius* was attacking the

A prodigious
army raised
against the
Gauls.

* POLYB. l. ii. c. 22.

The consul Attilius killed by the Gauls.

enemy in front, and detached some squadrons to his relief. Then the attack was renewed with more vigour than ever. The consul *Attilius*, who distinguished himself in a very eminent manner, was killed; and his head, stuck on the top of a lance, was carried through all the files of the enemy's army; but the death of this brave man proved no advantage to them. One of his lieutenants took his place, and the battle was continued with the same ardor and resolution. While the *Gaulish* cavalry was engaged with that of the *Romans* on the top of the hill, their infantry had time to draw up in the plain. As they were to oppose two consular armies, one of which was to attack them in front, and the other in the rear, they disposed their troops so, that one part of them faced the consul *Æmilius*, and the other the army which *Attilius* had commanded. In the first line, over-against *Æmilius*, were placed the *Gasata*, who were lately come into *Italy*, and behind them the *Insubres*. At the head of the other body were the *Taurini*, and behind them the several nations of the *Gauls*, who dwelt on both sides the *Po*. This second army, if we may so call it, faced the legions, which *Attilius* had brought from *Sardinia*, and turned their backs to the other. By this disposition the *Gauls* supported each other, and could neither fly nor retreat. Before the action, the *Gasata*, observing that the plain, on which they were going to engage, was covered with brambles and bushes, and fearing they might, by entangling their clothes, prevent them from using their arms with freedom, stripped themselves naked, and in that manner advanced against the *Romans*, who were greatly surprized at that sight. The attack began with great shouts, while the air at the same time rung with an infinite number of horns and trumpets, which were much used by the *Gauls*. The *Romans*, who engaged the *Gasata*, kept at a distance from them, and made a dreadful slaughter with the showers of darts they discharged upon them. Naked as they were, they kept their ground, till the greater part of those, who fought in the first file, were either killed or wounded. Then the rest began to retire, which occasioned some confusion, and encouraged the legionaries to advance and attack them sword in hand. The *Gauls* behaved with great resolution; and tho' their arms were far inferior to those of the *Romans*, yet they stood the shock, till the *Roman* cavalry, which had been engaged on the hill, came down full speed, and attacked them in flank. Then the defeat of the *Gauls* was general; forty thousand of them were killed on the spot, and above ten thousand taken prisoners, with *Concolitanus* one of their kings. *Aneroestus*, the other king, and the most experienced commander among the *Gauls*, escaped to a neighbouring village, where he laid violent hands on himself, as did most of the officers, who attended him.

The Gauls receive a great overthrow.

AFTER this victory, *Æmilius*, now sole commander of the two armies, marched along the borders of *Æturia*, and entering the territories of the *Boii*, gave up that fruitful country to be plundered by his soldiers. When they were loaded with booty, he began his march to *Rome*. As he passed through *Æturia*, he restored to the owners all the booty the *Gauls* had taken from them. He entered *Rome* in triumph on the third of the nones of *Marth*; and as his victory was one of the most important the republic had ever gained, his triumphal procession was one of the most pompous and magnificent. The triumphant victors generally stripped the captives of their military ornaments; but the *Gauls* were suffered to appear in their belts, in derision of the vow they had made not to quit them till they were upon the capitol; and there they were taken from them, amidst the hisses of all the people.

HOWEVER, this terrible defeat did not make the *Gauls* submit. The republic therefore cast her eyes on two commanders of great experience, who had been both consuls before, in hopes they would finish this important war. These were *T. Manlius Torquatus* and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*; but they performed nothing worth mentioning. Their marches being retarded with violent rains, they could not pass the *Po*, as they designed; besides, a plague broke out in their army, which not only kept them in a state of inaction, but prevented them from returning to *Rome* at the usual time; so that it was necessary to create a dictator, who was the famous *Cæcilius Metellus*, to hold the comitia in their absence for a new election of consuls. *C. Flaminius Nepos* and *P. Furius Philo* were chosen. These were the first *Roman* generals who passed the *Po*; but they were so terrified at the very sight of the *Insubres*, whose country they intended to invade, that they entered into a treaty with them, and repassing the *Po*, took refuge among their faithful allies the *Canomani*. Having rambled about

† POLYB. l. xi. c. 29—32. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xxv. FLOR. l. i. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 20.

* FLOR. l. i.

those

- a those unknown regions for some time, they resolved to make another attempt upon *Insubria*; but the *Romans* being at this time much frightened with prodigies, the augurs declared, that there must have been some defect in the election of the consuls. Whereupon the senate immediately dispatched a courier with a letter, commanding them to return to *Rome*, and abdicate. The consuls, who were then in sight of the enemy, thinking a retreat through so many nations, whose fidelity was dubious, might be attended with dangerous consequences, resolved not to open the letter till after the battle. The consul *Flaminius* seems to have taken the whole command upon himself on the day of the battle; for no historian makes mention of his colleague *Furius* in describing it. As the *Romans* were far inferior to the enemy in numbers, the consul
- b designed at first to reinforce his army with those *Gauls*, who were in amity with the *Roman* people, and sent orders to them to come and join him; but, upon their arrival, he began to consider, that it was a dangerous thing to trust those auxiliaries, who were a wavering people, and might, in the heat of the action, out of compassion for their countrymen, desert the *Romans*, and even turn their arms against them. Upon this consideration, he resolved not to trust them in an affair of so great importance, and therefore ordered them to pass the river *Addua*; which they no sooner did, than he caused the bridge to be broken down, and, by that means, as the river was not fordable, prevented them from siding with the enemy, since he could not resolve to trust them as friends. This was the only prudent step the consul took, either
- c before or in the time of the action; for he drew up his men, not after the *Roman* manner, but so close, that the whole army seemed to be one phalanx; and besides, he posted the last line so near the *Addua*, that, if they had been pressed ever so little, they would have been forced into the river; but the skill and management of the legionary tribunes made amends for the consul's imprudent conduct. These had observed, in their former battles with the *Gauls*, that they made but one brisk attack, after which their fire abated; and that their swords were only fit for cutting, and easily bent; so that, if they had not time to set them straight again with their foot on the ground, after a cut or two, they became quite useless. The tribunes therefore took two precautions, which determined the fate of the day in their favour. In the
- d first place, they distributed among the soldiers of the first line the javelins used by the *Triarii*, which were a kind of halberts, ordering them to present the points of their javelins to the enemy, and by that means keep them at such a distance, as to prevent them from making use of their swords. In the second place, the tribunes commanded their men to throw down the javelins, as soon as the first fire of the enemy was spent, and closing with them sword in hand, stab them in the throat and breast. To these orders the *Romans* owed the victory; for the *Gauls* having, in the beginning of the attack, blunted their swords against the long javelins of the *Romans*, the latter no sooner perceived that their ardor began to cool, than they shortened their swords, and closing with the enemy so as to leave them no room to lift up their arms, stabbed
- e them, as they had been ordered, without running any danger themselves, the swords of the *Gauls* having no point. Nine thousand of the enemy were killed upon the spot, and seventeen thousand taken prisoners. Thus, in spite of all the bad prognostics, and the orders of the superstitious senate, a complete victory was gained, tho' it was rather owing to the conduct of the subalterns, than to the skill or prudence of the general.

The Insubrians
defeated.

- f AFTER the action, the consuls opened the packet, when *Furius*, who perhaps had declined the command during the action, out of respect to the senate, was for immediately obeying the order; but *Flaminius*, thinking a successful act of disobedience more honourable than a blind and timorous submission, was for pursuing the advantages of the victory; which he did accordingly, enriching his soldiers with booty, while his colleague continued inactive, waiting to join him, when he should return from his incursions into *Insubria*. At length *Flaminius* rejoined his colleague, and they returned to *Rome* together, where they met with a very cold reception both from the senate and people; but the troops of *Flaminius*, whom he had enriched with the spoils of the enemy, prevailed upon the people to grant both the consuls a triumph, since the victory had been gained under the auspices of both. However, the senate obliged them to abdicate immediately after it; so that the republic fell into an inter-regnum, when the centuries chose *M. Claudius Marcellus*, one of the greatest men *Rome* ever

* POLYB. l. xi. c. 31, 32. OROS. l. iv. c. 13. PLUT. in Marcel. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 20.

produced, and *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, to the consulate. They had scarce entered upon their office, when the *Insubres* sent ambassadors to *Rome*, to beg a peace upon any terms; but the senate having, at the instigation of their new consuls, dismissed their deputies with a refusal, they resolved to make their lost effort; and accordingly took into their pay thirty thousand *Gasatae*, who passing the *Alps*, entered *Italy*, under the command of their king *Viridomarus*. Early in the spring the consuls passed the *Po*, and opened the campaign with the siege of *Acerra*, a place near that river. Hereupon the *Gauls*, who were now ninety thousand strong, in order to make a diversion, and oblige the *Romans* to raise the siege they had undertaken, passed the *Po*, and entering the *Roman* territories, invested *Calcidium*, a city placed by *Plutarch* in *Cisalpine Gaul*, but by *Livy* in *Liguria Montana*. Upon the news of this motion of the enemy, *Marcellus*, with two thirds of the cavalry, and about six hundred of the light-armed infantry, hastened to the relief of the place. The *Gauls*, receiving intelligence of his approach, raised the siege, and marched in order of battle to meet him. *Marcellus* drew up his small army with great skill, and advanced leisurely in order of battle against the enemy. When the two armies drew near each other, *Viridomarus* advanced before his troops, and challenged the *Roman* general to a single combat. *Marcellus* readily accepted the challenge; so that both parties, leaving the field free for the champions, retired to wait for the issue of the combat. *Marcellus*, rushing upon the enemy full speed, pierced his breast-plate with his lance, and gave him a deep wound. Then spurring his horse with great violence against that of his adversary, he made him recoil, rear, and throw his rider, whom he soon dispatched with repeated blows. The *Gasatae* being disheartened by the death of their leader, the *Romans* charged them with great fury, and put them to flight. Thus a handful of *Romans* defeated a numerous army of *Gauls*, and obliged them to shelter themselves in the woods and forests of their own country ^b.

Marcellus kills the king of the Gasatae in single combat.

DURING the absence of *Marcellus*, *Acerra* had been taken by his colleague, who from thence had marched to invest *Mediolanum*, the largest, richest and most populous city of *Insubria*; but he was himself more closely besieged by the *Gauls*, than *Mediolanum* was by him. But, upon the arrival of *Marcellus*, the scene changed; the *Gasatae* retired with precipitation, repassed the *Alps*, and left the inhabitants of *Mediolanum* to the mercy of the conquerors. The city immediately surrendered at discretion, as did also *Comum*, another city of great importance. Thus all *Italy*, from the *Alps* to the *Ionian* sea, became intirely *Roman*. *Insubria* and *Liguria* were now made one province, and called *Cisalpine Gaul*, which was governed by a prætor sent annually from *Rome*. In order to keep the conquered *Gauls* from revolting, two *Roman* colonies were settled at *Cremona* and *Placentia*, on the opposite banks of the *Po* ^c.

Insubria and Liguria made a Roman province.

Marcellus was decreed at *Rome* an extraordinary triumph, for having conquered, as the decree was worded, the *Insubres* and the *Germans* ^d. And this is the first time we find the *Germans* mentioned in the history of *Rome*. *Polybius* indeed places the *Gasatae* on the banks of the *Rhone*; but other writers tell us, that they inhabited the countries bordering on the *Rhine*. *Marcellus*, in his triumphal procession, carried on his shoulders the rich armour and spoils of *Viridomarus*, and dedicated the third and last *opima spolia* to *Jupiter Feretrius*, single combats between generals growing out of use after this time. Part of the rich spoils taken on this occasion was sent to good king *Hiero*, who was yet living, and a gold cup made out of them to the temple of *Apollo* at *Delpbos*. As for *Cornelius*, he did not receive the honours of a triumph, but was continued in the new province in quality of proconsul to regulate affairs there.

The third opima spolia.

Istria conquered.

THE new consuls, *M. Minucius Rufus* and *P. Cornelius Scipio Asina*, were ordered to make war upon the *Istrians* for having taken some *Roman* ships. All *Istria* was reduced in one year's time, tho' some writers tell us, that the reduction of it cost the conquerors a great deal of blood ^e.

Asdrubal succeeded by Hannibal.

DURING the present consulate, news was brought to *Rome* of the death of *Asdrubal* in *Spain*; which gave the *Romans* great concern, because he had been ever faithful to his treaties, and the republic thought she had much more to fear from the bold and enterprising genius of young *Hannibal*, who was appointed to succeed him, though at that time not above twenty-six years of age. And indeed the first expedition of this young warrior confirmed the *Romans* in their fears. In his first campaign he made war

^b PLUT. in Marcell. POLYB. l. xi. c. 34. c. 13. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 21. LIV. epit. l. xx.

^c PLUT. ibid.

^d Tab. triumph.

^e OROS. l. iv.

a upon the *Olcades*, a people bordering on the *Iberus*, and gave reason to believe, that he would soon pass that river, contrary to the treaty. *Albæa*, and several other cities in that neighbourhood, submitted to him; however, as *Rome* had yet no reason to declare herself his enemy, she turned her arms another way. *Demetrius* of *Pharos*, on whom the republic had heaped many favours, seeing the government of *Illyricum* lodged in his hands, and the *Romans* engaged in a troublesome war with the *Gauls*, had despised their orders; and acting not as regent, but as king of *Illyricum*, had obliged the *Atintanos* to renounce their alliance with *Rome*, and come into his measures; nay, he even ventured, contrary to the treaty, to send fifty ships of war beyond the *Lyffes*, to pillage the *Cyclades*. Complaints being brought to *Rome* from all parts, the new consuls, *L. Velurius Philo* and *C. Lutatius*, would have immediately set sail for *Illyricum*, if they had not been obliged to abdicate, upon some defect found in their election. They were succeeded by *M. Æmilius Lepidus* and *M. Valerius Lavinius*; but the year being too far advanced to begin the expedition, it was postponed to the next consulship. This year ended with a census, by which the number of *Roman* citizens fit to bear arms appeared to be two hundred seventy thousand two hundred and thirteen. At the time of the census, all the *libertini* or freed-men, who lived dispersed among all the tribes, and occasioned great disturbances in the city, were confined to four tribes, viz. the *Esquilina*, the *Palatina*, the *Suburrana*, and the *Collina* ^f.

b AND now both consuls, *M. Livius Salinator* and *L. Æmilius Paulus*, imbarqued for *Illyricum*, and opened the campaign with the siege of *Dimalum*, a city of importance in that country, which *Demetrius* had fortified with so many works, that it was deemed impregnable. However, the *Romans*, by surprising efforts, took this formidable bulwark, by which the regent pretended to screen himself from the vengeance of *Rome*, in the space of seven days. Their next attempt was upon *Pharos*, an island in the *Adriatic* sea, and the birth-place of *Demetrius*. Here he had assembled the flower of his troops, looking upon this island and city as his last refuge. As the *Roman* fleet had two consular armies on board, one was landed in the night, with orders to conceal themselves in the forests, and behind the rocks, till the signal was given. Then the fleet appeared off *Pharos* in open day, as it were to land some forces. Hereupon *Demetrius* marched out of the town at the head of his troops, to prevent the descent; and then the legionaries, leaving their ambush, marched silently, and seized an eminence between the city and the port. *Demetrius* endeavoured to dislodge them; but, in the mean time, the *Romans* on board the squadron having made their descent, the *Illyrians* were invested on all sides, and soon dispersed. *Demetrius* made his escape to *Macedon* on board a vessel he had kept ready for that purpose. The city of *Pharos* was taken, plundered and razed; so that *Rome* was now the second time mistress of *Illyricum*, which however she did not reduce to the form of a province, having some compassion for the young king *Pinaus*, who had been brought into these troubles merely by the fault of his guardians ^g. The consuls, on their return to *Rome*, were accused before the tribes of having applied to their own use great part of the spoils taken from the enemy, and of distributing the rest partially among the soldiers. *Æmilius* indeed was acquitted; but his colleague *Salinator* was condemned by all the tribes, except the tribe *Mæcia*; an affront which he could not brook, and therefore appeared no more in public, but retired to a house he had in the country, and there led a solitary life, till the calamities of his country brought him upon the stage again. When he was afterwards censor, he deprived all the tribes, except the tribe *Mæcia*, of the right of suffrage, and all the privileges of *Roman* citizens. To such a height did he carry his resentment ^h. In this consulship, one *Archagathus* of *Peloponnesus* introduced the art of surgery into *Rome*. Till his time every one had their family receipts, as *Pliny* calls them ⁱ, conveyed down to him by tradition; but the *Peloponnesian* cured all sorts of wounds in a regular way; on which account he was honoured with the right of citizenship, and had a house built for him at the expence of the public; but as he used to make large incisions in order to cure wounds with more certainty, the *Romans* gave him the name of *Butcher*, which soon brought his profession into disrepute ^k.

An army sent against Demetrius of Pharos.

Illyricum reduced a second time.

The art of surgery introduced at Rome.

^f FLOU. in epit. Liv. l. xx. l. iv. c. 1. Liv. l. xxix. c. 37.

^g ZONAR. l. viii. c. 20. ⁱ PLIN. l. xxix. c. 1.

^h Auth. vit. vir. illust. FRONT. strat. ^k Idem ibid.

Hannibal be-
sieves Sagun-
tum.

oppose his progress with an army of a hundred thousand men; but that brave com-
mander had defeated them by his superior skill in war, and obliged them to submit
to the yoke. Elated with this success, he advanced, at the head of his army, into
the territory of *Saguntum*, and, contrary to the late treaty between *Rome* and *Car-*
thage, laid siege to that city. Hereupon the *Roman* senate dispatched two embassa-
dors, *P. Valerius Flaccus* and *Q. Bebius Tanphilus*, to *Hannibal*, with orders to pro-
ceed to *Carthage*, in case the *Carthaginian* general refused to comply with their request.
They were scarce landed, when *Hannibal*, who was carrying on the siege with great
vigour, sent them word, that he had something else to do than to give audience to
embassadors; however, he admitted them at last, and, in answer to their remon-
strances, told them, that the *Saguntines* had drawn their misfortunes on themselves,
by committing hostilities against the allies of *Carthage*; and at the same time desired
the deputies, if they had any complaints to make of him, to carry them to the senate
of *Carthage*. However, the artful *Carthaginian* immediately dispatched to *Carthage*
some friends, in whom he could confide, to give the senate favourable prepossessions
with relation to his enterprize upon *Saguntum*. He then returned to the attack of
that city, which he had interrupted for some days, in order to refresh his troops.
The *Saguntines* defended themselves for the space of six months with surprising bravery;
and when they could hold out no longer, they first burnt all their richest effects, and
then shutting themselves up in their houses, set fire to them, and perished with their
wives and children in the flames ¹.

Roman em-
bassadors sent
to *Carthage*.

IN the mean the *Roman* ambassadors arriving at *Carthage*, found the senate there
divided into two factions; the *Barcan*, of which *Hamilcar Barca*, the father of *Han-*
nibal, had been the head, and that of *Hanno*, which consisted of the oldest senators,
and wisest men in the republic. The ambassadors, after having complained to the
senate of *Hannibal's* haughtiness and unjust violences, demanded, that he should be
delivered up to the *Romans*, to be punished according to his deserts; and at the same
time declared, that *Rome* would look on the refusal of so just a demand, as a public
approbation of the infraction of the treaty, and the destruction of *Saguntum*. This
demand had the air of authority, which was very shocking, especially in times of
prosperity. It seemed both cruel and shameful for the *Carthaginians* to deliver up
to his implacable enemies a young conqueror, who was the glory and hopes of his
nation. However, *Hanno*, in a warm speech, pressed the senate to give the *Romans*
the satisfaction they required; but the *Barcan* faction opposed this motion, and,
being more numerous, prevailed. A commissioner, expert in negotiations, was
appointed to discuss the affair with the *Roman* ambassadors, and to answer their com-
plaints; but, after several conferences, in which the *African* negotiator used all the
chicanery and evasions possible to colour the proceedings of *Hannibal*, the ambassadors
renewed their demand before the senate, and, to cut off endless disputes, the chief
of the ambassadors, having made two folds in his robe, said, addressing himself to the
senate, *On one side is peace, on the other war; chuse which you please*. The president
of the assembly answered, *We will chuse neither; give us which you please*. Take war
then, replied the ambassador. At which words the *Barcan* faction cried out with
joy, *War, war*; a fatal declaration, which brought both nations to the brink of ruin.
If we consider only the last hostilities committed by *Hannibal*, his republic was cer-
tainly in the wrong; for they were a manifest infraction of the treaty with *Asdrubal*:
but, if we trace the matter higher, we shall find, that the *Carthaginians* were not to
blame, the *Romans* having obliged them, by their haughty behaviour, their repeated
extortions, and their unjust invasions of *Corfica* and *Sardinia*, to take up arms in their
own defence.

War declared
between Rome
and *Carthage*.
Year of the
flood 2785.
Before Christ
214.
Of Rome 534

¹ Liv. l. xxi. c. 7.

C H A P. VI.

The history of Rome, from the beginning to the end of the second Punic war.

- a** **T**HE new consuls, *P. Cornelius Scipio* and *Tib. Sempronius Longus*, had scarce entered upon their office, when the ambassadors sent first to *Hannibal*, and then to *Carthage*, returned to *Rome*. The account they gave of their embassy, and the news of the destruction of *Saguntum*, left the senate no room to deliberate about war or peace. The former was now unavoidable, and even declared by their ambassadors, pursuant to the instructions they had received before they left *Rome*. The consuls were therefore ordered to draw lots for their respective provinces. *Africa* fell to *Sempronius*, and *Spain* to *Cornelius Scipio*. The former was directed to pass over into *Sicily*, assemble all the troops in that island, and sail from thence to *Africa*, and begin hostilities there. *Cornelius*, on the other hand, was commanded to go into *Spain*, and use all possible means to prevent *Hannibal* from entering *Italy*. Extraordinary levies were made all over *Italy*. Six legions were raised, amounting to twenty-four thousand foot, and eighteen hundred horse; and among the several nations in *Italy* subject to the republic, four thousand horse more, and forty-four thousand foot. As for the fleet, *Rome* equipped two hundred and twenty quinqueremes, and twenty other light vessels. Two legions, consisting each of four thousand foot, and three hundred horse, with fourteen thousand foot, and one thousand horse of the allies, were put under the command of *Cornelius Scipio*, who was to transport them on board a fleet of sixty quinqueremes to *Transalpine Gaul*. Two legions, with fourteen thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse of the allies were left in *Italy*, under the command of the prætor *L. Manlius*, to keep *Cisalpine Gaul* in awe. As for the consul *Sempronius*, who was designed for *Africa*, his army consisted of two legions, sixteen thousand foot of the allies, and eighteen hundred horse. These troops were put on board a fleet of a hundred and sixty galleys, and twenty light vessels. Before the arrival of *Sempronius* in *Sicily*, the *Carthaginians* had sent out a squadron of twenty sail to plunder the coasts of *Italy*; but these ships being dispersed by a storm, king *Hiero*, who happened to be then at *Messana* with his fleet, had detached part of it, and taken some of them. The prisoners informed him, that *Carthage* had equipped another squadron of thirty-five galleys, with a design to surprize *Lilybæum*. This intelligence the king immediately communicated to *Æmilius* prætor of *Sicily*, who, without loss of time, sailed with his small squadron to join the *Syracusan* fleet, in order to defend the threatened city. The *Carthaginians* finding, upon their arrival, both fleets riding at anchor before the mouth of the harbour, did not attempt to enter it, but keeping at some distance, drew up in line of battle. The *Romans* and *Syracusans* accepted the challenge; so that an engagement ensued, in which the *Carthaginians* were defeated, with the loss of seven ships. Seventeen hundred of their men were taken prisoners, and a great many killed in the action. The *Romans* did not lose one single galley, and had but a very small number of men killed. The king, on his return to *Messana*, finding *Sempronius* arrived there, went immediately on board the consul's ship, embraced him tenderly, and assured him, that he should continue the same affection for *Rome* in his old age, which he had always shewn her in his youth; nor was this all, he clothed the legionaries and the crews of the *Roman* ships at his own expence, supplied the whole army with corn, and then set sail with the consul for *Lilybæum*, where they parted with regret ^m.

Sempronius, from *Lilybæum*, steered his course to the island of *Melita*, situated between *Sicily* and *Africa*; and he no sooner appeared before it, than one *Hamilcar*, the *Carthaginian* governor, surrendered up to him the island, the city and the garison. But in the mean time the *Carthaginians* having made a descent on the coasts of *Italy*, *Sempronius* was preparing to drive them from thence, when news was brought him, that *Hannibal* had passed the *Alps*, and at the same time an order from the senate to return in all haste to *Italy*. Leaving therefore the prætor *Æmilius* in *Sicily*, with

Levies made for a war with Carthage.

The Carthaginians defeated at sea.

The island of Melita seized by the Romans.

^m Liv. l. xxi. c. 17. Appian. in Punic. Zonar. l. viii. c. 23.

a sufficient number of troops and ships to defend the island, he went on board his a fleet, and entered the *Adriatic* sea, with a design to land at *Ariminum*.

Hannibal, being authorized by the senate of *Carthage* to act against the *Romans* as he thought fit, resolved not to wait for their coming to attack him in *Spain*, but to carry the war into the very heart of their dominions. With this view he had made it his whole business, during the winter, to settle affairs in *Spain*. He appointed his brother *Asdrubal* governor of that country in his absence; and in order to put him in a condition to oppose any descents there, he left him fifty quinqueremes, four quadriremes, and five triremes. As to the land-forces, he did not leave his brother to the mercy of the *Spaniards*, but transported thirteen thousand eight hundred and fifty foot, and one thousand two hundred horse of the *Spanish* troops into *Africa*, and b brought fifteen thousand *Africans* into *Spain*. By this exchange he wisely provided for the security of both countries. After these prudent regulations, he waited only for the answers of the *Italic Gauls*, to whom he had sent his emissaries, soliciting them to shake off the *Roman* yoke. He no sooner received assurances of their earnest desire to see him in *Italy*, than he applied himself wholly to the preparations for his march. He began by putting himself under the protection of *Hercules*, who was worshipped at *Gades*, whither he took a journey to offer sacrifices and vows to that god. Then he assembled his troops, harangued them, and, upon a muster, found, that they amounted to ninety thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse. However, by the desertion of some of his troops, by his dismissing others, and by the several detach- c ments he made for the security of the new conquered provinces, his army, when he crossed the *Pyrenees*, consisted only of fifty thousand foot, and nine thousand horse. With these troops, having passed the *Pyrenees* without opposition, he arrived at *Illi-beris*, a city of *Gallia Narbonensis* on the coast of the *Mediterranean*, which he had appointed for the place of the general rendezvous.

*Hannibal be-
gins his march
for Italy.*

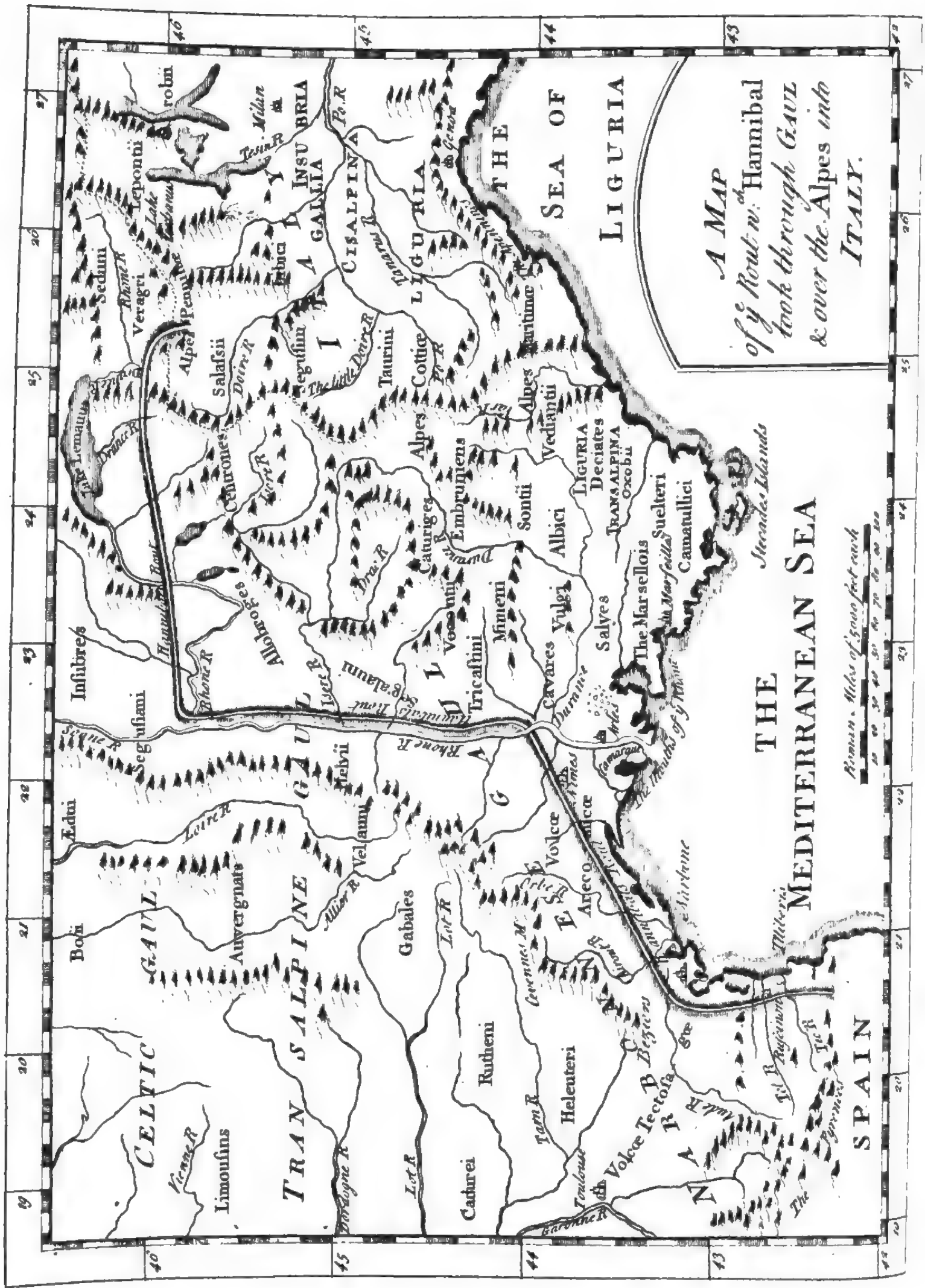
In the mean time the *Boii*, receiving intelligence that *Hannibal* was set out on his march to *Italy*, began to act as if he had already crossed the *Alps*. They bore an implacable hatred to the *Romans*, and therefore impatient to wait till the arrival of the *Carthaginians*, they openly revolted, and being joined by the *Insubres*, fell upon the two new colonies of *Placentia* and *Cremona*. The inhabitants, who were but just d come, fled for refuge to *Mutina*, an old *Roman* colony, whither the rebels pursued them, with a design to besiege the place; but as they were not skilled in taking cities, they had recourse to treachery, drew the three leaders of the colony, who were men of distinction, out of the place, under pretence of a conference, and then seized them, with a design to exchange them for the hostages they had formerly left in the hands of the *Romans*. This roused the prætor *Manlius*, who had been left by *Cornelius Scipio* with two legions, to keep *Cisalpine Gaul* in subjection. He immediately led one of them to the relief of *Mutina*; but as the country, through which he marched, was covered with forests, the *Gauls*, who were acquainted with all the roads, sur- e prized him, and cut most of his legionaries in pieces, the prætor himself escaping with great difficulty to an eminence, whence he retired to *Tanetum*, a city on the banks of the *Nicia*, where he was immediately invested by the enemy. However, upon the approach of the prætor *Lucius Attilius*, at the head of the other legion, and five thousand auxiliaries, they raised the sieges both of *Tanetum* and *Mutina*, and dispersed e.

The Boii revolt

In the mean time the consul *Cornelius Scipio*, having sailed from *Pisa*, and kept along the coast of *Liguria*, had landed his troops at that mouth of the *Rhone*, which is nearest *Masilia*. His design was to wait there for *Hannibal*, and give him battle before he attempted to cross the *Alps*. He had indeed received notice of *Hannibal's* having passed the *Pyrenees*; but could not imagine that he was near, considering the vast countries, and the many *Gaulish* nations, through which he was to pass. He therefore encamped on an island formed by the *Rhone*, which the ancients call *Camaria*, and the moderns *La Camarque*, and remained there a few days to refresh his troops after the fatigues of the sea. But *Hannibal*, more expeditious than *Scipio* imagined, having surmounted all difficulties, was actually encamped on the banks of the *Rhone*, and contriving means to pass that rapid stream. The *Gauls* on his side the river favoured him through fear; but those on the other side, jealous of so powerful an army, prepared to oppose his passage with all their might. *Scipio* knew nothing f

• POLYB. l. iii. c. 25. LIV. l. xxi. c. 23.

• LIV. ibid. POLYB. l. iii. c. 35.



- a of this ; otherwise, by joining the *Gauls*, who were determined to dispute his passage, he would, in all likelihood, have made the *Rhone* the boundary of *Hannibal's* expedition ; but, in this great crisis, *Hannibal's* fortune was equal to his valour. On the other hand, the *Carthaginian* suspecting that a consular army was not far off, and being therefore obliged without delay to pass the river, which was no-where fordable, in sight of the enemy, he had recourse to stratagem. He detached part of his army, under the command of *Hanno* the son of *Bomilcar*, with orders to march up along the river, cross it out of sight of the enemy's camp, and, by taking a tour, to get behind them, and lie in ambush. *Hanno* having executed his commission, and given the signal agreed on, *Hannibal* prepared to pass the river with that part of the army ^{*Hannibal crosses the Rhone.*} which remained with him. He ordered his cavalry to embark on the greater vessels, and his foot on canoes, made only of hollowed trees. He directed those who governed the greater vessels to keep their bow upon the stream, thereby to check the current of the river, and cover the others from danger. The horses were not embarked, but swam after the small boats, one man holding three or four by the bridle on each side the boat. While they were thus contending against the violence of the stream, and animating each other, the enemy waited for them on the opposite bank, and, with their cries and howlings, gave them to understand, that they were ready to receive them ; but in the mean time *Hanno's* detachment attacking them in the rear, they were seized with such a panic, that they immediately betook themselves to flight, and dispersed, every one making the best of his way to his own village ^p.

- c In the mean time news being brought to *Scipio*, that the enemy was already encamped on the banks of the *Rhone*, he did not at first believe it, it seeming to him incredible that they should be able to perform so long a march in so short a time. However, in order to get such intelligence as he might rely on, he commanded out three hundred chosen horse to reconnoitre. These fell in with a party of five hundred *Numidian* horse, sent out by *Hannibal* for the same purpose ; whereupon a sharp action ensued, in which the *Numidians* lost two hundred men, and the *Romans* a hundred and sixty. The *Numidians* were put to flight ; and this advantage, how inconsiderable soever, was looked upon by the *Romans*, who laid great stress upon presages, as a happy omen for the rest of the war. However, it did not discourage *Hannibal*, who, upon certain information that the consular army was not far off, was for some time in doubt, whether he should attack the *Romans*, or march strait for *Italy* ; but the deputies from the *Cisalpine Gauls*, the chief of whom was one *Magalus* or *Mægilus*, determined him, by their advice, to lead his army over the mountains intire, and not run the hazard of weakening it by a disaster. They made *Hannibal* rich presents, tendered him their service, and took upon them to be his guides over the *Alps*. The *Carthaginian* therefore, to avoid *Scipio*, marched up the river, and encamped at the conflux of the *Rhodanus* and the *Araris*, or the *Rhone* and the *Saone*. Here *Hannibal* found two brothers disputing for the dominion of the country, and their armies drawn up ready to engage. At the request of the elder brother *Hannibal* joined him against the younger, whom he drove out of the country. The conqueror immediately expressed his gratitude, by furnishing the *Carthaginians* with clothes, which they greatly wanted, most of them being half-naked and bare-foot, and supplying them with what was necessary to guard them against the snow and ice of the *Alps*. Nor was this all ; as the *Carthaginians* were afraid of being attacked by the *Gauls* dispersed about those unknown countries, the king guarded them in person, and conducted them safe to the foot of the mountains, which they reached after ten days march ^q.

- f AND here a historian is as much at a loss what rout to take as *Hannibal* himself was, the ancients having left us in great darkness as to the exact place where the *Carthaginian* general passed the mountains. Some of the moderns point out one place, and some another ; but as they may be all, for aught we know, equally mistaken, we shall follow *Hannibal* through the immense difficulties he met with in this his famous passage, without pretending to ascertain the precise place, where he attempted, and happily accomplished so bold an undertaking. As soon as the king we have mentioned above left the *Carthaginian* army, *Hannibal* ordered his troops to begin their march up the mountains ; and then the petty kings of the country, assembling their troops in great numbers, possessed themselves of the eminencies, over which the ^{*Hannibal passes the Alps.*}

^p POLYB. l. iii. c. 45, 46.

^q LIV. l. xxi. c. 31. POLYB. l. iii. c. 47.

Carthaginians must necessarily pass. And indeed, had they concealed themselves a longer, the *Carthaginian* army would have been in great danger ; but, by appearing openly, they lessened their advantage, and tho' they killed great numbers of the enemy, they lost an equal number of their own men. However, they continued harassing the *Carthaginians*, and were no sooner driven from one eminence, than they seized another, disputing every inch of ground with the enemy, and destroying great numbers of them by the advantage they had of the ground. Hereupon *Hannibal* made his army halt, and take up their quarters that night among the rocks. In the mean time being informed by the *Gauls*, who served him as guides, that the barbarians kept guard in those places only in the day-time, and in the night retired to a village not far off, he decamped in broad day, and moving slowly, drew near the post which the mountaineers possessed in the evening, as if he designed to pass the night there ; but as soon as it was dark, and the enemy were, according to their custom, retired, he put himself at the head of a detachment of chosen men, and gained one of the eminences. When day discovered to the enemy what had passed, they resolved to attack the *Carthaginians* from the other eminences, which commanded the narrow, stony and broken way through which they marched. Accordingly leaping from rock to rock with the agility of hinds, they fell upon them from all quarters at once. The *Carthaginians* lost in this unforeseen attack an incredible number of horses and beasts of burden ; for the way being narrow and broken, the beasts of burden were easily thrown down : but the horses that were wounded gave them most trouble ; for falling in so narrow and crowded a way, they threw down others by striving to recover their feet, and by that means occasioned a general confusion. *Hannibal* observing this, immediately left the post he had taken, and falling on the enemy from the higher ground, killed most of them on the spot, and dispersed the rest. Having escaped this danger, he marched himself at the head of a strong detachment against the town, which had harboured the enemy, and finding it deserted, took it without opposition. Here he found the prisoners, horses and beasts of burden, which had fallen into the enemy's hands, and besides, cattle and corn sufficient to support the army for three days. In this town *Hannibal* remained a day to rest and refresh his troops, and then pursued his march for three days together, without the least molestation or alarm ; but the fourth day he fell into a greater danger than that he had lately escaped. Other mountaineers, who inhabited the towns on the way he was to pass, met him with olive branches, and garlands of flowers, symbols of peace and friendship, and tendered him their service. *Hannibal*, thinking it equally dangerous to trust or distrust them, endeavoured, by several questions, to sound their design. They told him, that his having defeated those who opposed him, and taken their town, had prompted them to come and implore his protection ; and that as to themselves, they were resolved to do him no injury, nor suffer any to be done him by others. *Hannibal* at first only pretended to trust them for fear of disobliging them ; but after they had supplied his army with provisions, and conversed with all manner of freedom and confidence with his soldiers, he began to entertain a better opinion of their sincerity, and even put so much confidence in them, as to accept their tenders of serving him as guides. However, as he still retained a secret doubt of their sincerity, he placed his elephants and horse in the van, and his choicest foot in the rear. And this precaution preserved his army from being intirely destroyed ; for these faithless guides having led the army into a valley, surrounded with rocks and steep hills, all on a sudden faced about, and fell upon them in front, while their countrymen, who lay concealed among the rocks, attacked their rear ; but the elephants stopped the fury of the one, and the infantry stood their ground against the other. Nevertheless the *Carthaginians* suffered no small loss both of men and horses on this occasion ; for the enemy rolling down huge stones from the upper ground, killed a great number of them. The consternation was so great in *Hannibal's* army, that he himself was obliged to stop, and take up his quarters that night on the top of an eminence, exposed to the open air, with that part of the army which was with him, remote from the baggage and the rest of the troops, who had much ado to compass their passage through the valley before day-break. In the morning, the enemy being now retired, *Hannibal* joined his army and baggage, and continued his march. After this the *Gauls* appeared only in small bodies, falling sometimes on the van, and sometimes on the rear of the army, and seldom failing to carry off part of the baggage. At length, after many fatigues and losses, *Hannibal* arrived at the top of the mountains,

a tains, nine days after he had begun to ascend them. There he encamped, and halted two days, to give his weary troops some repose, and to wait for the stragglers. During this stay, he saw with pleasure many horses arrive, which he thought lost, and some of his men, who had not been able to keep up with the army. As the snow was lately fallen in great plenty on the tops of those high mountains, and covered the ground, this sight terrified the *Africans* and *Spaniards*, who were much affected with the cold. In order therefore to encourage them, and inspire them with new resolution against the sufferings that yet threatened them, the *Cartaginian* general led them to the top of the highest rock on the side of *Italy*, and thence gave them a view of the large and fruitful plains of *Insubria*, acquainting them, that the *Gauls*, whose coun-
b trie they saw, were ready to join them. He also pointed out to them the place whereabout *Rome* stood, telling them, that, by climbing the *Alps*, they had scaled the walls of that rich metropolis. Having thus animated his harassed troops, after two days rest he decamped, and began to descend the mountains^r.

THE difficulties they met with in going down, were equal to those they had found in the ascent. They had indeed no enemy to contend with, saving some scattered parties, that came rather to steal than to fight; but the deep snows, mountains of ice, craggy rocks, and frightful precipices, proved more terrible than any enemy. However, the troops now inured to the greatest hardships, were proof against all difficulties, and went through them with cheerfulness. After they had for some days
c marched through narrow, steep and slippery ways, they came at length to a place, which neither men, elephants nor horses could pass. The way, which lay between two precipices, was exceeding narrow, and the declivity, which was very steep of itself, was become more dangerous by the falling away of the earth. Here the guides stopped, and the whole army being terrified, *Hannibal* proposed at first to march round about, and attempt another way; but all places round him being covered with snow to a great depth, he found himself reduced to the necessity, either of turning back, and climbing up the mountains again, or getting down a place, which was almost perpendicular, and where a thin surface of fresh snow covered a hard and thick ice. However, the infantry began to descend; but their feet slipping, and there
d being nothing to catch hold of, they rolled down into the precipices, which were on either side this narrow passage, and were either crushed to pieces, or buried in the snow. Hereupon *Hannibal*, having ordered the snow to be removed, which covered all the ground, and the ice to be broke, encamped at the entrance of this pass, in order to deliberate on the proper method of surmounting the present difficulty. After he had well considered the nature of the place, he concluded, that the only means of getting over it was to cut a way into the rock itself, through which his men, horses and elephants might pass, without danger of falling into the precipices. This was a laborious piece of work; but the *Numidians* setting cheerfully about it, and frequently relieving one another, with unspeakable pains made, in one day, a way in the rock
e for the foot, and in three days more for the horse, and likewise for the elephants, which had suffered much, and were almost dead with hunger, the ground being in that part of the *Alps* covered with snow; so that no forage could be found. Some historians tell us, that the *Numidians* used vinegar to soften the rocks^s; but the silence of the most judicious writers as to this particular, is sufficient to justify our not giving credit to so idle a story. All they tell us is, that the *Africans* made use of fire, pick-axes, and other instruments of iron, for the accomplishing of so laborious an undertaking. Thus *Hannibal*, having spent nine days in climbing up the *Alps*, and six in
f descending them, gained at length *Insubria*, and, notwithstanding his many disasters by the way, entered that country with all the boldness of a conqueror. In the account we have given of this so much celebrated passage of *Hannibal* over the *Alps*, we have chiefly followed *Polybius*, who advances nothing but what he learned from those who lived at that time, and who took himself a journey to the *Alps* for his better information^t.

Hannibal enters Insubria.

Hannibal, upon his entering *Insubria*, reviewed his army, when he found, that of the fifty thousand foot, with which he had set out from *New Carthage* five months and fifteen days before, he had now but twelve thousand *Cartaginians*, and eight thousand *Spaniards*; and that his twelve thousand horse were reduced to six thousand. Some writers tell us, that *Hannibal* entered *Italy* at the head of forty thousand foot,

^r LIV. & POLYB. *ibid.*

^s LIV. l. xxi. c. 37.

^t POLYB. l. iii. c. 55.

Takes Taurinum.

and ten thousand horse; others make his troops amount to two hundred thousand ^a foot, and twenty thousand horse ^u. But the above-mentioned number was specified by *Hannibal* himself, and engraved, as *Polybius* informs us, on a column, which he erected near the *Lacinian Promontory* in *Calabria* ^w. *Hannibal's* first care, after he had entered *Italy*, was to refresh his troops, who, after so long a march, and so many inexpressible hardships, looked like so many skeletons raised from the dead, or savages born in a desert. However, he did not suffer them to languish long in idleness; but joining the *Insubres*, who were at war with the *Taurinians*, laid siege to *Taurinum*, the only city in the country, and made himself master of it in three days time, putting all who made resistance to the sword. This struck such terror into the neighbouring barbarians, that they all submitted to the conqueror, and supplied his army with all sorts of provisions ^x.

BUT to return to *Scipio*, whom we left encamped on the island of *Camaria*: When that general understood, upon the return of the party he had sent out, that *Hannibal* was arrived at the banks of the *Rhone*, he immediately decamped, and marched up the river, with a design to give him battle; but finding that the *Carthaginian* had crossed the river three days before, and was pursuing his march over the *Alps* into *Italy*, he marched back to his fleet with all possible expedition; and having dispatched his brother *Cneius Scipio* with the best part of his troops to carry on the war in *Spain* against *Asdrubal*, he imbarqued the rest, with a design to return to *Italy* by sea, and meet *Hannibal* on his descending the *Alps*. He soon arrived at *Pisa*, and from thence ^c crossing *Ettruria*, joined that army, which the consul *Manlius* had so unfortunately led against the *Boii*. With this, and the few troops he had with him, he passed the *Po*, and encamped on the banks of the *Ticinus*, which discharges itself into that river. *Hannibal* was greatly surprized, when he understood, that *Scipio*, whom he had left on the banks of the *Rhone*, was already returned from *Gaul* to *Italy*, had crossed *Ettruria*, passed the *Po*, and was ready to receive him. On the other hand, *Scipio* was no less struck with admiration at *Hannibal's* expedition in crossing the *Alps*, through ways which he deemed impassable. This reciprocal respect, which the two generals had for each other, increased their emulation, and inspired them with an eager desire of entering the lists together. ^d In the mean time the news of *Hannibal's* arrival in *Italy* at the head of a powerful army, of his taking *Taurinum*, and advancing to meet the consul *Scipio*, filled *Rome* with terror. The senate expected every hour the tidings of a battle, and the uncertainty of the success kept all men in suspense: and indeed the two armies were too near each other to defer entering upon action. *Scipio* encouraged his troops in an harangue well suited to the occasion; but *Hannibal* employed a new kind of eloquence, which made deep impressions on the minds of his *Carthaginians*. He had treated the prisoners he had taken on the *Alps* with the utmost rigour; so that they earnestly wished to put an end to their miseries with death. They were loaded night and day with heavy chains, starved almost to death, and daily beaten with rods in a most barbarous manner. *Hannibal*, from the time he took ^e them, designed them for the diversion with which he now entertained his troops; for he caused them to be brought out at the head of the army, which he assembled for that purpose, and asked them whether they were willing to engage each other in single combats, and fight till one of them was killed in sight of his troops? He ordered horses and rich habits and furniture to be produced at the same time, as rewards for the conquerors, and comforted the vanquished before-hand with the hopes of death, which would put an end to their insupportable miseries. There was not one of them, who did not, with great joy, consent to the proposal. Hereupon *Hannibal* ordered a certain number of them to be chosen by lot, in order to enter the lists two and two. Those on whom the lot fell leaped for joy, while the others broke out ^f into loud lamentations. While they fought, the rest of the prisoners looked on the conquered as no less fortunate than the conquerors, having by their death put a period to the miseries they endured. The constancy of those who died was more admired by the *Carthaginian* soldiers, than the valour and skill of the survivors. While their imaginations were warm with these objects, *Hannibal* told them, that their fate was like that of the captives, whose glorious deaths they had admired, and whose rewards they had envied; that *Italy* was a vast prison to them, having the enemy's country before them, and behind them the *Alps*; that they could not escape the miseries to

^u CINCIVS ALIMENTVS apud Liv. l. xxi. c. 39.

^w POLYB. l. iii. c. 56.

^x POLYB. ibid.

which

a which hunger, thirst, nakedness and heavy chains would reduce them, unless they purchased liberty, necessities and life itself by their bravery; that since they could entertain no hopes of returning to their native countries by flight, they ought to have the same sentiments, which they had just before admired in the captives, since they were under the same necessity of conquering or dying; that, if they conquered, not fine horses only and rich furniture would be their lot, but all the wealth of the richest country and city in the world, &c.

b THE discourse of the general was applauded by the whole army, every man declaring that he was determined to conquer or die. With this disposition the army drew near the *Ticinus*, which *Scipio* had already passed. The next day the two armies came in sight of each other, when *Scipio* advanced at the head of the cavalry, with some companies of dart-men, to observe the enemy's motions and disposition. *Hannibal* marched out against him at the head of his *Spanish* and *Numidian* cavalry. As the leaders on both sides, and the troops they commanded, were eager to engage, they soon came to blows; but scarce had the *Roman* dart-men, whom *Scipio* had placed in the front, made their first discharge, when they retired into the spaces between their troops, through fear of being trod down by the horse. *Hannibal's* horse made but one large front, the *Numidians* in the two wings, and the *Spaniards* in the center. The onset began between the cavalry of the *Gauls* in the *Roman* army, and the *Spanish* horse in the *Carthaginian*. The former, supported by the dart-men, who were drawn up in the intervals between the squadrons, sustained the shock of the *Spanish* horse with great resolution; but in the mean time the *Numidians*, taking a compass, attacked the *Romans* in flank, and, after an obstinate and long dispute, obliged them to give ground. Hereupon the *Gauls*, who had hitherto fought with great bravery, retired likewise in some confusion. *Scipio*, at the head of a small body of horse, endeavoured to animate his men more by his example than by words, till he fell from his horse by a wound he received. Then the *Romans*, believing their general killed, betook themselves to a disorderly flight; and *Scipio* would have been left upon the place, had not his son, attended by a few *Roman* knights, in spite of all opposition, rescued him, and carried him back to the camp. Some say, that a *Ligurian* slave saved the consul; but most writers give this honour to young *Scipio*. Be that as it will, the latter tradition prevailed, perhaps from the inclination of the *Romans* to magnify the rising merit of one of the greatest heroes their republic ever produced.

He defends the
Romans on
the banks of the
Ticinus.

c *Scipio*, considering that the enemy was stronger in horse, and consequently that it would be dangerous to give them battle in the champaign country, abandoned his camp, repassed the *Po*, and retired to *Placentia*. *Hannibal*, on the other hand, staid some time in the field of battle, in expectation that the legions would appear; but when he understood, that the consul was decamped, he pursued him close as far as the bridge, over which he had passed the *Ticinus*; but finding it broke down, he took six hundred men, whom the *Roman* general had left to defend a small fort, and, without loss of time, marched up the *Ticinus*, till he came to the banks of the *Po*, which he crossed on a bridge of boats. He then divided his army into two bodies, giving the command of one to his brother *Mago*, with orders to pursue the enemy, while he himself remained in the neighbourhood of the *Po*, to receive the deputies of several *Gaulish* nations, whom his first advantage had brought over to him. They engaged to supply him with as many men, arms and provisions, as he should want. Encouraged by these offers, he marched forward, joined his brother, and took the road to *Placentia*, where the consul was encamped. *Scipio*, believing himself safe there, thought of nothing but curing his own and his soldiers wounds. He was therefore greatly surprized to see *Hannibal* advance within reach of his entrenchments, draw up his army, and offer him battle. *Scipio*, instead of accepting the challenge, fortified himself in his camp; and *Hannibal*, not thinking himself strong enough to force the enemy's lines, encamped ten miles from him.

d IN the mean time an unexpected event doubled the apprehensions of the *Romans*, and increased the confidence of the enemy. About two thousand foot, and two hundred horse of those *Gauls*, who served in the consul's army, about the fourth watch, when all was quiet in the *Roman* camp, entered the tents that were next to them, murdered the *Romans* while they were asleep, and cutting off their heads, made their escape to *Hannibal*, who, by the kind reception he gave them, shewed how accept-

Treachery of
the Gauls in
the Roman
army.

¹ POLYB. & LIV. *ibid.*

² LIV. l. ii. c. 47. POLYB. l. iii. c. 66.

able that black and treacherous action was to him. He invited them with great promises into his service; but gave them leave for the present to retire to their respective habitations, thereby to spread the fame of this action, and win over their countrymen to the service of the *Carthaginians*. At the same time ambassadors came to him from the *Bon*, bringing with them the three commissioners of the two *Roman* colonies, whom they had formerly taken by treachery. *Hannibal* received the deputies with great demonstrations of kindness; but left the three illustrious captives in their hands, advising them to make use of them, as they had formerly proposed, to redeem their hostages^a.

IN the mean time *Scipio*, not doubting but the *Gauls*, after their countrymen had acted so criminal a part, would all declare for the enemy, resolved to leave his camp at *Placentia*, where he was surrounded on all sides by *Gaulish* nations, and to seek some safer post, where his troops would not be so much intimidated by suspected neighbours. Accordingly he decamped about the fourth watch of the following night, and passing the *Trebia*, a small river which falls into the *Po*, posted himself on an eminence near that river, in the neighbourhood of many of the allies of the *Roman* people. *Hannibal*, upon intelligence of the consul's march, detached his *Numidian* horse in pursuit of him, while he himself followed with the main body of the army. The *Numidians*, finding the *Roman* camp empty, staid to set fire to it; and this delay gave the *Romans* time to pass the plains, where the cavalry might have made a great slaughter of them, and gain the eminences on the other side the river. *Scipio* intrenched himself in his new post, resolved not to leave it till his wound was cured, and his colleague *Sempronius*, whom he impatiently expected from *Sicily*, was arrived with another consular army. *Hannibal*, that he might not lose sight of the enemy, came and encamped within five miles of them, on the other side the *Trebia*. Hither great numbers of *Gauls* flocked to him from all parts, insomuch that provisions grew scarce in his camp; but he soon supplied this want, by bribing one *Dafius*, a *Brundusian*, governor of *Clastidium*, where the *Romans* had fixed their magazines of arms and provisions, to deliver up the place to him; by which means he transferred the scarcity from his own camp to that of the *Romans*^b.

Clastidium delivered up to Hannibal.

WHEN news was brought to *Rome* of the battle of the horse, and the issue of that engagement, the senate was greatly surprized, as expecting quite different success. Some blamed *Scipio*, others imputed that misfortune to the perfidiousness of the *Gauls*, who, by their desertion, had given a plain proof of their treachery and hatred to the *Romans*; but after all, as the legions were intire, they took courage, not doubting but that fine body of foot would be able to stop the progress of the conqueror. Their confidence was heightened by the joyful tidings of the arrival of the consul *Sempronius* at *Ariminum*, after a voyage of forty days from *Sicily* to that place. He immediately set out on his march, and in a few days joined his colleague on the banks of the *Trebia*. After he had refreshed his troops, and informed himself of the circumstances of the engagement upon the *Ticinus*, the strength of the enemy, and the character of their leader, impatient to enter upon action, he detached all his cavalry, contrary to the opinion of his colleague, with orders to pass the *Trebia*, and attack a party of *Numidian* and *Gaulish* horse, which *Hannibal* had sent out to lay waste the lands of those *Gauls*, who yet adhered to the *Romans*. The trivial advantage he gained on this occasion made him resolve to hazard a general engagement. *Scipio*, whose wound, grown worse by his removing from one camp to another, confined him to his bed, did all that lay in his power to divert his colleague from so dangerous a design. Among other things he told him, that as soon as his strength would allow him to act, he had an enterprize to put in execution, which, he was confident, would much redound to the service of his country; but this, instead of diverting *Sempronius* from his first design, made him more eager to engage the enemy, before *Scipio* could appear in the field, and share with him the glory of the victory; nay, because that prudent commander would not by any means approve of his ill-timed eagerness for an engagement, he told him, That his mind was more affected than his body, and that his wound gave him an aversion to battles. Thus *Sempronius*, blinded with ambition, and pleased with the hopes of a complete victory, without *Scipio*'s sharing in the honour of it, resolved to come to a pitched battle with the *Carthaginians*. In the mean time *Hannibal*, having learned the consul's design by some spies, whom he sent into

^a POLYB. *ibid.* c. 67.

^b *Idem ibid.*

- a the Roman camp, detached the following night his brother *Mago*, with two thousand chosen men, half horse and half foot, ordering them to conceal themselves under the banks of a winding rivulet, which watered a neighbouring plain, and wait there, till they should receive orders to quit their ambuscade. Early next morning the *Carthaginian* commanded a strong detachment of *Numidian* horse to march out, insult the enemy in their camp, and then retiring slowly before the Roman cavalry, who, he did not doubt, would keep close at their heels, to pass the *Trebia*, and enter the plain. The *Numidians*, pursuant to their orders, advanced to the consul's intrenchments, as if they intended to brave the *Romans*; which *Sempronius* not being able to bear, he first sent out his cavalry against them, then his dart-men, and lastly marched
b out himself at the head of all his legionaries. The *Romans* had not yet taken any nourishment, and besides the day was very cold and snowy, and the nearer they drew to the river, the more sharp the wind blew; however, such was the eagerness of the consul to come up with the enemy, who had just passed the river on horseback, that he commanded the Roman infantry to leap into the water, which they did without hesitation, tho' it reached to their waists. When they came out of the river, they found themselves so chilled and benumbed with cold, that they could not handle their arms; and besides, as the day was far advanced before they all got over, they began to be pinched with hunger, for they had not yet taken any food; while, on the other hand, the *Carthaginians* had refreshed themselves with a plentiful repast, and anointed
c their bodies to arm themselves against the cold ^b.

- THE *Romans* no sooner appeared in the plain, than *Hannibal* drew up his army in battalia. He placed eight thousand *Spaniards*, most of them of the *Balearic* islands, armed with slings, in the advanced guard. These were followed by twenty thousand foot, *Gauls*, *Spaniards* and *Africans*, all drawn up in one line, to make the larger front. His cavalry, to the number of ten thousand, most of them *Gauls*, were posted in the two wings; and, at the two extremities of the main body, were ranged the elephants, to cover the flanks of the army. *Sempronius's* troops consisted of sixteen thousand legionaries, twenty thousand auxiliary forces, a handful of *Canomani*, the only *Gauls* who continued faithful to the *Romans*, and four thousand Roman horse. The consul
d drew up his men in the usual order, keeping the *triarii* for a body of reserve, and posting his cavalry in the wings. The two armies being thus drawn up, *Hannibal*, to keep his men warm, ordered them to march briskly against the enemy, who were waiting for them, and starving with cold in the plain. However, at their approach, the *Romans* gave a great shout, the trumpets sounded, and the attack began. The light-armed infantry on both sides made their discharges, the *Balears* throwing stones with their slings, and the *Romans* their little javelins; but this way of fighting did not last long, the *Romans* retiring within the spaces in their lines, and the *Balears* to the wings of their army. Hereupon the main bodies of the two armies advanced, the cavalry moving with the lines they flanked; but the Roman horse, being just returned from pursuing the *Numidians*, being already much fatigued, were soon put to flight
e by the *Gaulish* cavalry. Hereupon the flanks of the consular army being exposed and left naked, the *Numidians* fell upon them with great fury, and put them in confusion. Then *Hannibal* ordered his elephants to advance, which increased the disorder of the Roman army; but nevertheless the legionaries in the second and third lines still kept their ground, and fought with incredible bravery, till the *Numidians*, under the conduct of *Mago*, rising out of their ambuscade, attacked with great shouts their rear. Then the brave legionaries, finding themselves surrounded on all sides, fought like men in despair, and being headed by *Sempronius*, who was a man of great personal courage, cut their way through the battalions of the *Gauls* and *Africans*, who opposed
f them, strewed the ground with their dead bodies, and, in spite of all opposition, retired in good order, to the number of ten thousand, to *Placentia*, their return to the camp being obstructed by the *Trebia*, and the victorious cavalry of the enemy, who, scouring the plain, cut all in pieces they met with. The allies in the two wings endeavoured to regain their camp; but some of them were drowned in the river, others killed by the enemy, while they were attempting to pass it, and most of them trod down by the horse and elephants; so that the rout was general, and the slaughter great. A small body only of foot, and a party of horse, besides the ten thousand legionaries, made their escape, the enemy not being able, on account of the excessive

The Romans engage Hannibal on the banks of the Trebia.

And are defeated.

^b POLYB. l. iii. c. 71. LIV. l. xxi. c. 53, 54.

cold, to pursue them beyond the river. *Scipio*, who continued indisposed in his tent, ^a no sooner received the sad tidings of this defeat, than he decamped, and joined his colleague at *Placentia* ^c.

Sempronius, to prevent a consternation at *Rome*, sent dispatches thither, acquainting the senate, that he had engaged the *Carthaginian* army; but that the severity of the season, and the coldness of the weather, had snatched the victory out of his hands. This the *Romans* were at first willing to believe: but when they understood, that *Hannibal* was master of the consul's camp; that all the nations of the *Gauls* declared for him; that the *Roman* forces were all fled to the neighbouring colonies for refuge; and that the army had no provisions, but what were conveyed to them by water up the *Po*, the city was filled with terror, every one taking it for granted, that the conqueror would soon appear at their gates. But, notwithstanding this consternation, intrigue had a greater share in the election of new consuls, than a due regard for the wants of the state. As both the consuls were absent, the senate had already passed a decree for the nominating a dictator to preside in the comitia, when, to their great surprize, *Sempronius* arrived. Rashness had been always his character; and on this occasion it succeeded: for tho' the roads between *Placentia* and *Rome* were much infested by *Gauls* and *Africans* dispersed all over the country, yet *Sempronius*, without either disguise or guard, ventured to cross those countries, and got safe to *Rome*, where he presided in the comitia, when the famous *C. Flaminius* was chosen, a man without either morals or religion, and who had six years before signalized his consulship, by disobeying the orders of the republic, commanding him to abdicate, and by an open contempt of the gods and auspices; but he had joined the tribunes of the people in promoting a law, which confined commerce to the plebeians (K), and therefore was by them raised to the consulate the second time. The colleague appointed him was *P. Servilius Geminus*, a man of great integrity, but of moderate abilities in war. It fell by lot to *Flaminius* to oppose *Hannibal*, and to the other to command an army in *Cisalpine Gaul*. In the same comitia *P. Cornelius Scipio*, whose wound was not yet cured, was appointed to go into *Spain* in quality of proconsul, whither he had sent his brother *Cn. Scipio* to carry on the war against *Asdrubal*. The elections being over, and the consulship of *Sempronius* not yet expired, he returned to *Placentia*, ^d where he had taken up his quarters. As for *Hannibal*, he did not continue idle, notwithstanding the inconveniencies of the season, but made two attempts on two different places belonging to the *Romans*. The first was on a village on the banks of the *Po*, which the *Romans* had fortified, and made their magazine of corn; but *Sempronius*, who was very good at these sudden expeditions, hearing from *Placentia* the shouts of the garison, hastened with all his cavalry to their relief, and obliged *Hannibal*, who was wounded on this occasion, to retire with great loss. But the indefatigable *Carthaginian*, before his wound was well cured, made a new attempt upon *Viſtumvia*, a small city of *Insubria*, which the *Romans* had built and fortified during their war with the *Gauls*. This place *Hannibal* took, and gave it up to be plundered by his *Africans*, ^e who committed such cruelties, as had never before been practised in *Italy* ^d.

V ſtumvia
taken by Han-
nibal.

In the mean time the senate at *Rome* provided every thing necessary for the next campaign. Forces were dispatched into *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, under the command of their proper prætors; and *Tarentum*, as well as the other cities on the coast, secured with strong garisons, to prevent a descent. Sixty quinqueremes were equipped to cruize on the *Mediterranean* and *Adriatic*, and great convoys sent into *Cisalpine Gaul* and *Œtruria*, which were, in all likelihood, to be the seats of the war. But now *Hannibal*, finding the *Gauls* uneasy at his residing so long among them, began to grow jealous of that nation; and his apprehensions were such, that, fearing they might make some attempt upon his life, he invented the use of false hair of several colours, ^f which he changed several times a day, as well as his dress, to disguise himself; but as this subjection did not suit his temper, he resolved to cross the *Apennines*, and enter

^c POLYB. *ibid.* c. 72. LIV. I. xxi. c. 55.

^d LIV. *ibid.* c. 57.

(K) *Flaminius*, entering into all the intrigues of the tribunes of the people against the nobility, had been the promoter of a law contrary to the interest of the nobility, which from him was called the *Flamian law*. It was then customary for the nobility to fit out ships, and trade for their private advan-

rage; but *Flaminius* confined the liberty of commerce to the plebeians, by getting a law passed, forbidding the senators to possess more than one vessel each, and that only fit to bring provisions from their country-houses.

- a *Hetruria*, at a time when those mountains were almost impassable. He was not apprised of the dreadful storms, which the wind raises on those high rocks, especially towards the end of winter; and therefore unwarily exposed his troops to great danger, in attempting to cross them at that season. So terrible a hurricane surprized him on his march, and the wind blew the snow mixed with rain so violently in the faces of his men, that, not being able to advance a step, they were forced to halt, and let the storm blow over. When the rain ceased, the wind became more violent; inso-much that, after they had in vain attempted to pitch their tents, they were obliged to return to the plain, after two days fatigue and distress. *Hannibal* lost on this occasion a great many men, who were starved to death with cold, and seven out of the small number of elephants that still remained; however, his natural activity did not allow him to take any rest. Early the next morning he marched out of his intrenchments, with twelve thousand foot, and five thousand horse, and offered the consul *Sempronius* battle. The *Roman* general, always ready to engage, accepted the challenge, and, after a most obstinate dispute, which lasted till three hours after noon, repulsed the enemy quite to their camp. The rash consul, intoxicated with this success, thought now of nothing less than forcing *Hannibal's* camp; but, after he had fatigued his men to no purpose in this rash enterprize, he was forced to sound a retreat. As the *Romans* were retiring, *Hannibal*, having first sent out detachments to attack them in flank, fell upon their rear himself with all his infantry. The *Romans* faced about, and the battle was renewed with such fury, as threatened a dreadful slaughter on both sides, if night coming on had not put an end to it.

He attempts in vain to cross the Appennines.

As *Hannibal* had only postponed his design of entering *Hetruria*, he now began to inquire of those who were acquainted with the country, which was the best road to take; and being informed that there were two, the one longer, but more easy, the other shorter, but leading through marshy grounds scarce passable, he chose the latter, being on all occasions prompted by his natural inclination to imbarque in such enterprizes, as were apt to raise admiration, and strike terror into the enemy. Being therefore assured, that tho' great part of the country through which he was to pass, lay under water, the bottom was found, he ordered his army to begin their march.

- d He placed the *Spaniards* and *Africans* with their provisions in the van, next to them the *Gauls*, and the horse in the rear. *Mago*, with a body of *Numidians*, kept hovering about the flanks of the army, to prevent the soldiers from straggling, and the *Gauls*, who were impatient of labour, from deserting. The *Spaniards* and *Africans*, who were inured to all sorts of hardships, went into the water without hesitation, and tho' they were half-way up the leg in mud, kept their ranks; but the *Gauls*, who followed them, marched with great difficulty, the ground being potched and broken by the multitudes of men and beasts of burden who went before them. The whole army suffered unspeakable hardships on this march, being obliged to pass four days, and as many nights, in the water and mire, without finding a dry place on which they could take any rest. The horse of the *Gauls* were most part of them lost by the way, falling and sticking in the mire; which however proved some sort of relief to the soldiers, who made use of them as they lay with their burdens above water to get a moment's sleep, the want of which was their greatest torment. Great numbers of the *Gauls* sunk under the fatigue, and died. Nor was *Hannibal* himself without his share of the inconveniencies of the march; for tho' he rode the only elephant he had left, yet as he was before much affected with a defluxion in his eyes, the evil grew to such a height by the unwholesome qualities of the damp air, that he lost one intirely.

His painful march into Hetruria.

- f *Hannibal*, having thus, to the great surprize of all, passed the marshes, incamped in *Hetruria*, where he was informed, that *Sempronius*, immediately after his departure, had left *Placentia*, marched his army to *Lucca*, and there surrendered the command of it to the new consul *Flaminius*. We have observed above, that *Flaminius* obtained the consulship by the favour of the people, contrary to the inclinations of the senate. Being therefore apprehensive, lest, when he came to be inaugurated, the augurs, influenced by his enemies, should find some pretence to render his election invalid, he left *Rome*, without performing the usual ceremonies of religion; and putting himself at the head of the army, incamped with four legions under the walls of *Arretium* in *Hetruria*. The senators, highly provoked at this unprecedented step,

The consul Flaminius leaves Rome without being inaugurated.

* POLYB. l. iii. c. 75.

f Idem, c. 78.

sent deputies to him, ordering him to return to *Rome*, and perform there the usual ceremonies of religion; but *Flaminius*, without paying any regard to their orders, continued in his camp, and dismissed their deputies with scorn. As for his colleague *Servilius*, whose province was *Cisalpine Gaul*, he was detained at *Rome*, to assist at various expiations, the people being much terrified by accounts of prodigies. On the other hand, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, being now cured of his wound, sailed for *Spain*, to join his brother *Cneius*, who had gained great advantages over *Asdrubal*. He had defeated the *Carthaginian* army in a pitched battle, taken *Hanno* their commander, with *Indibilis*, a *Spanish* prince, reduced the whole country bordering on the *Iberus*, and gained over many princes to his republic. Tho' the news of these successes raised a little the courage of the conscript fathers, yet they were very anxious about the conduct of *Flaminius*, who was a man of a fiery temper, bold and enterprising, and had a crafty and experienced enemy to deal with. And indeed *Hannibal*, having learnt the true character of the consul, did not doubt but he should soon bring him to a battle. With this view he advanced towards *Aretium*, where the consul was incamped, and taking the way to *Rome*, left the *Roman* camp behind him. *Flaminius*, looking on this conduct of the enemy as a personal affront, resolved to follow him, and venture an engagement. All the officers of the army, in a council of war, endeavoured to divert him from so dangerous a resolution; but he, reproaching them with cowardice, rushed out of the council in a rage, and gave the signal both for marching and fighting. He mounted his horse in such a hurry, that he fell from him; which was thought an ill omen. At the same time he was told, that the ensigns stuck so fast in the ground, that the soldiers could not pull them out. This prodigy was no doubt feigned, on purpose to keep him in the camp; but the consul, without paying any regard to such omens, ordered the standard-bearers to make use of spades and pick-axes, if they could not pull them up with their hands. He then marched out at the head of his troops, whose minds he so filled with hopes of victory, that the rabble, who followed the army for plunder, carrying with them chains and shackles to secure the prisoners, were as numerous as the soldiers. As for *Hannibal*, who was before the consular army, by the terrible ravages he committed in the plains of *Cortona*, he provoked the consul still more to follow him, and at length drew him insensibly into an ambuscade. Adjoining to *Cortona* are some pretty high mountains, near a great lake called *Thrasimenus*, now the lake of *Perugia*. Between these mountains and the lake is a large valley, into which there is but one narrow passage. Through this defile *Hannibal* marched, and incamped his *Spanish* and *African* infantry in the valley. His light-armed foot he drew up in one long line, and posted them at the foot of the hills, on the left-side of the valley; and with his horse he lined the right-side of it. *Flaminius*, without sending scouts before to discover the situation of the enemy, entered the dangerous pass. As it was late when he came into the valley, he had only time to pitch his camp before it was dark. As he saw nothing but *Hannibal's* camp before him, he was under no apprehension; but as soon as the *Romans* began to march again at break of day, they found themselves attacked on a sudden in front, in rear, and in flank, and yet, by reason of a thick fog from the lake, could not perceive the enemy by whom they were thus galled. *Flaminius* heard from his post the cries of his soldiers in different places, and the groans of dying men in the very center of his army; but as he could not, for the thickness of the fog, perceive whence the mischief came, he ran sometimes one way, and sometimes another, in great perplexity, exhorting his soldiers, who, in their distress, were imploring the assistance of the gods, not to depend on idle prayers, but on their arms. The confusion of the *Romans* was inexpressible. Every one endeavoured to shift for himself; but were stopped either by crowds of their fellow soldiers, who were flying as well as themselves, or by the enemy, who surrounded them on all sides. Some considering that it was in vain to fly, since they were shut in by a lake, by mountains, and by narrow passes well guarded, resolved to sell their lives dear. Accordingly they rallied, as it were by chance; and the officers mixing with the soldiers, without observing the usual order in battle, they fell on the enemy with such eagerness and fury, that they were not sensible of an earthquake, which overturned many cities in *Italy*. The slaughter continued three hours without intermission. At length one *Ducarius*, an *Insubrian* in the *Carthaginian* army, knowing *Flaminius*, whom he had formerly seen laying waste his country with fire and sword, cried out, There is the consul, who did so much mischief to our fields and cities. I will make him a victim to appease the

The battle of
the lake Thra-
simenus.

a the manes of my countrymen. At these words, he spurred on his horse, broke through the Romans who guarded their general, and run his lance through his body. *Flaminius* fell down dead, and the Gaul was preparing to strip him; but the triarii covered him with their bodies and bucklers. And now the Romans were intimidated to such a degree, that some leaped into the lake, and were drowned; others attempted to climb over the mountains; and a body of six thousand of them opened themselves a way through the narrow pass, sword in hand, and escaped to an eminence, whence they retired to a town in *Ettruria*, and there intrenched themselves. *Hannibal* detached, *Adherbal* after them with all his cavalry, and a great part of his infantry. The fugitives, being invested in the village, and destitute of all manner of provisions, were rendered to *Maberbal*, who promised them their lives and liberties; but *Hannibal*, pretending that *Maberbal* had not been empowered by him to make such a promise, loaded the Romans with chains; but dismissed their allies, assuring them, that he was come into *Italy* to deliver them from the tyrannical yoke of *Rome*, and restore them that liberty, which their fathers had enjoyed. By this artful proceeding, he hoped to draw over to his side the friends and allies of *Rome*.

Flaminius killed, and the Romans defeated.

b AFTER this complete victory, the conqueror ordered the dead to be numbered, and found, that he had lost but fifteen hundred men; whereas the Romans had lost as many thousands dead upon the spot. The number of prisoners taken by *Hannibal* amounted, according to *Plutarch*, to ten thousand; according to *Polybius* to fifteen thousand; but *Livy* and *Valerius Maximus* tell us, that six thousand only were made captives on this occasion. About ten thousand Romans, most of them wounded, made their escape, and took their rout to *Rome*, whither few of them arrived, the rest dying of their wounds before they reached the capital. When news was brought to *Rome* of this great overthrow, the prætor *Pomponius*, knowing it could not be long concealed, mounted the rostra about sun-set, and to an exceeding numerous assembly, even the women crowding to it, contrary to custom, pronounced the following words, *We are overcome*; which struck all with such terror, that some who were present, and had been in the battle, thought the defeat was greater at *Rome*, than it had been in the field. The dejection of the citizens was unexpressible. They hastened in crouds to the gates of the city, to wait for those who had escaped the general slaughter, and to learn from them the particulars of the action. Two mothers were so transported with joy, one at the gate of the city, when she saw her son unexpectedly appear, the other at home, where she found her son, whom she had given up for lost, that they both expired on the spot. In this general consternation the senators alone preserved their steadiness. The prætor assembled them, and kept them sitting three days together from sun-rising to sun-set; but, before they came to any resolution, news was brought of a second defeat. The consul *Servilius*, having heard at *Ariminum*, that his colleague had resolved to give battle, had detached four thousand horse to his assistance, under the command of the proprætor *Centenius*; but *Hannibal* hearing of this reinforcement immediately after the action, sent out *Adherbal* with all his cavalry, and a body of infantry, who meeting with the Roman horse, killed two thousand of them, and obliged the rest to take sanctuary on a neighbouring hill, where they were invested, and the next day forced to surrender.

Rome in the utmost consternation.

A detachment of 4000 Roman horse cut in pieces or taken.

c AND now the senate, judging that the republic wanted an absolute governor, without waiting for a nomination from the surviving consul, of their own authority named a dictator; but, out of regard to the ancient custom, they gave him only the title of *Pro-dictator*. The person chosen was *Fabius Maximus*, surnamed *Verrucosus*, a man as cool and cautious in his conduct, as *Sempronius* and *Flaminius* had been warm and impetuous. The people did not suffer him, as was customary for dictators, to name his general of the horse, but appointed one themselves, and pitched upon *Minucius Rufus*, a great favourite of the people, and a zealous partizan of the plebeian party. The new dictator began the functions of his office, by commanding the decemviri to consult the *Sibylline* books, in order to learn from those mysterious oracles the causes of the present calamities. The decemviri reported, that the misfortunes of the republic were owing to the non-performance of a vow made formerly by *Aulus Cornelius* to *Mars*, which was, to sacrifice to that god all the pigs, lambs, kids and calves that should be brought forth in one spring; that is, from the first of *March* to the first of *May*. This is what the ancients called *ver sacrum*. This vow being renewed,

Fabius Maximus dictator.

^a POLYB. l. iii. c. 24, 25. LIV. l. xxii. c. 7.

^b POLYB. & LIV. *ibid.*

Fabius follows
Hannibal,
without ha-
zarding a bat-
tle.

and several others made, the dictator took the field at the head of the army *Servilius* a had commanded, to which he added two new legions, appointing the city of *Tibur* for the place of general rendezvous. From thence he sent orders to all the country people to burn their houses, and retire with all their effects into places of safety. After this he set out on his march to meet *Hannibal*, not with a design to engage him, but only to watch his motions, straiten his quarters, and cut off his provisions, which, he knew, was the most effectual means of destroying him in a country so far from his own. Accordingly he followed him through *Umbria* and *Picenum* into the territory of *Adria*, and then through the countries of the *Marrucini* and *Frentani* into *Apulia*. When the enemy marched, he followed them; when they incamped, he did the same; but for the most part on eminences, and at some distance from their camp, watching all their motions, cutting off their stragglers, and keeping them in a continual alarm. This cautious way of proceeding, which gained him the surname of *Cunctator*, greatly distressed the enemy, but at the same time raised murmurs in the army. *Minucius*, who was a favourite of the people, and ambitious of the chief command, made no scruple to accuse the dictator of cowardice under the appearance of prudence; but neither the invectives of *Minucius*, nor the devastations which *Hannibal* committed in the countries of the allies of *Rome*, could make *Fabius* alter his measures. He still continued following the *Carthaginian* army, without hazarding a battle, and was never above one, or, at the most, two leagues from it. *Hannibal*, who was well apprised, that the measures *Fabius* had taken must at length utterly ruin the *Carthaginian* army, did all that lay in his power to bring him to a battle. He ravaged *Sammum*, plundered the territory of *Beneventum*, a *Roman* colony, and laid siege to *Telesia*, a city at the foot of the *Apennines*. But finding that neither the ravaging of the country, nor even the taking of some cities, could make *Fabius* quit his eminences, he resolved to make use of a stronger bait, which was to enter *Campania*, the finest country in *Italy*, and lay it waste under the dictator's eyes, hoping by that means to bring him to an action. Accordingly he ordered his guides, who were three *Campanian* horsemen in his army, to lead him to the territory of *Casinum*; but as he spoke *Latin* very indifferently, he pronounced the word *Casinum* in such a manner, that the guides understood *Casilinum*, and led his troops into narrow passes, which divide *Sammum* from *Campania*, at a small distance from *Casilinum*. He had no sooner entered the straits, than *Fabius*, who watched all his motions, attacked from the eminences his rear, put it into disorder, and killed about eight hundred of his men. *Hannibal*, thinking himself betrayed by his guides, ordered them all to be crucified; or, as *Livy* has it, vented his rage on one of them only, causing him to be first beaten with rods, and then crucified, for an example of terror to others¹.

Fabius is val-
lied as a cow-
ard by his own
army.

THE ravages he committed in *Campania*, raised such complaints in the *Roman* army against the dictator, that, for fear of irritating his men, he pretended to be as impatient of coming to a battle as *Minucius*, and accordingly marched after *Hannibal* with more expedition than usual; but at the same time avoided an engagement, under various pretences, with more care than the enemy sought it. He beheld, from the top of mount *Massicus*, the *Carthaginians* laying waste the fruitful plains of *Falerum*, without stirring from his post. Hereupon both officers and soldiers began to mutiny, and hearken with pleasure to the invectives of *Minucius*. *We have indeed*, said the general of the horse, *a noble leader; for fear of endangering our lives, he bids us in the clouds*. When these and such like reflections were told *Fabius*, he only replied, That he should be more cowardly than they supposed him, if, through fear of idle raileries, he neglected to follow the dictates of his reason, and continued the same conduct, notwithstanding he understood that his precaution and delays were blamed even at *Rome*. *Hannibal*, finding he could not by any means bring the dictator to a battle, resolved to quit *Campania*, which he found abounding more with fruit and wine than with corn, and to return into *Sammum*, through the pass called *Eribanus*. *Fabius* concluded from his march, that this was his design, got there before him, and incamped on mount *Callicula*, which commanded the pass, after having placed several bodies in all the avenues leading to it. *Hannibal* was for some time at a loss what to do; but at last contrived the following stratagem, which *Fabius* could not foresee, nor guard against. Being incamped at the foot of mount *Callicula*, he ordered *Asdrubal* to pick out of the cattle taken in the country two thousand of the strongest and nimblest oxen, to tie

Hannibal's
stratagem to
get through the
pass Eribanus.

¹ PLUT. in Fab. LIV. l. xxii. c. 33. POLYB. l. iii. c. 91.

- a faggots to their horns, and to have them and the herdsmen ready without the camp. After supper, when all was quiet, the cattle were brought in good order to the hill, where *Fabius* had placed some *Roman* parties in ambush to stop up the pass. Upon a signal given, the faggots on the horns of the oxen were set on fire, and the herdsmen, supported by some battalions armed with small javelins, drove them on quietly. The *Romans*, seeing the light of the fires, imagined, that the *Carthaginians* were marching by torch-light. However, *Fabius* kept close in his camp, depending on the troops he had placed in ambuscade; but when the oxen, feeling the fire on their heads, began to run up and down the hills, the *Romans* in ambush, thinking themselves surrounded on all sides, abandoned their posts, and climbing the ways where
- b they saw least light, returned to their camp. Then *Hannibal*, seeing the pass open, entered it, and getting safe through with his army and baggage, gained the plain before day-light, and incamped near *Allisa*, on the confines of *Samnium* and *Campania*. *Fabius*, tho' rallied by his soldiers for having been thus over-reached by the *Carthaginian*, still pursued the same measures, marched directly after *Hannibal*, and incamped on the eminences near *Allisa*. From thence he followed him all over *Samnium* into *Apulia*, intercepting many of his stragglers and convoys; but when he came to *Larinum* in the country of the *Frentani*, he received a letter from the senate, recalling him to *Rome*, on pretence of a solemn sacrifice, which required his presence; and then the virtue of this great man was put to a severe trial. Not only the blind multitude, but even the conscript fathers, had imbibed false prejudices against him. As *Hannibal* had artfully spared his lands in the general devastation, they began to suspect him of holding a secret correspondence with the enemy. Of this groundless suspicion they gave a signal proof, by refusing to send him a sum of money for the redemption of two hundred and forty-seven captives, whom *Hannibal* had released, pursuant to an agreement between him and the dictator concerning the exchange of prisoners; but this ingratitude of the senate served only to heighten the lustre of his virtue; for as he was a religious observer of his word, he ordered his son to sell his lands, and with the money paid the sum stipulated ^k.
- THE dictator, upon his leaving the army, commanded his general of the horse
- d not to hazard a battle during his absence; but *Minucius*, without paying any regard to his orders, immediately sent out strong parties to attack the *Carthaginian* foragers, and in two bloody skirmishes cut many of them in pieces, and took from them all their booty. The news of this success reaching *Rome* before the dictator, he found, on his arrival, both the senate and people strangely prepossessed against him, and in favour of his general of the horse. One *Metilius*, a tribune of the people, made an harangue to the multitude in the presence of *Fabius*, full of the blackest accusations against him; but the dictator, thinking it beneath him to make an apology, addressed himself to the assembly with the following words: *Fabius cannot be suspected by his country*. And then with an air of grandeur and intrepidity suitable to his rank, *Romans*, said he,
- e let us make haste to finish the religious ceremonies, which detain me from returning to the army. I have a refractory man to chastize, and a breach of military discipline to punish. I forbid *Minucius* to give battle; but he has disobeyed my orders, and I must make an example of him. The friends of *Minucius*, struck dumb with this declaration, began to consult how they could screen him from the severity of a magistrate invested with an uncontrollable power. *Metilius* advised the people to give the general of the horse an equal authority with the dictator. *Terentius Varro* was the only tribune, whom *Metilius* could prevail upon to second his motion. He was the son of a butcher, and had followed his father's profession in his youth; but growing rich, he had forsaken that mean calling, and, by the favour of the people, obtained first the prætorship, and afterwards the tribuneship. Now he aspired to the consulship, and therefore,
- f seeing the people greatly inclined to favour *Minucius*, he did not scruple to promote his fortune at the expence of his honour. He seconded *Metilius*, and both together got the law passed, establishing, by an unheard-of innovation, an equality between the dictator and his general of the horse. The senate, out of some unaccountable prejudice against *Fabius*, were mean-spirited enough to confirm this strange law. *Fabius*, having assisted at the sacrifice to which he had been called, and presided at the election of a new consul, *Attilius Regulus*, in the room of *Flaminius*, had left *Rome* before the decree was confirmed by the senate, but was overtaken on the road

Fabius recalled to Rome.

Minucius, his general of the horse, put upon an equal footing with him.

^k *Plur. in Fab. Polya. l. iii. c. 92. Liv. l. xxii. c. 15.*

by a messenger, injoining him, in the name of the *Roman* people and senate, to give a his general of the horse an equal share of the command. When he arrived at the camp, *Minucius*, in the first conference he had with him, proposed, that each should take his turn in the command of the whole army for a day, or a week; but *Fabius* chose to divide the army, and to command his share separately, hoping by that means to save at least a part of the *Roman* forces. The army being divided, the two generals did not remove far from each other, but incamped at a due distance; *Fabius* on the hill, and *Minucius* a little below him, almost in the plain. *Hannibal* posted himself over-against the latter, and, by his artful management, soon brought him to an engagement, in which, by the masterly skill of the *Carthaginian* in laying ambushes, he was surrounded on all sides, and would have been cut off with all his troops, had not *Fabius*, sacrificing his private resentment to the welfare of his country, hastened to his relief. That brave *Roman*, moved with compassion at the sight of the terrible slaughter that was made of his countrymen, rushed down like a torrent from his hills, fell upon the enemy where *Minucius* was most pressed, cut all in pieces who opposed him, and put the rest into the utmost confusion. Then *Minucius's* troops rallying, the two armies united, and advanced in good order to renew the fight; but *Hannibal*, not caring to venture a second action, sounded the retreat, and retired to his camp. He was heard to say, as he marched back, *I have always foreseen, that the cloud which appeared so constantly on the mountains, would, some time or other, break out into a storm, and discharge itself upon our heads.* After the action, *Minucius* and *Fabius* returned to their respective camps. The latter did not drop a word which favoured of ostentation, or of contempt for his colleague; and *Minucius* did justice both to himself and to *Fabius*. Having assembled his troops, he told them, He had learned by experience that he was not born to command; but that obedience ought to be his province; and that he was therefore resolved to return to the station, which he had presumptuously left. Come then, dear fellow-soldiers, said he, let us go, and offer our services to the dictator, and put ourselves again wholly under his conduct. Let him command alone, since he alone is fit to be the soul of so great a body. I will call him father; and you ought to give his soldiers, who delivered you, the title of patrons. It will be a greater glory for us to have conquered ourselves, than to have conquered *Hannibal*. Having thus spoke, he immediately marched his legions to the dictator's camp, presented himself before him, made his acknowledgments, and resigned the authority with which he had been intrusted. He declared, that he should think himself happy, if the dictator would only continue him in his office of general of the horse, and begged, that none of his officers might be degraded, since his rashness alone had brought dishonour upon them. *Fabius* tenderly embraced him, granted him what he asked; and the day which began with so much terror, ended with an universal joy in the camp. The six months of the dictatorship being soon after expired, *Fabius* returned to *Rome*, after having resigned the command of the army to the consuls *Servilius* and *Attilius*, who, observing the same conduct with *Fabius*, watched from the eminences the enemy's motions, without giving *Hannibal*, for the remainder of their year, an opportunity of attacking them.

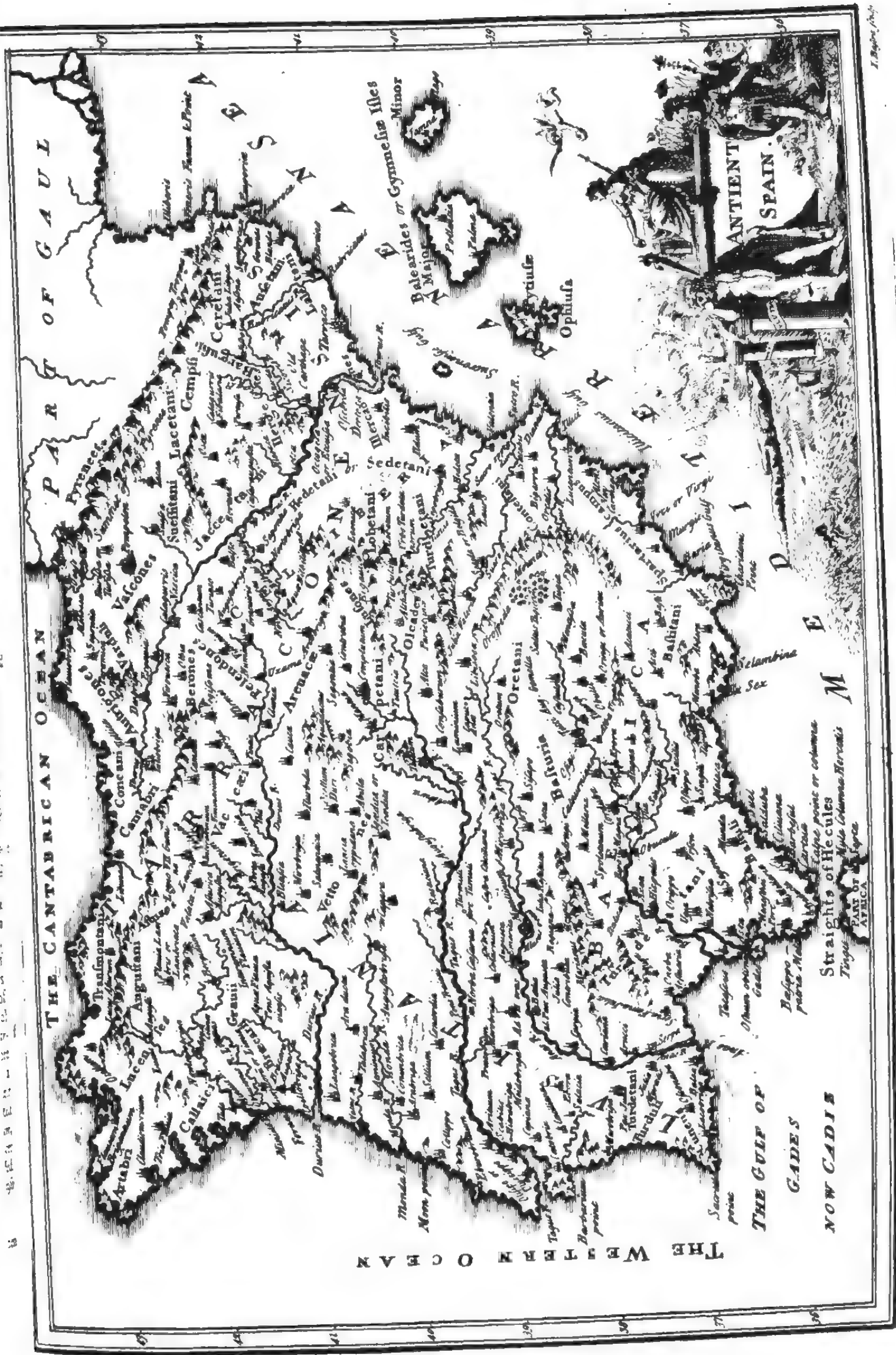
Fabius saves his colleague from being totally defeated.

Minucius resigns his new authority.

The state of affairs in Spain.

DURING these transactions in *Italy*, *Cneius Scipio* made a surprising progress in *Spain*. All the nations between the *Iberus* and the *Pyrenees* submitted to him, and put him in possession of a hundred cities. The *Celtiberians* entered into an alliance with him, and engaging *Asdrubal*, defeated him in two pitched battles, killed five thousand of his men, and took four thousand prisoners. This was the state of the *Roman* affairs in *Spain*, when *P. Scipio*, the brother of *Cneius*, arrived there with the character of proconsul, carrying with him eight thousand *Roman* troops. With this additional strength the two brothers passed the *Iberus*, and penetrating into the heart of the *Carthaginian* provinces, marched towards *Saguntum*, which *Hannibal* had rebuilt before he left *Spain*, and secured with a strong garison, under the command of *Bostar*, a *Carthaginian*, having placed in it all the young noblemen, whom he had obliged their parents to put into his hands, as pledges of their fidelity. As these hostages prevented the *Spanish* lords from revolting to the *Romans*, the two *Scipios* marched to *Saguntum*, in order to set them free. Their design was executed by one *Abelox*, a *Spanish* officer in the garison, who, having an inclination to go over to the *Romans*, persuaded *Bostar*, that it would be much for the *Carthaginian* interest, to oblige the *Spanish*

¹ POLYB. l. iii. c. 101, 102. L'V. l. xlii. c. 28, 29, 30. PLUT. in FAB.



PART OF GAUL

ANTIENT SPAIN

THE CANTABRICAN OCEAN

THE GULF OF CADES

NOW CADIZ

Straits of Hercules
Tingis
PART OF AFRICA

THE WESTERN OCEAN

I. B. 1794

- a noblemen by a voluntary release of their children, urging, that, if the *Romans* should take the place, and restore them to their parents, innumerable nations would immediately declare for them. He offered to conduct the hostages himself to their respective countries; but the inconsiderate *Carthaginian* had no sooner given his consent to this motion, than *Abelox*, stealing away in the night to the *Roman* camp, acquainted the proconsul with what he had done; and it was agreed between them, that the following night a detachment of *Romans* should lie in ambush, and surprise both the youths and their leader. The project was happily executed; and *Scipio*, by sending back the hostages to their parents, secured such an interest in the country, that he was stronger there than the *Carthaginians* ^m.
- b AND now the time for a new election drawing near, one of the consuls named a dictator to preside in the comitia, it not being safe for either of them to leave the army. The person named was *L. Veturius Philo*; but the augurs finding some defect in his nomination, he was forced to abdicate, and give place to an inter-regnum; when *Terentius Varro*, of whom we have spoken above, was chosen to the consulate, in spite of the utmost efforts of the whole body of the nobility. The colleague given him was *Æmilius Paulus*, as bitter an enemy to the plebeians, as *Varro* was to the patricians. *Servilius* and *Attilius* were continued, in quality of proconsuls, at the head of the armies; but with orders to act under the direction of the new consuls. That *Terentius*, who was a great favourite of the people, might have the glory of
- c conquering *Hannibal*, eight new legions were raised, consisting each of five thousand foot, and three hundred horse; and the allies were ordered to furnish the republic with double their contingents both of horse and foot. The winter being spent in these preparations, the consuls took the field early in the spring, and arriving at the camp, found affairs in a good condition there, *Servilius* and *Attilius* having avoided a general action, and in some skirmishes gained considerable advantages. *Hannibal*, soon after the arrival of the new consuls, whose army consisted in all of eighty-seven thousand men, being reduced to great straits for want of provisions, resolved to leave *Samnium*, and penetrate into the heart of *Apulia*. Accordingly he decamped in the night, and, by leaving fires burning, and tents standing in his camp, made the
- d *Romans* believe for some time, that his retreat was only feigned. When the truth was discovered, *Æmilius* was against pursuing him; but *Terentius*, contrary to the opinion of all the officers in the army, except the proconsul *Servilius*, was obstinately bent on following the enemy, whom he overtook at *Cannæ*, till this time an obscure city in *Apulia* (L). It stood on the banks of the *Aufidus*, in a vast plain, five miles from *Canusium*, and six from the *Adriatic* sea. Here *Hannibal* halted, not only because he found a magazine of corn in the place, but because he thought the open country about it very proper for a battle, there being room enough for his cavalry, the main strength and hopes of his army, to extend themselves. The consuls being divided in opinion about fighting, courier after courier was sent to *Rome*, and even
- e *Æmilius* went thither himself to receive the orders of the senate, who judged it necessary to fight the enemy; but advised *Terentius* not to do it yet. In the mean time *Hannibal* took his post on the banks of the river, and disposed all things as if he were just coming to a battle. His troops had the sun behind them at noon; so that the *Romans* must be exposed not only to the inconvenience of too great a light, but to that of great clouds of dust, which the south-west wind, that blows almost every day in *Apulia*, would carry in their faces. As for the consuls, they were no sooner within reach of *Cannæ*, than a dispute arose between them. *Æmilius* was for incamping on the eminences, where the enemy's cavalry, which was far superior to theirs, could not act; and accordingly, when it was his turn to command, he pitched his camp
- f among the hills; but *Terentius* the next day advanced into the plain, and brought the

Eight new legions raised in Rome.

^m POLYB. l. iii. c. 95. LIV. l. xxii. c. 19, 21, 22.

(L) *Cannæ*, according to *Livy*, *Appian* and *Florus*, was only a poor village, which afterwards became famous, on account of the battle fought near it; but *Polybius*, who lived near the time of the second Punic war, styles *Cannæ* a city; but adds, that it had been razed a year before the defeat of the Roman army. The account of *Silius* agrees with that of *Polybius*.

Ut ventum ad Cannas, urbis vestigia prisce,

says that poet. It was afterwards rebuilt; for *Pliny* ranks it among the cities of *Apulia* (27). The ruins of *Cannæ* are still to be seen in the territory of *Bari*, formerly called *Apulia Penceria*.

(27) *Plin. l. iii. c. 11.*

1. VOL. IV. N° 9.

8 S

army

The two Roman consuls disagree.

The disposition of the two armies at the battle of Cannæ.

The Roman horse defeated.

army into such a situation, that *Æmilius* the following day could not retire, without a exposing the army to great danger. He therefore fortified two camps, the greater on the west side of the river, and the lesser on the east, and opened a communication between them by a bridge. And now there was no longer the least harmony between the consuls; they had quite different maxims, and pursued opposite measures, each succeeding day destroying the projects of the preceding. *Hannibal*, perceiving that the Romans could not long avoid a general action, having harangued his troops, drew them up in battalia, and bid the enemy defiance. It was *Æmilius's* day to command; and he, knowing that *Hannibal* would be soon obliged to decamp for want of provisions, despised his bravadoes, and kept close in his intrenchments; but the next morning, by break of day, *Terentius*, whose turn it was to command, marched b his troops into the great plain, where the little camp was pitched, and drew them up after the usual manner, the hastati in the first line, the principes in the second, and the triarii in the third. The cavalry were posted on the wings. In the right the Roman knights flanked the legionaries; in the left the cavalry of the allies covered their own infantry. The two consuls commanded the two wings, *Æmilius* the right, and *Terentius* the left; and the two proconsuls, *Servilius* and *Attilius*, the main body. On the other hand, *Hannibal*, whose army consisted of forty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, placed his Gaulish and Spanish cavalry in his left wing, to face the Roman knights, and the Numidian horse in his right, over-against the cavalry of the allies of Rome. As to his infantry, he divided the African battalions into two bodies, one of which he posted c near the Gaulish and Spanish horse, the other near the Numidian. Between these two bodies were placed, on one side the Gaulish, on the other the Spanish infantry, drawn up in such a manner, as to form a kind of obtuse angle, projecting a considerable way beyond the two wings. Behind this first line he drew up a second, which had no projection. *Asdrubal* commanded the left wing, *Maberbal* the right, and *Hannibal* himself, with his brother *Mago*, the main body. The onset was begun with the light-armed infantry, the Romans discharging their javelins, and the *Baleares* their stones, with equal success; nevertheless the consul *Æmilius* was wounded. Then the Roman cavalry in the right wing advanced against the Gaulish and Spanish in *Hannibal's* d left wing. As they were shut in by the river on one side, and their infantry on the other, they did not fight, as usual, by charging and wheeling off, and then returning to the charge, but continued fighting each man against his adversary, till one of them was killed or retired. After they had made inconceivable efforts on both sides to overbear each other, they all on a sudden dismounted, and fought on foot man to man with incredible fury. But this attack was more bloody than long; the Gauls and Spaniards prevailed, put the Romans to the rout, and pursuing them along the river, strewed the ground with their dead bodies, *Asdrubal* giving no quarter. This action was scarce over, when the infantry advanced on both sides. The Romans fell first upon the Spaniards and Gauls, who, as we have observed above, formed a kind of triangle, projecting beyond the two wings. These gave ground, and, pur- e suant to *Hannibal's* directions, sunk into the void space in their rear; by which means they insensibly brought the Romans, who followed them with more ardor than caution, into the centre of the African infantry, and then rallying, attacked them in front, while the Africans charged them on both their flanks. The Romans being, by this artful retreat, drawn into the snare, and surrounded, no longer kept their ranks, but formed several platoons, in order to face every way. *Æmilius*, who was in the right wing, seeing the danger of the main body, at the head of the legionaries, who were his only hopes, after the defeat of the cavalry, acted the part both of a soldier and general, penetrating into the very heart of the enemy's battalions, and cutting in pieces all who opposed him. All the Roman cavalry that was left, attended f the brave consul on foot, and, encouraged by his example, fought like men in despair. But in the mean time *Asdrubal*, at the head of a detachment of Gaulish and Spanish infantry brought from the centre, attacked *Æmilius's* legionaries, who were greatly fatigued, with such fury, that they were forced to give ground, and fly. *Æmilius*, covered with wounds and blood, was too weak to reach the camp; and therefore, being deserted by his men, sat down on a stone, and in that condition was found by one *Lentulus*, a tribune, who was flying as well as the rest. *Lentulus*, knowing the consul, immediately dismounted, and offered him his horse; but *Æmilius* replied with a faint voice, I have lived long enough, dear *Lentulus*; fly, and let me die. Take care to give the senate timely notice of our misfortunes, that they may guard g and

- a and fortify *Rome*, and tell *Fabius*, that I have followed the advice he gave me at our parting to the very last. Then *Lentulus* passed on, and the enemy's cavalry, who pursued the *Romans*, coming up, killed the consul without knowing him (M). Thus fell one of the bravest consuls, and best citizens, *Rome* ever had.<sup>The consul
Æmilius Paulus
kill'd.</sup>

- In the main body the *Romans*, though invested on all sides, continued to sell their lives dear, fighting in platoons, and making a great slaughter of the enemy. But being at length overpowered, and disheartened by the loss of the two proconsuls, *Servilius* and *Attilius*, who headed them, they dispersed and fled, some to the right, and some to the left, as the ground or the enemy gave them an opportunity. But the *Numidian* horse, more fit for a pursuit, than a pitched battle, cut most of them in pieces. The whole plain was covered with heaps of dead bodies; insomuch that *Hannibal* himself, thinking the butchery too terrible, ordered his men to put a stop to it. As for *Terentius Varro*, the author of all these misfortunes, after the *Numidians* had put the wing he commanded into confusion, he without attempting to rally his men, fled to *Venusia* with only seventy horse. In this bloody action at least forty-five thousand *Romans* were left dead upon the spot (N); among whom were one consul, two proconsuls, two military quæstors, twenty-nine legionary tribunes, and fourscore senators or magistrates who had a right of voting in the senate, and had served as volunteers. Among the rest, the famous *Minucius* was killed, who had been general of the horse the last year under *Fabius*. About seventeen thousand of the right wing had fled to the two camps, ten thousand to the great camp, and seven thousand to the little one. The former having lost their officers, and expecting to be invested the next day, invited the latter to join them, that they might march away together in the night, and take refuge in *Canusium*, a strong city not far off. But it was with the utmost difficulty that *Sempronius Tuditanus*, a legionary tribune, could prevail upon any of those in the little camp to hearken to his proposal, they being all afraid lest the enemy should intercept them in passing from one camp to the other. However, the bravest of them drew themselves up at length into a *cuneus*, that is, in the form of a wedge, marched out in good order, and arrived safe at the great camp; where they joined their fellow-soldiers, marched away before day-break, and got to *Canusium*.<sup>And the Ro-
man army de-
feated with
great slaughter.</sup>
- c
- d

- In the *Carthaginian* camp the night was spent in feasting and rejoicings. *Hannibal* had never gained a more complete or more seasonable victory. As soon as the day returned, he beheld with infinite satisfaction the whole plain covered with *Romans*, who had been slain in the action, while in surveying the field of battle, he found that his loss amounted to no more than four thousand *Gauls*, fifteen hundred *Africans* and *Spaniards*, and about two hundred horse. *Hannibal* took, what in the action and what in the pursuit, ten thousand prisoners. Such a number of knights are said to have been found dead on the field, that three bushels of their rings were sent to *Carthage*. Immediately after the victory, *Maberbal* pressed *Hannibal* to march strait to *Rome*, and besiege that capital; which he refusing to do, *Maberbal* took the liberty to tell him, that he knew how to conquer, but knew not how to use and improve his victories. Many of the ancients have thought as *Maberbal* did, and have reproached the *Carthaginian* general with the same fault; but whether justly or not, may be well
- e

^a POLYB. l. iii. c. 115, 116. LIV. l. xxi. c. 48, 49.

(M) The account *Plutarch* gives us of the consul *Æmilius Paulus*'s death, is somewhat different from this. This great man, says he, after he had discharged all the duties of a good citizen, and able commander, was thrown by his horse, which probably had been wounded. Hereupon the knights round him dismounted to defend him; which the rest of the cavalry observing, believed that they had dismounted by the general's order, and did the same. In the mean time *Æmilius*, having received many wounds, and lost a great quantity of blood, rested some time on a stone; and then threw himself into the middle of the enemy's squadrons, who dispatched him with innumerable wounds.

(N) There is a great disagreement among authors as to the number of *Romans* killed and taken in the battle of *Canna*. According to *Livy*, the republic lost on that occasion fifty thousand men, the auxi-

liaries included. According to *Polybius*, of six thousand *Roman* horse only seventy escaped to *Venusia* with *Terentius Varro*, and three hundred of the auxiliary horse. As to the infantry, that writer tells us, that seventy thousand of the *Roman* foot died on the field of battle, fighting like brave men, and that thirteen thousand were taken prisoners. According to *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, of six thousand horse only three hundred and seventy escaped the general slaughter, and of eighty thousand foot, three thousand only. If we give credit to a tradition, which continued in *Plutarch*'s time, fifty thousand *Romans* were killed on the spot, and four thousand made prisoners, exclusive of the ten thousand who were, according to him, taken in the two camps the day after the battle. *Livy* says, that eight thousand of the best *Carthaginian* troops were killed in the action.

questioned.

questioned. The advantages he had gained were chiefly owing to his cavalry, who could be of no use in a siege. The Roman infantry were noways inferior to his, and would be invincible, when sheltered by walls and ramparts. The inhabitants of so populous a city were all bred up to arms from their infancy, obliged to serve as soon as they attained to the age of manhood, and would use their utmost efforts in defence of their wives, their children, and their domestic gods. They had as many generals as senators, most of them men of great prudence and conduct; whereas the advantages hitherto gained over them were owing to the rashness of some presumptuous and unexperienced generals, who had been placed at the head of their armies by the favour of the people, contrary to the interest of the public. Besides, no one nation or city of Italy had yet declared for him; and he might judge it necessary, and not without reason, to gain over or conquer some of them before he attempted the siege of Rome. Hannibal having, probably on these considerations, determined not to follow the advice of Maberbal, continued some days on the field of battle, allowing his soldiers to strip the dead, and gather up the booty, which the Romans had left on the plain. On this occasion the Carthaginians, among other moving objects, found, to their great surprise, a Numidian yet alive, lying under the dead body of a Roman, who had thrown himself headlong on his enemy, and beat him down; but being no longer able to make use of his weapons, because he had lost his hands, had tore off the nose and ears of the Numidian with his teeth, and in that fit of rage expired. The Carthaginians, having spent a whole day in stripping the dead bodies of the unhappy Romans, the victorious general invested the two camps in the evening, which he easily made himself master of, there being none in them but wounded men or cowards, who had not had courage enough to retire with their companions to Canusium. They all surrendered upon terms, and were allowed to march out with their cloaths, but without arms. The Romans were to pay three hundred denarii a head for their ransom, that is, 9 l. 7 s. 9 d. their allies two hundred, and each slave one hundred. Till this was done, Hannibal divided them into several companies, and kept them prisoners under different guards. They amounted in all to four thousand men, the rest having retired, as we have related above, to Canusium.

The two Roman camps taken.

Among those Romans, who had fled to Canusium, were four legionary tribunes; and of these the soldiers chose two to be their chief commanders, viz. Appius Claudius Pulcher, and young Scipio, the son of the proconsul in Spain, who was at this time but eighteen years of age. While Scipio was deliberating with his colleague what measures to take, notice was given him, that the young nobility among the troops were assembled in a house, and contriving how to leave Italy, and retire to some of those kings who were friends to Rome, which they gave up for lost. Hereupon the young tribune, filled with zeal, took with him a band of soldiers, surprised the cowards, and with his sword drawn came up to Cæcilius Metellus, the author of this pernicious design, whom he addressed thus; *I call the great Jupiter to witness, that I will never depart my country; nor will I suffer any man to do it. This I solemnly swear; and do you, Cæcilius, either take the same oath, or die.* The fear of present death made them all take the same oath; and then Scipio secured them with a strong guard. Thus this young Roman, whom we shall afterwards see honoured with the glorious surname of Africanus, signalized his zeal for the public welfare on his first entering upon public life. The consul Terentius, since his coming to Venusia, whither he had fled with only seventy men, had been joined by five thousand of the fugitives. With these he went to Canusium, as soon as he heard that there were six thousand more in that place, and joined his troops to them; so that the whole had now the appearance of a consular army.

In the mean time it was reported at Rome, that both consuls were killed, and that of eighty-seven thousand men there was scarce one left alive. Never was the city filled with more terror, nor a more universal consternation seen there. All the Roman constancy was necessary to prevent the fatal consequences of so shocking an affliction. For want of consuls, the two prætors assembled the senators, who could hardly give their opinions, being every moment interrupted by the cries of the people, and the shrieks of the women, who lamented the loss of their husbands, children, or fathers. As the conduct of Fabius was now fully justified by the defeat of Terentius, his counsel was listened to and followed. He advised them to send to the Apian and Latin

• Liv. *ibid.* c. 51.

- a ways horsemen well mounted, to learn from the fugitives the state of affairs; what was become of the consuls? to what place the remains of the army had retired? where *Hannibal* was incamped? what he was doing? and what he designed to do? That the women should by a decree be forbid to appear in public, and disturb the city with their outcries and lamentations; that when any courier arrived, he should be brought privately, and without noise, to the prætors; and that no person should be suffered to go out of the city, lest it should be deserted. This advice was applauded; the crowds that filled the streets, were dispersed; and each senator undertook to keep every thing quiet in his own neighbourhood. Such was the situation of affairs, when at length a courier arrived from *Terentius* with letters, importing, that the Roman army had been defeated; that *Æmilius* was slain; that he himself was retired to *Canusium*, where he was assembling the remains of the troops; that about ten thousand men of different corps had joined him, but most of them without officers; that *Hannibal* was still incamped at *Cannæ*, and busy there in fixing the ransoms of the prisoners he had taken. At the same time a vessel arrived from *Sicily* with letters from the prætor *Oscilius*, acquainting the senate, that a *Carthaginian* squadron was ravaging the coast of *Syracuse*, and waiting for an opportunity to make a descent. The conscript fathers, in the midst of these perplexities, behaved with incredible constancy; and assembling daily, made the necessary preparations for the defence both of *Italy* and *Sicily*. *Marcellus*, an hero already honoured with an extraordinary triumph for having defeated the *Gauls*, and killed their king in a single combat, had been appointed prætor of *Sicily*, and was now equipping a fleet at *Ostia*. But the senate ordered him from thence into *Apulia* to take upon him the command of the army at *Canusium* in the room of *Varro*, who was recalled. *Marcellus*, pursuant to his orders, set out immediately for *Rome*, and from thence for *Canusium*, where he found a body of about fourteen thousand men. Upon his arrival *Varro* left *Canusium*, and returned to *Rome*. It is almost incredible, that the author of so many both public and private calamities should be received with respect either by the senate or people. Nevertheless, all the ancients tell us, that he met with as kind a reception from all orders of men in the state, as if he had gained a signal victory. All the senators in a body, attended with crowds of people, went out to meet him, and thank him for not having despaired of the republic.^p *Valerius Maximus* tells us, that the senate and people offered him the dictatorship, which he refused, and by his modest refusal wiped off, in some measure, the shame of his former behaviour.^q Thus the *Romans*, by treating their unfortunate commanders with humanity, lessened the disgrace of their being vanquished or discharged, while the *Carthaginians* condemned their generals to cruel deaths upon their being overcome, often without their fault, by the enemy.
- As the present situation of affairs required an absolute magistrate, the senators, of their own authority, appointed *M. Junius Pera*, who had bore the offices of prætor, censor, and consul, to be dictator; and he chose *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus* for his general of the horse. *Junius* made it his whole business to put the army in a condition to make head against the victorious enemy. All the young *Romans* above seventeen years of age, of what rank soever, were obliged to enlist themselves; as were also those who had already served their legal time. By this means four legions, and ten thousand horse, were soon raised in the city. The allies of *Rome*, the colonies, and the municipia, furnished their contingents as usual. To these were added out of the great number of slaves in *Rome* eight thousand of the youngest and strongest. The republic purchased them of their masters, but did not oblige them to serve without their own consent, which they gave, when asked, by answering, *Volo, I am willing*; whence they were called *Volones*, to distinguish them from the other corps by a name less odious than that of slaves. As the *Romans*, after the loss of so many battles, had no swords, darts, or bucklers left in their magazines, the *Volones* were supplied with the arms which had been formerly taken from the enemy, and hung up in the public portico's and temples. The finances of *Rome* were no less exhausted; but this defect was supplied by the liberality of her citizens. The senators shewing the example, were followed first by the knights, and afterwards by all the tribes, who, stripping themselves of all the gold they had, brought it to the public treasury. The senators only reserved their rings, and the *bullæ* about their childrens necks. As for the silver coin,

Measures taken at Rome after the defeat at Cannæ.

Marcellus appointed to command the army.

Varro is well received at Rome.

M. Junius Pera dictator.

Slaves enlisted in the Roman troops.

^p PLUT. in Fab. LIV. l. xxii. c. 57.

^q VAL. MAX. l. iii. c. 6.

it was now for the first time alloyed with copper, and the value of it raised. Thus the finances were again put into a good condition, and a competent army raised.^a

In the mean time *Hannibal*, wanting money, gave the *Roman* prisoners leave to redeem themselves. The ransom of each horseman he fixed at five hundred *denarii*, that is, 16*l.* 2*s.* 11*d.* that of each foot soldier at three hundred, and of each slave at one hundred. As for the allies of *Rome*, notwithstanding his want of money, he dismissed them, agreeable to his former practice, without ransom. The *Roman* captives agreed to send ten of their body to negotiate their redemption at *Rome*; and *Hannibal* required no other security for their return, but their oath. *Carthalo* was sent at the head of them to make proposals of peace to the republic, which *Hannibal* imagined she would be glad to purchase at any rate. But upon the first report of *Carthalo's* arrival to treat of a peace, the dictator sent a licitor to him, commanding him forthwith to quit the *Roman* territory. As for the ten deputies, the senate, considering them as foreigners since their captivity, did not suffer them to enter the city, but met without the walls to hear what they had to offer in behalf of themselves, and their fellow-captives. After a warm debate, which lasted many hours, it was absolutely concluded against the redemption of those unhappy men, who, it was pretended, had acted the part of cowards in not retiring with their fellow-soldiers to *Canusium* (O). The prisoners being thus left to the mercy of the *Carthaginian*, he sent the most considerable among them to *Carthage*, and of the rest made gladiators, obliging them to fight with one another, even relations with relations, for the entertainment of his troops.^b

The Romans
refuse to redeem
their captives.

Capua submits
to Hannibal.

Mago gives an
account of Han-
nibal's victories
to the senate of
Carthage.

At length *Hannibal* left *Cannæ*, and took his rout towards *Compsa*, a city of the *Hirpini*, near the head of the *Aufidus*, which surrendered to him, and was the first that fell off from the *Romans*. From thence he turned towards *Capua*, the inhabitants of which city, thinking the time now come to shake off the *Roman* yoke, and recover their ancient liberty, sent deputies to treat with *Hannibal*, who promised them an intire liberty and independence, and besides agreed to put into their hands four hundred *Roman* knights, to be exchanged with the same number of *Capuan* youths in the service of *Rome*. Upon these conditions the *Capuans* surrendered their city to *Hannibal*. As to the *Roman* garison, the people contrived to shut them up in the public baths, and suffocate them there. When *Hannibal* made his entry, all the town crowded to meet him, except *Decius Magius*, a friend of the *Romans*, and a small number of the nobility, among whom was one *Perola*, the son of *Pacuvius*, who had been the chief author of the revolt. *Perola* was afterwards obliged by his father to go and pay his homage to *Hannibal*; but as he had imbibed the sentiments of *Magius*, he afterwards formed a design to stab the *Carthaginian* general at a magnificent entertainment, which his father was to give him. But *Pacuvius*, to whom he imparted his intention, in hopes of gaining his consent, dissuaded him from it; and *Hannibal* escaped this danger. The next day the senate of *Capua* being assembled, *Hannibal* complained to them of the disaffection of *Magius*, who was thereupon delivered up to him loaded with irons, and by his orders put on board a ship bound for *Carthage*. But the vessel being driven by a storm into the port of *Cyrene*, a city belonging to the king of *Egypt*, the illustrious prisoner ran and embraced the statue of *Ptolemy Philopator*; and the *Carthaginians* not daring to drag him from that sanctuary, he appealed to the king, and was conducted to *Alexandria*, where *Ptolemy* received him with great humanity, and gave him leave to return either to *Capua*, or to *Rome*; but he chose to continue at *Alexandria* under the protection of his deliverer.^c

AND now *Hannibal* dispatched his brother *Mago* to give an account at *Carthage* of his success. As soon as he arrived there, he acquainted the senate, that *Hannibal* in

^a Liv. ibid. c. 57, 58. PLUT. in Fab. FLOR. l. ii. Liv. l. xxii. c. 9, 10.

^b Liv. ibid.

^c PLUT. in Hannibal.

(O) More pressing reasons than the pretended cowardice of the captives, prevailed on the senate to conclude against their redemption. They were afraid of enriching *Hannibal* with the ransom-money, and at the same time willing to let him know, that *Rome* was not so destitute of men, but she could spare several thousands. Besides, by this signal punishment *Rome* taught her soldiers this great lesson, that in such conjunctures they must either conquer,

die, or live in perpetual slavery, which to a *Roman* was worse than death itself. One of the ten deputies mixed with the crowd, and disappeared. But *Rome* would not suffer the perjured wretch to reap the fruit of his iniquity. She ordered him to be taken out of his house, and sent back to *Hannibal's* camp. The republic was fond of purchasing the reputation of being just, when it cost little, and the state did not suffer by it.

- a six pitched battles had killed two hundred thousand Romans, and taken fifty thousand prisoners; and that the *Apulians*, *Brutians*, *Lucanians*, and *Campanians*, had submitted to the *Carthaginian* dominion. So much good fortune seemed incredible, and *Mago* was not believed, till he gave a glaring proof of it, by spreading abroad in the senate-house, some say, one bushel, others, three bushels of rings, taken from the Roman knights and senators (P). Having thus preposessed the senate in favour of his brother, he proceeded to solicit succours for him, that he might be enabled to carry on so successful a war. The request was approved of, and the *Barcan* faction triumphed. *Himilco*, the head of it, turning to *Hanno*, as it were, to insult him, *Well*, said he, *has the war turned to the disadvantage of our country? Must we deliver up Hannibal to the Romans?* *Hanno*, though thus provoked, answered with moderation: *The war*, said he, *is successfully begun, I grant it; but I shall not be easy, till an end is put to it by a happy peace. Send me troops and provisions*, says *Hannibal*. *Is this the language of a conqueror, who is master of so many nations in Italy? The Roman republic, we are told, is reduced to the last extremity. Do the vanquished shew any signs of despair? Tell me, Mago, Do they make any advances towards a peace? Do they seem to desire it?* *Mago* answered, that the Romans indeed, notwithstanding their losses, strove to put a good face upon their affairs, however desperate. I conclude then, resumed *Hanno* briskly, *that we are scarce any farther advanced, than we were the day Hannibal entered Italy. We have indeed done enough to obtain an advantageous peace with Rome; and that ought to be our utmost view. One single defeat may undo all our mighty projects. I therefore vote against sending any succours to the army in Italy. If Hannibal has really gained these great victories, he needs no supplies; if he sends us false accounts, he deserves none.* But notwithstanding *Hanno's* speech, an immediate supply of four thousand Numidians, forty elephants, and a thousand talents of silver, were by a plurality of voices decreed for the army in Italy. Nor was this all; a commissioner was sent with *Mago* into Spain with powers to raise levies there, which were to be equally divided between the *Carthaginian* armies in Spain and Italy. *Asdrubal*, who had just obtained a signal victory over the revolted Spaniards, and subdued the country of the *Carpetani*, was ordered to leave Spain, and march with his army to the assistance of his brother in Italy. In his room *Himilco* was sent into Spain with a competent army, and a sufficient number of galleys to keep the seas. But in the mean time the two *Scipio's*, hearing that *Asdrubal* was advancing towards the *Iberus* in his way to the Pyrenees, and knowing of what dangerous consequence it would be for Rome, that *Hannibal* should receive so strong a reinforcement, resolved to oppose his passing that river. With this view they passed the *Iberus*, and having brought *Asdrubal* to a general engagement, gained a complete victory, which prevented the *Carthaginian* for some years from going into Italy. Thus the two *Scipio's* by their victories and prudent conduct in Spain made Rome amends for the losses she sustained in Italy.
- The dictator *Junius*, and the senate, encouraged by the news they received from Spain, carried on their preparations for the next campaign with great expedition, while *Hannibal* was losing his time at *Capua*, being captivated with the bewitching pleasures of that place. The dictator released from prison all criminals, and persons confined for debt, who were willing to enlist themselves. Of these he formed a body of six thousand foot, armed with the broad swords and bucklers which had been formerly taken from the Gauls. Then the Roman army, to the number of about twenty-

Hanno's speech in the senate.

Asdrubal defeated in Spain by the Scipio's.

Criminals and prisoners for debt enlisted at Rome.

(P) Authors are divided about this prodigious quantity of gold rings. *Pliny* seems to insinuate, that *Hanno* carried with him to *Carthage* three bushels of rings. To make the thing the more credible, he tells us, that in the time of the second *Punic* war, all the citizens of Rome, without exception, assumed the right of wearing a gold ring (18). *Florus* says, that *Hannibal* sent to *Carthage* two bushels of gold rings, and that by them the senate judged of the number of Roman knights, who had lost their lives in the several battles *Hannibal* had gained (29). The most probable opinion, according to *Livy*, is, that one bushel of rings was sent to *Carthage*. The same author adds, that *Hanno*, to shew how great the loss of the Romans was, acquainted the senate of *Carthage*, that at Rome only knights, and the most

considerable amongst the citizens, had the privilege of wearing gold rings. If all, without distinction, had enjoyed this privilege, as *Pliny* insinuates, *Hannibal* might well have sent three bushels of rings to *Carthage* after the many victories he had already gained. But the opinion most agreeable to the testimony of the ancients is, that only knights and patricians at this time were allowed to wear rings. *Florus* tells us, that *Hannibal*, to shew how many Romans had fallen in the battle, made a bridge with their dead bodies for his troops over the river *Vergellus*. What *Florus* says is confirmed by *Valerius Maximus*; but *Polybius*, *Plutarch*, and *Livy*, make no mention either of the river *Vergellus*, or of this new kind of bridge.

(18) *Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 1.*

(19) *Flor. l. ii. c. 16.*

Hannibal takes
Nuceria.

Marcellus
gains an ad-
vantage over
Hannibal be-
fore Nola.

five thousand men, partly citizens, partly slaves, and partly criminals, marched out ^a of Rome under the command of the dictator. The remains of *Varro's* army, about fifteen thousand men, were kept by *Marcellus* at *Casilinum* in a readiness to march, whenever there should be occasion. At length *Hannibal* began to move from *Capua* in order to subdue the rest of *Campania*. He made a fruitless attempt upon *Neapolis*, and then turned towards *Nola*. But the inhabitants of that city were kept steady by the presence of *Marcellus*, who, leaving *Casilinum*, passed the *Vulturnus*, crossed the mountains of *Suessula* with incredible expedition, and unexpectedly appeared before *Nola*. Then the *Carthaginian*, after having made another unsuccessful attempt upon *Neapolis*, fell upon *Nuceria*, which, for want of provisions, was obliged to capitulate. From *Nuceria* he returned to *Nola*, with a design to besiege it, *Marcellus* having ^b shut himself up in the place with all his troops. The inhabitants were greatly inclined to favour *Hannibal*, and their affection for the *Carthaginian* was kept up by a young man of known valor, and great interest among the people, by name *Bantius*. He had served in the *Roman* armies with credit, and signalized himself at the battle of *Cannæ*, fighting near the consul *Æmilius*, till being covered with wounds, he dropt down on the field of battle, where he was found the next day and brought to *Hannibal*. As none of his wounds proved mortal, *Hannibal*, understanding that he was a native of *Nola*, took great care of him, and when he was cured of his wounds, sent him home without ransom. This friendly behaviour had its due effect on the mind of the generous *Bantius*. He returned to *Nola* wholly in the *Carthaginian* interest, and ^c gained over many of the chief citizens to his party. *Marcellus* could have easily destroyed him, but he chose rather to gain him. One day, when he came to wait on *Marcellus*, the *Roman*, pretending not to know him, asked him his name. My name, replied the young warrior with a great deal of modesty, is *Bantius*. What, are you the famous *Bantius*, answered the general, so much celebrated at Rome? I have often heard of you. It was not your fault that a *Roman* consul fell into the enemy's hands. How much blood did you lose in endeavouring to save his life! What pleasure is it to me, to see and embrace a brave man, who does honour to his country, and may be a means of saving Rome! Then *Marcellus* to tender embraces added presents, and in short rekindled in his heart his former love for Rome. The recovery of this single man brought many ^d *Nolans* over to *Marcellus*, who was informed by them of all the secrets of the *Carthaginian* party. This was the situation of affairs at *Nola*, when *Hannibal* appeared before it, not doubting but he should soon become master of a place, in which he had all the populace and most of the nobility on his side. But *Marcellus* having by sound of trumpet forbid any of the citizens to approach the ramparts, or even come out of their houses on pain of death, drew up his men within the walls, and sallying out at three several gates, fell unexpectedly upon *Hannibal*, killed five thousand of his men, and obliged the rest to retire in great confusion. In this action, which revived the courage of the *Romans*, by shewing them that *Hannibal* was not invincible, the number of the killed on the side of the *Romans* amounted only to five hundred ^e. Some ancient writers, quoted by *Livy* ^w, tell us, that the number of the dead on the side of the *Carthaginians* amounted to no more than two thousand three hundred; but add, that the *Romans* lost only one man in the action. This check was a sensible mortification to *Hannibal*, who thereupon left *Nola*, and marched to *Acerra*, a small city in that neighbourhood. But the *Acerrani* upon his approach with one consent abandoned their houses, and retired with their most valuable effects to those cities in *Campania*, which continued faithful to the *Romans*. The *Carthaginian* having made himself master of the empty city of *Acerra*, in order to recover his reputation, undertook the siege of *Casilinum*, a strong city on the banks of the *Vulturnus*, thinking it garrisoned by *Campanians*. But it had happened, that a body of *Prænestines* having found ^f the inhabitants, as they passed through their city, wavering in their fidelity to Rome, had cut their throats in the night, and possessed themselves of the walls. These had been afterwards reinforced by about four hundred *Perusians* from *Hetruria*, and a small number of *Latins* and *Romans*. As they were all men of bravery and resolution, they made such a vigorous defence, that *Hannibal* was obliged, after several fruitless attempts, to turn the siege into a blockade ^x. Having therefore left part of his troops in the camp, as winter now approached, he quartered the rest in the villages and open places of *Campania*, while he himself took up his residence in the voluptuous city

^a PLUT. in Marcell.

^w LIV. l. xxiii. c. 16.

^x LIV. ibid. c. 18.

- a of *Capua*, where he got a thorough relish for pleasure, which brought him down to a level with the rest of mankind. The less he had been used to an effeminate life, the more he now indulged himself in it, spending most part of his time in feasting and revelling with the *Capuan* women. He was more frequently seen, says *Valerius Maximus*^{*}, among the young debauchees in a public place called *Seplasia*, than in his camp before *Casilinum*. *Seplasia* was a public place in *Capua*, whither all the debauchees resorted; and therefore so infamous, that it was deemed a crime in a *Roman* barely to appear there. Thus *Capua* proved more fatal to *Hannibal*, than *Cannæ* to the *Romans*. All the ancients reproach him more for the life he led at *Capua*, than for his having neglected to besiege *Rome* after the battle of *Cannæ*. The example of the general infected the soldiery; inasmuch that when he led them again in the spring to the siege of *Casilinum*, he found them quite altered, and as impatient of military toils as raw levies. They were followed by troops of dissolute women, and thinking it hard to live in tents, they deserted in crouds, and returned to *Capua*, and the other places in *Campania*, where they had spent the winter so much to their satisfaction. *Hannibal*, instead of attempting to storm the besieged town, endeavoured to reduce it by famine; and indeed the garison was brought to the utmost extremity for want of provisions. Two *Roman* armies were within reach of the place; but neither in a condition to relieve it. The dictator *Junius* was soon recalled to *Rome* to consult new auspices, and had forbid, before his departure, *Sempronius* his general of the horse, to undertake any thing during his absence. The brave *Marcellus* was willing to relieve the besieged at all events; but the inhabitants of *Nola* would not suffer him to leave them, imagining, that the blockade of *Casilinum* was only a feint, and that *Hannibal's* real aim was at their city. In the mean time the garison of *Casilinum*, being almost starved to death, were scarce able to carry their arms. Many of them, to avoid perishing with hunger, or falling into *Hannibal's* hands, put an end to their unhappy lives. *Sempronius*, greatly affected with the distress of these brave men, endeavoured to relieve them, by throwing first barrels of meal, and afterwards nuts, into the *Vulturnus*, which ran through the town. But this artifice being discovered, and all methods of supplying the city intirely stopped, *Hannibal* summoned the garison to surrender. But those brave men, preferring death to slavery, would not hearken to his summons, their hunger in the mean time not suffering them to spare any animals whatsoever, not even rats. Nay, at length they pulled off the skins of their bucklers, soiteden them in the water, and lived upon them with great frugality. Lastly, to give the enemy a proof of their constancy and resolution, they ploughed up the ground near their houses, and sowed it with pulse. When *Hannibal* heard this, he cried out, *What then, do the besieged design to keep me here till their seed is come to maturity?* From that time he shewed himself inclined to consent to a capitulation, which was soon agreed to by both parties on this condition, that the freemen should be allowed to march out of the town upon their paying seven ounces of gold a head. Thus *Hannibal* made himself master of *Casilinum* after a long blockade, during which the *Prænestines* and *Perusians* gave proofs of a constancy scarce to be matched by the *Romans* themselves. The inhabitants of *Petilia*, a city in the country of the *Brutians*, which *Hannibal* besieged next, gave him as much trouble as the garison of *Casilinum*; but was taken at last, the *Romans* not being in a condition to send them succours.

In the mean time, as the best part of the *Roman* nobility had lost their lives in the war, the conscript fathers began to think of filling up the vacant places in the senate; and because there were then no censors, they ordered *Terentius Varro* to nominate some person, who had been formerly censor, to be a second dictator, whose office should be wholly confined to this province. *Terentius* named *M. Fabius Buteo*, the oldest of the former censors; but did not allow him a general of the horse. *Fabius* discharged his office with great prudence; for he first chose to the senatorial dignity all those, who since the last censors had obtained curule magistracies; then those without exception, who had been tribunes of the people, plebeian ædiles, or quæstors; and lastly, such as had distinguished themselves in the army, or obtained any military rewards from their generals. Thus an hundred and seventy-seven new senators were created without jealousy, complaints, or contention; and the dictator had no sooner read the list to the people, than he abdicated his dignity, highly applauded by all ranks of men.

* VAL. MAX. l. ix. c. 1.

† Vide Cic. in Pisonem.

‡ Liv. ibid. c. 22.

Hannibal entertains himself at Capua.

The brave defence of the garison of Casilinum.

The vacant places in the Roman senate filled up.

A Roman
army cut in
pieces by the
Boii.

Marcellus is
elected consul;
but abdicates.

THE senate being thus filled up, the next business was to chuse consuls for the ensuing year. *Sempronius Gracchus*, general of the horse to the dictator *Junius*, and *Posthumius Albinus*, who commanded a body of troops in *Cisalpine Gaul*, were raised to the consulate. After the election of the consuls, the prætors, and other great officers of the state, were appointed; but in all these promotions *Marcellus*, notwithstanding the glory he had lately acquired, was intirely forgot, through the jealousy, as some writers conjecture, of the dictator *Junius*, who presided at the election of the new magistrates. The elections being over, the dictator returned to his camp; but the consul *Sempronius* continued in *Rome* to consult with the senate about the operations of the approaching campaign. But in the mean time news was brought to *Rome*, that *Posthumius Albinus*, who was just raised to the consulate a third time, had been cut off with all his army by the *Boii* in a vast forest, called by the *Gauls* the forest of *Litana*, which he had been obliged to cross. Hereupon the consul *Sempronius*, having assembled the senate, endeavoured to raise their dejected spirits, advising them among other things to withdraw all their forces out of *Gaul*, and other countries, and turn them against *Hannibal*, the only source of all their evils. If we can once drive *Hannibal* out of *Italy*, said he, the rebellious nations will be soon reduced again. This advice was followed, and all the troops of the republic ordered into the provinces near *Hannibal*. The army, which the dictator *Junius* had commanded, was given to the consul *Sempronius*. *Marcellus's* army, which consisted of those who had escaped the general slaughter at *Cannæ*, was commanded to go into *Sicily*, and continue there as long as the war should last in *Italy*. In exchange for them, the two legions, which had hitherto served in *Sicily*, were ordered to *Italy* to serve there under the consul, whom the centuries were soon to appoint in the room of *Posthumius*, who had been killed by the *Boii*. *Terentius Varro*, notwithstanding his late misconduct, was intrusted with the command of an army in *Apulia* with the character of proconsul. When the time came for the electing of a new consul, the tribes unanimously chose *Marcellus*, notwithstanding the intrigues of *Sempronius*, who, fearing he might be eclipsed by the extraordinary merit of that great man, had kept him out of the way. However, a storm, attended with dreadful claps of thunder, happening to rise during the assembly, it is incredible with what greediness the augurs took hold of this accident, to declare that the election of *Marcellus* was not agreeable to the gods. *Marcellus* was a plebeian, as was also his colleague *Sempronius*; and the patricians, unwilling to see two plebeian consuls at the same time, influenced the augurs to pronounce the election of *Marcellus* disagreeable to the gods. But the people would not have acquiesced to the declaration of the augurs, had not *Marcellus* shewed himself on this occasion as zealous a republican, as he was a great commander: for he refused to accept the fasces, though offered him by the whole body of the people, saying, that he had rather lead a private life, than enjoy the greatest honours in the republic, contrary to the will of the gods, and the inclination of any of his fellow-citizens. Then the famous *Fabius Maximus* was chosen in his stead, and raised a third time to the consulate.

WHILE the republic was busy in making these elections and preparations for pursuing the war, *Hannibal* made himself master of *Consentia* on the *Crathis*, of *Croton*, *Locri*, and several other cities in *Great Greece*. The Romans therefore took the field. *Fabius* put himself at the head of those troops, which the late dictator had commanded. *Sempronius* took upon him the command of the new levies made at *Rome*, consisting mostly of slaves, to whom were added twenty-five thousand auxiliaries. The prætor *Lævinus* was ordered to cover *Apulia* with two legions. *Marcellus* was appointed to command the troops with which he had defended *Nola*; but such among them as had escaped from the battle at *Cannæ* were sent over to *Sicily*, their room being supplied by two legions from that island. Lastly, *Terentius Varro* led an army into *Picenum* to defend that country, and raise recruits there.

AS *Campania* was now the seat of the war, the *Campanians*, who had espoused the cause of *Hannibal*, raised an army of about fourteen thousand men of their own nation, and put one *Marius Alfius* at the head of it. His first attempt was upon the city of *Cumæ*, which adhered to the Romans. The *Cuman* senators, and those of the other cities of *Campania*, used annually to meet at a place called *Hamæ*, not far from *Cumæ*, to perform a solemn sacrifice, and deliberate upon the general affairs of the province. *Alfius* formed a scheme of surprising on this occasion the senators of *Cumæ*; but they,

* Liv. ibid. Plut. in Marcell.

• Liv. & Plut. ibid.

suspecting

- a suspecting his design, gave notice of it to the consul *Sempronius*, who, as he lay within six miles of them, fell on the *Campanian* army in the night, killed two thousand of them, among whom was their leader *Alfus*, and put the rest to flight. However, as *Hannibal* was not far off, *Sempronius*, unwilling to expose his unexperienced troops to the danger of a battle, immediately retired, and shut himself up in *Cumæ*, which *Hannibal* invested; but was obliged to raise the siege after he had lost thirteen hundred men in that unsuccessful attempt. At the same time another *Sempronius*, surnamed *Longus*, who commanded a body of troops in *Lucania*, gained a considerable victory over *Hanno*, and *Lævinus* retook three cities in the country of the *Hirpini*, which had revolted to *Hannibal*. During these transactions ambassadors from *Philip* king of *Macedon* to *Hannibal* being intercepted and sent to *Rome*, the senate found, that a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive was actually concluded between the *Macedonian* and *Carthaginian*. In order therefore to keep the former out of *Italy*, *Lævinus* was ordered to imbarque at *Tarentum*, sail for *Macedon*, and find king *Philip* employment at home. And now *Fabius*, who had hitherto continued quiet in his camp at *Cale*, being well apprised that his rival's remissness was not feigned, as he had imagined, but real, boldly passed the *Vulturnus*, and crossing a large plain near mount *Tifata*, on which *Hannibal* was incamped, joined his colleague *Sempronius* at *Cumæ*. On the other hand *Marcellus*, who was incamped at *Nola*, made daily incursions into the countries of the *Hirpini* and *Samnites*, who had revolted to *Hannibal*, committing every-where dreadful
- c devastations. The *Samnites*, surprised to find *Hannibal* so unactive, and so little zealous in their defence, sent deputies to him, and by their repeated complaints prevailed upon him at last to come to their assistance. Upon his approach *Marcellus* retired behind the walls of *Nola*, which *Hannibal* immediately invested with his whole army. After he had for some days battered the walls with incredible fury, *Marcellus*, thinking it less dangerous to engage the enemy in the open field, than in the narrow streets of *Nola*, the walls being already half ruined, resolved to put the whole to the issue of a general action. Accordingly, he marched out with his men in good order, and after having obliged the *Carthaginians*, who were carrying on the siege, to retire to their camp, which was about a mile from the city, he drew up his small army in the plain
- d between the *Carthaginian* camp and the city. *Hannibal* could not persuade himself, that *Marcellus*, whose forces were so much inferior in number to his own, really designed to hazard a battle; however, after having encouraged his men with a short harangue, in which he treated the *Romans* with the utmost contempt, he advanced boldly, not doubting but the enemy would retire, at the sight of his army in battalia, behind the walls of the city. He was therefore greatly surprised, when he saw the *Romans* not only stand their ground, but at the very first onset put his advanced guard into disorder. *Marcellus* had armed his infantry with long pikes, used only at sea, and chiefly in boarding of ships, and taught them how to manage this new kind of weapon, in order to keep the enemy at a distance; so that the *Carthaginians*, who
- e carried only short javelins, finding it impossible to hurt the *Romans*, while they themselves were run through with their long pikes, began to retire, and, in spite of all *Hannibal* could do, to save themselves by flight to their camp. *Marcellus* pursued them close, and before they got to the camp killed five thousand of them, and took six hundred prisoners, nineteen standards, and two elephants, which with some others had been lately sent from *Carthage*. *Marcellus* lost about a thousand men, who were trod down by the *Numidian* horse, headed by *Hannibal* in person. The *Romans*, encouraged by this advantage, asked leave of their general to attack *Hannibal's* camp; but the wise *Marcellus*, without hearkening to their request, sounded a retreat, and returned to *Nola*, which he entered amidst the acclamations of the citizens. After this defeat,
- f *Hannibal* had the further mortification to be abandoned by twelve hundred and seventy-two of his best horse, partly *Spaniards*, and partly *Numidians*, who had crossed the *Alps* with him. Some discontent was, without all doubt, the occasion of their desertion; but they gave out, that the esteem they had conceived for the *Romans*, induced them to it. Be that as it will, they continued ever after faithful to the republic, and did her important services; for which they were, in their old age, rewarded with lands in their own countries, when the *Romans* had conquered *Africa* and *Spain*. *Hannibal* was so touched with the reproach, which this desertion of his old companions in victory threw upon him, that he left *Campania*, and retiring into *Apulia*, incamped near *Arpi*. He was no sooner gone, than *Fabius*, drawing near to *Capua*, laid waste
- g the whole country about it, and then incamped at *Suessula* within reach of *Naples* and

The consul
Sempronius
routs the Cam-
panians.

Marcellus de-
feats Hannibal
in a pitched
battle.

A body of Han-
nibal's best
horse desert to
the Romans.

and *Nola*, in order to succour them in case they were attacked. In the mean time ^a winter approaching, *Fabius*, either out of jealousy, or to lessen the expences of the republic, ordered *Marcellus* to disband his army, and to leave in *Nola* only a sufficient garison to defend it. *Marcellus* obeyed, but did not go to *Rome* with his disbanded troops, chusing rather to stay at *Nola*, than to be importuned at *Rome* by his friends, who were for his soliciting the consulate in the next election. As he had contributed more to the glory of the republic, and the discredit of *Hannibal*, than all the generals of *Rome*, and even *Fabius* himself, he was resolved to owe his promotion wholly to his merit and services; and therefore disdaining to offer himself as a candidate in the comitia, or to court the favour of the people, he spent the winter in tranquillity at *Nola* ^c.

Sardinia once
more reduced.

Asdrubal de-
feated by the
Scipio's in
Spain.

*Fabius Maxi-
mus* and *Mar-
cellus* elected
consuls.

^b DURING these transactions in *Italy*, the prætor *Manlius Torquatus* defeated the *Sardinians*, who had revolted, though assisted by an army sent from *Carthage*, under the command of *Asdrubal*, surnamed *The Bald*, killed twelve thousand of the enemy upon the spot, took *Asdrubal* himself with *Hanno* and *Mago* his chief officers prisoners, and reduced the whole island. The two *Scipio's* were equally successful in their wars in *Spain*, where with an army only of sixteen thousand men they gained a complete victory over *Asdrubal*, whose forces amounted to the number of sixty thousand. But the accounts which the senate received from *Sicily*, were not so satisfactory. Good king *Hiero*, who had continued so faithful to the republic for fifty years together, had lately ended his days there, and had been succeeded by his grandson *Hieronymus*, who, having insulted the *Roman* ambassadors, made a treaty of alliance with the *Carthaginians*, and was intirely governed by their councils. This gave no small uneasiness to the senate, who thereupon ordered new levies to be raised, and sent into *Sicily*. But in the mean time the consular year being near expired, *Fabius* returned to *Rome* to preside at the election of the new consuls. On the day appointed the tribes assembled, and the majority of the first tribe that voted nominated to the consulship *T. Otacilius*, and *M. Æmilius Regillus*, both men of merit, but yet not of such abilities as the present necessities required. *Fabius* therefore, interrupting the election for a short time, exhorted the tribes to chuse such consuls as they would name, if they were to appoint two generals to give *Hannibal* battle. As to those they had already ^d named, he told them, that he could not be so partial to them, as to think them capable of making head against the crafty and experienced *African*. He then ordered the first tribe to return to the voting-place, and give their suffrages anew. *Otacilius*, who was nearly related to *Fabius*, made at first some opposition to this; but the lictors, surrounding him with their axes, soon forced him to be silent. Then the tribes unanimously chose *Fabius* himself, and *Claudius Marcellus*; though absent. *Rome* had never seen two greater men together at the head of affairs. *Fabius* had indeed by an irregular proceeding contributed to his own continuance in the consular dignity, contrary to law and custom; but yet no one accused him of ambition or tyranny, or imagined him actuated by any other motive than that of zeal for his country. The first ^e thing the new consuls did was to raise six legions to be added to the twelve already on foot. As the *Sicilian* expedition seemed to require most dispatch, *Otacilius* was ordered to imbarque with all expedition for that island; and in order to equip a fleet for that service, each head of a family, who by the last censor's register was found worth from fifty thousand to a hundred thousand asses, was obliged to maintain a rower or sailor at his own expence for six months; and the more wealthy, three, five, seven, in proportion to their riches. The senators obliged themselves to maintain eight men, each for one year; so that a fleet was soon manned and equipped without being any ways chargeable to the republic ^d.

^f AND now the land-forces began to be in motion, when the *Capuans*, terrified at the extraordinary number of the forces of the republic commanded by so many able generals, recalled *Hannibal*, who, quitting *Apulia*, and returning to his camp on mount *Tifata*, ordered *Hanno* at the head of seventeen thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse, to seize *Beneventum*. But *Sempronius*, by the direction of *Fabius*, having got to that city before the *Carthaginian*, made himself master of it, and then marched to meet *Hanno*, in order to give him battle. *Sempronius's* army consisted mostly of *Volones*, and the general, in order to engage them to exert themselves, promised every man his liberty, who should bring off the head of an enemy, the senate having im-

^a Liv. ibid. c. 46. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 3.

^b Liv. l. xxiv. c. 11. VAL. MAX. l. v. c. 6.

- a powered him to set at liberty such of his slaves as he pleased. No soldiers ever shewed a greater eagerness to engage an enemy, than the volones did after *Sempronius* had made them this promise. They ranged themselves round the prætorium by break of day, soliciting the general to lead them against the enemy, that they might deliver themselves from slavery either by death or victory. *Sempronius* did not suffer their ardor to cool, but immediately led them into a neighbouring plain, through which *Hanno* was to pass, as *Sempronius* had been informed, on his march to *Beneventum*, not knowing that the Romans were already masters of that city. Accordingly, the Roman army was scarce drawn up, when *Hanno* appeared at the head of seventeen thousand foot, mostly *Brutians* and *Lucanians*, and twelve hundred *Numidian* horse. The *Carthaginian* advanced in good order into the plain, not doubting but he should soon put to the rout a handful of slaves accustomed to tremble, as he told his soldiers, at the voice of their masters. In the mean time the trumpets sounded, and the attack began with incredible fury on both sides. The volones fought with great bravery; but the promise *Sempronius* made them had like to have occasioned an intire defeat of his army. He had promised liberty to such only as carried off the head of an enemy; *Sempronius* as soon therefore as any of them had dispatched his antagonist, he made it his whole business to cut off his head, and lost a great deal of time in that butchery. Besides the ardor of those who had performed the condition on which they were to obtain their liberty, immediately abated; so that *Sempronius* was forced to publish a new declaration through all the ranks of his army, *That none should obtain their liberty, unless the Carthaginians were routed.* Upon this the brave slaves renewed the fight with fresh vigor, and gained so complete a victory, that scarce two thousand of the enemy escaped. Sixteen thousand of them were killed either on the field of battle, or in the camp, which the volones forced after they had driven them out of the plain. However, four thousand of *Sempronius's* slaves did not behave so well as the rest, being afraid to pursue the enemy to their camp. These, ashamed of their cowardice, retired after the battle to a high mountain for fear of becoming the jest of their companions. But *Sempronius* sent a tribune to invite them back; and then, to perform his promise, declared them all free without exception. However, to make some distinction between the brave and the cowards, he obliged the latter to take their meals standing, all the time they were in the service.*

- In the mean time *Hannibal*, leaving his camp on mount *Tifata*, took his rout to *Nola*, being invited thither by the populace, who were still in his interest, in opposition to the senate. But *Marcellus*, receiving timely notice of his march, followed him, and coming up with him near that city, killed two thousand of his men, with the loss only of four hundred. The Romans would in all likelihood have given him a total overthrow, had *Claudius Nero*, whom the consul had detached with a body of horse to take a large compass, and fall upon the *Carthaginians* in the rear during the action, come up in time. *Marcellus* offered *Hannibal* battle the next day, but he declined it, and decamped in the night, laying aside all thoughts of taking *Nola*, which had so often proved fatal to his glory. From *Nola* he led his army to *Tarentum*, where some *Tarentine* prisoners, whom he had formerly sent home without ransom, had engaged many young men in his interest. But the proprætor *Levinus*, who guarded that coast, took such effectual means to prevent the designs of the factious, that the *Carthaginian* being again disappointed, abandoned the enterprize, and took the road to *Salapia*, a city in *Apulia*, with a design to spend the winter there. As the season was not yet far advanced, *Fabius* undertook the siege of *Casilinum*, which was garrisoned by two thousand *Campanians*, and seven hundred *Carthaginians*, under the command of a *Capuan* of distinction, named *Statius Metius*. The consul had no sooner invested the place, than *Magius*, prætor of *Capua*, which was but two miles from *Casilinum*, formed a strong body of troops, and armed even the slaves, with a design to attack the Romans in their trenches. *Fabius* receiving intelligence of these preparations, wrote to his colleague *Marcellus*, either to come in person, or to send the prætor *Sempronius* with two legions, to cover the siege. Hereupon *Marcellus*, leaving only two thousand men in *Nola*, for *Hannibal* was then in winter-quarters in *Apulia*, marched with the rest of his army to join *Fabius*. And now the two greatest generals Rome had, acted together for the first time, the one carrying on the siege, and the other covering it with an army, ready to engage *Hannibal* or the *Capuans*, in case

Sempronius with an army of volones defeats Hanno.

Marcellus gains a considerable advantage over Hannibal near Nola.

* Liv. *ibid.*

Casilinum re-
taken by the
Romans.

Accua in Apu-
lia taken by
young Fabius.

Lævinus sur-
prises the camp
of the king of
Macedon.

Marcellus sent
into Sicily.

they should attempt to relieve the place. The garison made so vigorous a defence, a that *Fabius*, discouraged by the daily slaughter of his men, would have raised the siege, had not *Marcellus* pressed him to pursue it; which he did with such vigor, that the *Campanians*, having lost all hopes of being relieved either by *Hannibal* or their prætor *Magius*, sent deputies to *Fabius*, asking leave to march out of the place, and return to *Capua*. The consul consented to what they asked, knowing it would not be long ere the city surrendered, when defended only by a small number of *Carthaginians*. But *Marcellus*, watching the time, when the *Campanians* were to march out of the city, seized the gate before fifty of them were out, and entering the place, put all to the sword, without distinction, who opposed him. Those who threw down their arms, whether *Capuans* or *Carthaginians*, were made prisoners of war, and b sent to *Rome*, *Marcellus* pretending that he was not obliged to stand to the agreement made by his colleague. *Fabius* being now master of *Casilinum*, laid waste great part of *Campania*, killed or took prisoners near twenty-five thousand men, made incursions into *Samnium*, where he surprised three hundred and seventy *Roman* deserters, and sent them to *Rome*, where they were first beaten with rods, and then thrown down the *Tarpeian* rock. *Fabius* had also the satisfaction to hear that his son had gained great glory in *Apulia*, where he took the city of *Accua*, almost in sight of the *Carthaginian* army. As for *Marcellus*, he returned to *Nola*, where he was seized with a distemper, which for some time suspended his martial ardor f.

In the mean time *Philip* king of *Macedon*, who, as we have observed above, had c concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with *Hannibal*, began to move, and draw towards *Italy*. He first laid siege to *Apollonia*, a city at the head of the *Adriatic* sea; but not succeeding in that design, he turned his arms against *Oricum*; the inhabitants of which city immediately sent notice of their danger to the prætor *Lævinus*, who, in two days after the news, arrived at *Oricum*; and finding the city already taken, easily recovered it, and then formed a design of surprising in the night the king of *Macedon* in his camp; and executed it with such success, that *Philip* himself had fallen into the prætor's hands, had not a party of *Macedonians*, more resolute than the rest, carried him off half naked to his ships. *Lævinus* killed about three thousand *Macedonians*, and took near twice that number of prisoners. The *Macedonian* fleet, which d lay in the port of *Oricum*, not being able to get out to sea, by reason the *Roman* fleet barred up the mouth of the harbour, *Philip* was obliged to set fire to his ships, and return by land to his own territories with the miserable remains of his shattered army e. But *Hannibal* soon made himself amends for this disappointment on the side of *Macedon*, by the troubles he found means to raise in *Sicily*; where, after several plots, counterplots, and assassinations, *Hippocrates* and *Epicyles*, the two agents, whom *Hannibal* had sent to make a treaty with king *Hieronymus*, were by the *Syracusians* chosen into the college of prætors; so that *Syracuse* being now wholly devoted to the *Carthaginian* interest, it was thought necessary to send *Marcellus* with his army from *Nola* to the assistance of *Claudius* and *Lentulus*, the two *Roman* prætors in *Sicily*. But as to the particulars of this glorious expedition, we refer our readers to our history of *Sicily*, where we have given a distinct account of all the transactions in that island both civil and military from the death of king *Hiero* to the intire reduction of the city and kingdom of *Syracuse* by the brave *Marcellus* h.

In *Spain* the two *Scipio's* gained great advantages over the *Carthaginians*, who in two battles lost above twenty thousand men. The fruit of these successes was the retaking of *Saguntum*, the city which had given rise to the war: The old inhabitants, of whom few were now alive, were reintituted in their possessions, and the *Turdetani*, who had formerly joined *Hannibal* against that faithful city, being obliged to surrender at discretion, were made slaves, and sold by auction i.

THE consulship of *Fabius Maximus* and *Marcellus* being now expired, the conscript fathers, to keep these two great men at the head of the armies without infringing the laws, continued *Marcellus* in *Sicily* with the title of proconsul, and made him governor of all those territories, which had formerly belonged to king *Hiero*. As for *Fabius*, that he might still have the conduct of those forces, which were to act against *Hannibal*, the centuries raised his son Q. *Fabius* to the consulate, knowing that the father, who offered to serve under him, would have the chief direction of the campaign. With young *Fabius* was joined *Sempronius Gracchus*, who with an army of volones had

^f Liv. l. xxiv. c. 19. PLUT. in Fab. ibid. c. 41.

^g Liv. l. xxiv. c. 40.

^h Vide Vol. III. p. 100, & seq.

ⁱ Idem

defeated

- a defeated *Hanno* near *Beneventum*. The other generals were continued in their respective commands; the two *Scipio*'s remained in *Spain*; *Terentius Varro* in *Picenum*; *Mucius Scaevola* in *Sardinia*; *Otacilius* commanded the fleet in *Sicily*, and *Valerius Laevinus* a squadron at *Brundisium*, to watch the motions of the king of *Macedon*; the prætor *Fulvius* had the command of two legions near *Suessula*, and *Sempronius Tuditanus* was sent with a body of troops into *Cisalpine Gaul*. After the consuls had continued at *Rome* as long as was necessary to calm the fears of the people in relation to some odd events, which superstition made formidable, young *Fabius* went to take upon him the command of the army, which was incamped near *Suessula*; and *Sempronius* at the same time set out for *Lucania*, where it had fallen to his lot to act. *Fabius*,
- b pursuant to his father's directions, opened the campaign with the siege of *Arpi*, in Arpi taken by the Romans, which was a garison of five thousand *Carthaginians*. As the city was weak on one side, but deemed impregnable on the other, the troops in the town, believing it would be undoubtedly attacked on the weaker side, all repaired thither; which gave the *Fabii* an opportunity of surprizing the place in the night. After this the *Fabii* made it their whole business to follow *Hannibal*, who did not so much as attempt any considerable enterprise, during this campaign, but contented himself with standing on the defensive. The prætor *Fulvius* near *Suessula* watched the motions of the *Capuans*, and was much surprized to see an hundred and twelve brave men of their nobility arrive at his camp, and declaring an abhorrence of the revolt of their countrymen, demand
- c to be received again into the friendship of the *Romans*. This change in the minds of the nobility plainly shewed how much *Hannibal* had lost his credit. The prætor *Sempronius Tuditanus* besieged and took by storm the city of *Aternum* in the country of And Aternum. the *Marrucini*; and with the booty he found there, and the ransom of seven thousand prisoners, much enriched the treasury of the republic. The consul *Sempronius* gained considerable advantages in *Lucania*, and obliged part of *Brutium* to return to its former obedience. In *Spain* the two *Scipio*'s not only made great progress, but extended their views even to *Africa*, where they engaged *Syphax* king of *Masæsyliæ*, the western part of *Numidia*, to take arms against *Carthage*. But on the other hand, the *Carthaginians*, alarmed at the motions of *Syphax*, prevailed on *Gala* king of *Masæsyliæ*, the
- d eastern part of *Numidia*, to join them. *Gala* himself was no warrior, but had a son in the flower of his age, whose inclinations were wholly for war. The young prince's name was *Masinissa*; he was then only seventeen years old; but his genius and conduct were such as made the *Masæsylians* conclude, that he would both enrich and enlarge his father's dominions. *Gala* put him at the head of his troops, and the young warrior, joining the *Carthaginians*, fell so vigorously and so seasonably on the *Masæsylians*, that they were intirely routed, and lost thirty thousand men in the action. Syphax defeated by Masinissa. The vanquished king retired into *Mauritania*, made new levies, and prepared to pass the streights, and join the *Scipio*'s in *Spain*. But the great *Masinissa* gave him a second overthrow, which put him out of a condition of trying the fortune of arms again for
- e a long time^{*}.

AND NOW the time for the new elections drawing near, as both consuls were engaged abroad, *Sempronius*, the elder of them, nominated *C. Claudius Centho* dictator to hold the comitia, in which *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, and *Appius Claudius Pulcher*, were chosen consuls for the new year. At the same time *P. Cornelius Scipio*, and his brother *Lucius*, the sons of the proconsul in *Spain*, were elected curule ædiles, though the elder was but twenty years of age, and the laws required that every candidate for that office should be thirty. The personal merit of young *Cornelius Scipio*, and that of his father and uncle, made the people dispense with their old customs[†]. While the new consuls were busy at *Rome* in raising two legions to be added to the twenty-one already on foot, and in prosecuting some publicans guilty of notorious frauds, *Hannibal* having made himself master of *Tarentum* by the treachery of the inhabitants, laid siege to the citadel, whither *Livius*, the commander of the Roman garison in the city, had retired. Hereupon the consuls, leaving *Rome*, joined their forces; and in order to divert the *Carthaginian* from pursuing the siege he had undertaken, entered *Campania*, laid waste the country round *Capua*, and threatened that city with a siege. The *Capuans* immediately dispatched deputies to *Hannibal*, intreating him to hasten to their assistance, and acquainting him, that by the devastation of their fields, they began already to feel the miseries of a siege. The *Carthaginian*, unwilling

^{*} Liv. l. xxiv. c. 49. [†] Liv. l. xxv. c. 2. POLYB. l. x. c. 5.

ling to raise the siege of the citadel, which began to be streightened for want of provisions, ordered *Hanno* with an army from *Brutium* to the relief of his favourite city. *Hanno*, pursuant to his orders, left *Brutium*; and having collected an immense quantity of corn, pitched his camp near *Beneventum*, ordering the *Capuans* to send their waggons to fetch it from thence. In the mean time the consuls, being informed by the people of *Beneventum* of all that passed, *Fulvius* marched thither with all expedition, and entering the town in the night unknown to *Hanno*, appeared the next morning by break of day before the enemy's camp. Two thousand waggons were arrived from *Capua*, and the peasants, mixing with the soldiers, caused great confusion. However, as the camp was situated upon an ascent, and therefore very difficult to be taken by assault, the consul was for quitting the enterprize, or at least suspending it till the arrival of his colleague. But the legionaries signalized their bravery on this occasion beyond the expectation of their general. One *Vibius*, a centurion of the *Latin* troops, and after his example *Pedanius*, a centurion of the third *Roman* legion, threw each a standard over the enemy's ramparts, crying out, Let us be the curse of all men, if we do not recover these ensigns out of the enemy's hands. Hereupon the soldiers, encouraging each other, crossed the ditch, and climbing up the rampart, in spite of all opposition, forced the *Carthaginian* camp, and made a dreadful slaughter of their troops. Above six thousand of them were killed, and about seven thousand made prisoners. The booty was exceeding great; corn, forage, waggons, horses, *Hanno's* baggage, the utensils of the *Carthaginians*, and whatever they had brought from the neighbouring countries, fell a prey to the *Roman* soldiers. As for *Hanno*, he made his escape, attended only by a small body of horse, and through by-roads returned into *Brutium*.

Hanno defeated, and his camp taken by the Romans.

THE taking of the *Carthaginian* camp, and the absence of *Hanno*, threw the *Capuans* into the utmost consternation. Being more apprehensive of a siege than ever, they sent a new deputation to *Hannibal*, pressing him to come to their assistance. But he was so intent upon reducing the citadel of *Tarentum*, that he could not be prevailed upon to move from thence. Hereupon the consuls drew near to *Capua*, with a design to besiege it in form. As they did not doubt but *Hannibal* would hasten to the relief of his faithful *Capuans*, they ordered *Sempronius Gracchus* to leave *Lucania*, and encamp with his army of volones in the neighbourhood of *Capua*. *Sempronius* had already named his successor to command in that province, and was preparing for his march, when one *Fulvius*, a *Lucanian*, who had been hitherto very zealous for the interest of *Rome*, changed his inclination on a sudden, and in order to recommend himself to the *Carthaginians* by some signal service, resolved to betray the proconsul to them. The traitor, abusing the confidence *Sempronius* placed in him, told him, that before he left *Lucania*, he would fain procure him the glory of uniting all the hearts of his countrymen in the interests of *Rome*, and pretended, that the heads of the *Carthaginian* faction desired a private conference. The brave *Roman*, not suspecting any deceit, went to the place appointed, attended only with his lictors, and a small body of horse. But he no sooner arrived, than he was surrounded by a great body of horse and foot under the command of *Mago*, who had concealed himself behind a neighbouring hill. The proconsul, finding it impossible to make his escape, cried out to his small troop, We are betrayed, and must die. Let us therefore signalize the last of our days with a behaviour worthy of *Romans*. Let us turn our arms chiefly against the traitor *Fulvius*, and send him to the infernal regions before us. Having thus spoke, he dismounted, and wrapping his left arm in his *paludamentum*, or military cloak, for want of a buckler, flew sword in hand to the place, where he saw *Fulvius*, in hopes of killing the traitor before he fell himself. But he perished in the attempt, the *Carthaginians* being obliged by the great slaughter he made in the heart of their battalions to dispatch him, though they had been ordered by *Mago* to take him alive. Thus perished one of the best generals of the republic at a time when she abounded with great men. The body of this great man was carried to *Hannibal's* camp, who could not help shewing marks of esteem for so great a commander. He erected a funeral pile for him at the gate of his camp, and ordered his cavalry to make their evolutions round it in honour of the deceased. Upon his death the volones, thinking themselves discharged from their military oath, disbanded, so that the consul's project of besieging *Capua* was a little disconcerted.

The proconsul Sempronius betrayed and killed.

^a Liv. l. xxv. c. 13, 14. Val. Max. l. iii. c. 2.

^b Idem ibid. c. 16.

- a To this misfortune was added another on the side of *Spain*, which threw the republic into the utmost consternation. News was brought to *Rome*, that both the *Scipio's* were killed. The circumstances of their death are thus related : The *Carthaginians* had three armies in *Spain* commanded by three officers of reputation, viz. *Asdrubal Hannibal's* brother, *Mago*, and another *Asdrubal*, the son of *Gisco*. The two latter had united their forces, and encamped together ; the former commanded an army apart, but without removing far from his colleagues. The two *Roman* generals likewise separated, and divided their troops. *Publius*, who was proconsul, and the eldest, took two-thirds of the *Roman* soldiers, and leaving his brother the rest with thirty thousand *Celtiberian* auxiliaries, marched towards the post, which *Mago* and his colleague possessed, about five days journey from the *Roman* camp. During his absence, the *Celtiberians*, being bribed by *Asdrubal* with large sums, deserted their general, and marching away, left him in a melancholy situation. His brother *Publius* was already a great way off, and he was no ways in a condition, having but a handful of *Romans* with him, either to keep thirty thousand *Celtiberians* in awe, or without them to defend his camp against the numerous forces of *Asdrubal*. His only refuge therefore was to retire, and keep at a distance from the enemy, which he did accordingly, passing the *Iberus*, and keeping that river between him and *Asdrubal's* army. In the mean time his brother *Publius*, arriving after five days march at the post, which *Mago* and *Asdrubal*, the son of *Gisco*, possessed, was informed, that *Masiniissa*, after having conquered *Syphax* in *Africa*, had passed the streights, and joined the *Carthaginians* with his victorious army. This gave no small uneasiness to the proconsul, who expected to engage only the *Carthaginians* under the command of *Mago*, and the son of *Gisco*. Notice was brought him at the same time, that a *Spanish* prince, named *Indibilis*, was in full march from the country of the *Lacetani*, where he reigned, to join the *Carthaginians* with seven thousand five hundred men. Upon this intelligence, he decamped in the night with a design to obstruct the march of *Indibilis*, and fight him before he reached the enemy's camp. Accordingly, the next morning he met him, and had already surrounded him on all sides, when all on a sudden *Masiniissa*, who had narrowly watched his motions, appeared at the head of a numerous body of *Numidian* horse, and unexpectedly attacked the *Roman* army in flank. The fight was then renewed with great fury on both sides. *Indibilis* returned with his *Lacetani* to the charge ; and at the same time *Mago*, and the son of *Gisco*, arriving, contrary to the proconsul's expectation, attacked his army in the rear. The brave *Scipio*, thus surrounded by three armies, flew from manipulus to manipulus, fighting as a common soldier in one place, and giving orders as a general in another. Thus by his activity, and undaunted courage, he kept up the spirits of his legionaries, who withstood with an unparalleled bravery the numerous forces of the enemy, till their gallant commander was run through with a lance, and left dead on the spot. Hereupon the *Numidian* horse, who saw him fall, gave a great shout, crying out, *The Roman general is dead*. The death of so brave a commander damped the courage of the *Romans*, who thought of nothing now but retiring in good order. They cut their way, sword in hand, through the enemy's infantry ; but *Masiniissa*, falling upon them with his *Numidian* cavalry, put them in disorder, and made such a dreadful havock of them, that not one of the *Romans* would have escaped, had not night, which very seasonably overtook them, obliged the *Numidian* to give over the pursuit.

The two Scipio's defeated, and killed in Spain.

- In the mean time *Cneius*, knowing nothing either of the death of his brother, or the defeat of his legions, kept advancing on the banks of the *Iberus* towards the provinces of *Spain*, which were well affected to the *Romans* ; when all on a sudden he saw a very numerous army advancing towards him, and was soon after informed, that his brother was killed, his army intirely defeated, and his troops either dispersed, or cut in pieces. At this news he sunk into a deep melancholy, and not being able to gain any better retreat, he posted himself on the top of an eminence, where the nature of the ground, which was very rocky, would not suffer him to make any fortifications but with the baggage of the army. In this post the small body he commanded was attacked by all the *Carthaginian* forces in *Spain*, under the conduct of the two *Asdrubals*, of *Mago*, *Masiniissa*, and their ally *Indibilis*, who after the defeat of *Publius* had united their forces, in order to fall upon *Cneius*, and put an end to the war in *Spain* at one blow. The *Romans*, though surrounded on all sides by numerous armies, forced their way through the enemies battalions without so much as offering to surrender ; and

The Carthaginians defeated in Spain by C. Marcius.

gaining the neighbouring mountains, escaped through by-ways to the camp of the deceased proconsul, which they found guarded by a small number of troops under the command of *T. Fonteius*, one of *Publius's* lieutenants. As for the brave *Cneius*, he lost his life with a considerable number of legionaries in the action. Some writers tell us, that he retired, with some brave men, to a neighbouring tower, in which, the enemy having set fire to it, he was either stifled with the smoke, or burnt. Thus all the hopes of the Romans in Spain seemed extinguished by the death of the two *Scipio's*, who had been the chief support of the republic, and had done her greater services in those countries, than *Hannibal* had done her hurt in Italy. The conscript fathers now looked upon the affairs of Rome as quite ruined in Spain. But a young Roman knight, named *C. Marcius*, who had been brought up under *Cneius*, and had a wonderful genius for war, soon repaired the misfortunes which had made the wisest men in the senate despond. *Marcius*, not discouraged by the loss of two battles, put himself in motion, and being unanimously chosen general by the troops, he gathered together the fugitives, and repulsed *Asdrubal*, the son of *Gisco*, who came to attack him in his camp. The brave *Marcius*, encouraged with this success, formed a design, which would have been deemed a rash attempt, had not his present circumstances authorized it. The very next night he marched boldly to the enemy's camp, surprised it, and having shut up all the passages out of it, set fire to the tents, which were covered with thatch. In the general confusion, which the flames, and the shouts of the Romans occasioned, some of the Carthaginians hastened to the gates of the camp, where they were cut in pieces by the legionaries, who guarded them. Others leaped down from the top of the ramparts, but in endeavouring to make their escape, were intercepted by the squadrons, which *Marcius* had placed in all the avenues leading to the camp. As they were unarmed, and most of them naked, for *Marcius* surprised the camp in the dead of the night, the massacre was general. We are told, that the number of the dead on the side of the Carthaginians amounted to thirty-seven thousand, and that of the prisoners to eighteen hundred and thirty. Thus the mighty projects of the Carthaginian generals were intirely defeated, and Rome, notwithstanding the great losses she had sustained, maintained herself in possession of the provinces she had given up for lost.

Capua shut up on all sides by the Romans.

THE first care of the brave *Marcius* after so signal a victory was to dispatch couriers with letters to the senate, informing them of his success, and demanding succours and provisions to enable him to maintain the war. In these letters he unluckily styled himself *proprator*, a title which he had acquired only by a military election in the camp; and this slight offence against the authority of the haughty republic was resented to such a degree, that notwithstanding the important services of *Marcius*, the senate resolved to recal him, and send another general in his room. Nay, some were for treating him as a criminal, and citing him as such to appear forthwith before the tribes. But the greater number chose to act a more moderate part, and suppressing the title of *proprator* in their answer, sent *Marcius* word, that they would take care to supply the Roman soldiers in Spain with cloaths and provisions. They thought it a dangerous precedent for the legions to assume the liberty of chusing their own commanders; and therefore they thought it necessary to convene the tribes, as soon as they conveniently could, in order to appoint another commander in the room of *Marcius*. But in the mean time the consular year being ready to expire, *Appius Claudius* was recalled from Capua to preside in the comitia, when *P. Sulpicius Galba*, and *Cn. Fulvius Centumalus*, were raised to the consular dignity. *Apulia* was assigned to them for their province, while the late consuls were, in quality of proconsuls, to continue the siege of Capua, which they shut up on all sides, proposing to reduce it rather by famine, than by force. But notwithstanding the vigilance of the two proconsuls, a Numidian horseman, having crossed the Roman camp in the night, without being discovered, carried the news to *Hannibal* of the extremity to which the city was reduced. This engaged him at length to leave the blockade of the citadel of *Tarentum*, and march to the relief of the distressed city with his horse, his light-armed infantry, and thirty-three elephants. He found means to give the besieged notice when he intended to attack the Romans, ordering them to make a vigorous sally at the same time. The proconsuls, upon the first notice of the approach of the enemy, divided their troops, *Appius* taking upon him to make head against the garison, and *Fulvius* to defend the

• Liv. l. xxv. c. 39. Plin. l. ii. c. 107. Val. Max. l. i. c. 6. P Liv. l. xxvi. c. 22.

- a intrenchments against *Hannibal*, who at the time agreed on before-hand with the *Capuans* began the attack with incredible fury, while the garison, under the command of *Hanno* and *Bostar*, two *Cartbaginian* generals, fell upon the *Romans* at the same time. *Appius* Hannibal attempts in vain to relieve Capua. found no difficulty in repulsing the garison; and would have entered the city with them, had he not been wounded at the very gate, and by his wound disabled from pursuing his design. As for *Fulvius*, he found it more difficult to withstand the troops of *Hannibal*, who exerted themselves with such courage, resolution, and intrepidity, as can hardly be expressed. A body of *Spaniards* and *Numidians* had even the boldness to pass the ditch, and in spite of all opposition, climbing the ramparts, penetrated into the *Roman* camp. But as they were not seconded by the other troops, they were
- b all to a man cut in pieces, which so disheartened the *Cartbaginian* general, especially after the garison was repulsed, that he sounded a retreat, which was made in good order. Some writers tell us, that eight thousand of *Hannibal's* army, and three thousand of the *Capuan* garison, were killed upon the spot, and that fifteen colours were taken from the former, and eighteen from the latter. Be that as it will; for there is a great disagreement among authors as to the number of the dead; it is certain, that *Hannibal* was much perplexed what step to take next, it being impossible for him to subsist long in a country, which was ruined, and laid waste. At length he formed a design worthy of himself, and the fittest to support his glory and credit. He resolved to march directly to *Rome*, and surprise that capital, while the inhabitants expected nothing
- c less than to see *Hannibal* at their gates. One advantage at least he concluded would attend this enterprize, which was a diversion of the *Roman* forces before *Capua*; by which means provisions might be conveyed more easily into that city. That the *Capuans* might not be so disheartened by his absence as to hastily surrender, he found means to acquaint them with his design. The news of *Hannibal's* approach caused great apprehensions at *Rome*. Some of the senators were for calling all the armies in *Italy* into the neighbourhood of *Rome*. But the great *Fabius* opposed this opinion, telling the conscript fathers, that *Hannibal's* design was not to take *Rome*, but to deliver *Capua*. However, a middle way was taken, and messengers were sent to the proconsuls, informing them of the state of affairs, and leaving it to their judgment,
- d either to continue both before *Capua*, or for one of them, with such forces as could be spared, to come to the relief of the capital. Upon this it was agreed by the two colleagues, that *Appius* should continue before *Capua*, and that *Fulvius* with fifteen thousand foot, and a thousand horse, should march to *Rome*. He set out accordingly, but took a different rout from *Hannibal*, the latter going by the *Latin* way, and the former by the *Appian*. The *Roman* troops were plentifully supplied with provisions on their march by the allies and subjects of *Rome*; so that they met with no obstruction, except in passing the *Vulturnus*, *Hannibal* having seized and burnt all the boats, which obliged the proconsul to spend some time in cutting timber, and making rafts to convey over his troops. As for *Hannibal*, he took a great compass
- e before he came in sight of *Rome*. From *Capua* he went to *Cale*, and from thence to *Sidicinum*; from *Sidicinum* he directed his march to *Suessa*, then to *Allise*. From this latter place he returned to the *Latin* way, and passing through *Casinum*, *Aquinum*, and *Interamna*, incamped in the plains of *Fregellæ*. Hereupon the *Fregellani*, having first sent one of their citizens with orders to travel night and day, in order to acquaint the senate with the approach of *Hannibal*, broke down their bridge on the *Liris*, which stopped the enemy's march for some time. However, after he had laid waste the lands of the *Fregellani*, and built a new bridge over the *Liris*, he arrived at length by the *Prænestine* way within eight hundred paces of *Rome*. The alarm, which the approach of so formidable an enemy gave in all the quarters of the city, is not to be expressed.
- f *Fulvius* was not yet arrived with his reinforcement, which occasioned great uneasiness, and doubled their fears, the more timorous, especially the women, whose shrieks were heard in all the streets, believing he had been cut off with his whole army by *Hannibal*. But while the city was in the utmost alarm, the proconsul appeared with his troops, and entered *Rome* by the gate *Capena*, having first received from the senate an authority equal to that of the consuls for the better discharge of his employment. He marched through the city, and incamped with his army between the gates *Esquilina* and *Collina*. The ædiles were charged to supply the camp with provisions, and all sorts of ammunition; and the two consuls, who had not yet left *Rome*, with the senate, went thither to hold a council of war, in which due measures were taken for
- g the defence of the city. The situation of *Fulvius's* camp was approved, and all the officers

officers were assigned their posts. The ramparts were lined with soldiers ; troops were a stationed at proper distances within the walls ; and the senate thought it necessary to keep their assembly continually sitting in the forum, to be ready against all emergencies. These dispositions so much intimidated *Hannibal*, that despairing to compass his design of making himself master of *Rome*, he retired about three miles farther from it, and incamped beyond the *Anio*. Nevertheless, as he had the curiosity to satisfy himself of the condition of the enemy, he advanced at the head of two thousand horse towards the gate *Collina*, and appeared over-against the temple of *Hercules*. The proconsul *Flaminius*, provoked at this insult, sent out a detachment of cavalry to attack him ; and at the same time, ordered the twelve hundred *Numidians*, who had formerly deserted from *Hannibal*, to support the *Roman* cavalry. As they had been b posted by *Fulvius* on mount *Aventine*, they were obliged to march through the city ; which they did in good order. But as the people did not know that the proconsul had any *Numidians* in his army, they imagined the city surprised, and such was the fright and consternation upon this false apprehension, that most of the inhabitants would have abandoned the city, had not *Hannibal* been at the gates. In this panic, many of the citizens took arms, and falling upon the *Numidians*, killed some of them before they were undeceived. At length the *Numidians*, with the utmost difficulty, made their way through the terrified crouds, joined the *Roman* squadrons, and with them obliged *Hannibal* to retire in some confusion to his camp. But as the *Carthaginian* general had no mind to give over the enterprise without being obliged to it by the loss c of a battle, in which he entertained great hopes of succeeding, he repassed the *Anio*, drew up his troops within reach of the enemy, and bid them defiance. *Fulvius* readily accepted the challenge, thinking he might venture a battle, almost without any danger, in fight, and at the foot of the ramparts of the city. Never were combatants more nearly concerned in interest, than both parties now were, to exert all their courage and resolution. To take or preserve *Rome* was the great end which the two armies proposed to gain by the victory. When all things were ready for the onset, a sudden and violent storm prevented the armies from engaging. The same thing happened the next day, when the storm returned with such violence, that both *Romans* and *Carthaginians* were obliged to return to their tents. To complete this prodigy, for d it is looked upon as such by some declamatory historians among the *Latins*, as soon as the armies had left the plain, the clouds disappeared, and the sun returned. *Polybius*, who lived in, or soon after, those times, and has given us a minute account of what passed on this occasion, makes no mention either of preparations for an engagement, or of prodigies that prevented it. It is therefore probable, that *Hannibal* continued quiet in his camp, watching some favourable opportunity of putting his project in execution. As *Rome* was no longer alarmed, the senate provided for all affairs abroad with as much tranquillity, as if the enemy had been at a great distance.

Hannibal retires from before Rome.

A good number of troops was sent to reinforce the army in *Spain* ; and this *Hannibal* looked upon as an insult. But he was more concerned, when he was told by a e deserter, that a piece of land in the place, where he was then incamped, had been sold at *Rome* as dear as if he had not been master of it. This exasperated him to such a degree, that he put up to sale the bankers shops round the forum, and after this bravado drew nearer to the city, and incamped at a small distance from the gate *Capena* (Q). But he soon retired again, and incamping on the banks of the *Turia*, about six miles from *Rome*, ravaged the neighbouring country, and then marched into the territory of *Capena* ; where he rifled a temple consecrated to the goddess *Feronia*, carrying thence a considerable booty in gold and silver. He then pursued his march, passed the *Liris*, and drawing near *Capua*, fell unexpectedly on *Appius's* camp in the night. A great number of *Romans* were killed on the spot, and *Appius* forced to leave f

(Q) *Festus* tells us, that *Hannibal*, when near the city of *Rome*, saw spectres in the air, which filled him with a sudden terror, and obliged him to turn back immediately ; and hence, according to that author, came the name *Rediculus*, which was given by the *Romans* to a new divinity of their own making. For after *Hannibal's* retreat, the *Romans* erected a temple in the way to the gate *Capena*, where he had incamped, consecrating it to the god *Rediculus*. Others derive this name from the word *ridiculus*, which signifies any thing that deserves to be laughed at. The ill success of *Hannibal's* enterprise, say they,

made the *Romans* very jocos upon him ; and to perpetuate his shame, they erected a temple to the god *Risus* or *Laughter*, whom they styled *rediculus* or *ridiculus*. *Varro*, in his satire called *Herrules tuam fidem*, gives this god the name of *Turanus*, as if he had defended *Rome* against *Hannibal*. He makes this god speak thus :

*Noſtu Hannibalis cum fugavi exercitum
Turanus hoc, Turanus Roma munuspor.
Hoc propter omnes, qui laborant, invocant.*

- a his camp, and fly to some eminences, where he intrenched himself, expecting every moment to be joined by his colleague *Fulvius*, who he apprehended could not be far off. But *Hannibal*, expecting to have all the *Roman* forces immediately upon him, abandoned all thoughts of relieving *Capua*, marched through *Lucania* and *Brutium*, and then entered the territory of *Rhegium* with such expedition, that he had like to have surprised the city. In the mean time *Fulvius* having rejoined his colleague before *Capua*, that city was soon reduced to the utmost extremity. The proconsuls offered to spare the lives of all those who should repair to the *Roman* camp; but not one *Capuan* accepted the offer. The commanders of the *Carthaginian* garison wrote letters to *Hannibal*, full of reproaches, and pressing him not to desert them in so shameful a manner. But
- b one of the *Numidians*, to whose care these letters were committed, being betrayed by his mistress, who had followed him into the *Roman* camp, both he and his companions were seized, and driven back into the city, after having been whipt, and had their thumbs cut off. At the sight of the maimed *Numidians*, the people in the utmost consternation obliged the senate to assemble, in order to deliberate about the proper means of delivering them from the calamities which threatened them. Fear brought the senators together; and the majority were for surrendering upon the best terms they could obtain. But *Vibius Virius*, the chief author of the revolt, opposed this motion, and in a long speech shewed them, that there was no room to hope for any favour from the *Romans* after so great provocations. He concluded his harangue, in which every
- c thing favoured of rage and despair, with these words; *Death is our only remedy. I have prepared a great entertainment at my house; where after we have eat and drank plentifully, a cup of poison will end our days and misfortunes together. Let those who despise life, follow me. A glorious death will procure us respect from the enemy, and the perfidious Hannibal will lament the loss of allies, who did not deserve to be thus deserted and betrayed.* Twenty-seven of the assembled followed *Virius*, and closed the entertainment, to which they were invited, with a cup of poison. The rest of the *Capuans* submitted to the *Romans*, who were no sooner in possession of the city, than they seized the *Carthaginian* garison, and all the *Capuan* senators. The *Carthaginians* were made prisoners of war; but the senators were tried by the proconsuls, and fifty-three of them, who
- d had been the most active against *Rome*, were sent to two neighbouring cities, twenty-five to *Cale*, and twenty-eight to *Teanum*, to be kept there under close confinement, till their fate was determined. For *Appius* being inclined to clemency, and *Fulvius* to severity, the dispute grew warm between them; and *Appius*, to put an end to it, referred the matter to the conscript fathers, and in the mean time sent the prisoners to the above-mentioned cities. But his colleague, without waiting for the decree of the senate, marched out of the camp at midnight, and hastening with two thousand horse first to *Cale*, and then to *Teanum*, caused the fifty-three senators to be first beaten with rods, and then beheaded. He received, just before the execution of those at *Teanum*, letters from *Rome* with orders to suspend it; but he put the packet into his bosom, and
- e did not open the letters till all was over. And yet the republic never blamed him for this instance of severity; being, without all doubt, pleased to see herself revenged, without incurring the odious charge of inhumanity among her allies. As to the city of *Capua*, the republic kept to herself the property of those fruitful plains, and of the houses in the city; and transplanted thither freedmen to manure the lands. These were governed by a præfect sent thither annually to preserve order in the place, and to hear causes. As to the ancient inhabitants, they were deprived of their estates and effects, and dispersed without hopes of ever returning to their native city, some of them being sold for slaves, and others confined to several prisons, where they perished with hunger.
- f THE taking of *Capua*, in a manner before *Hannibal's* face, sunk his reputation in all the provinces of *Italy*. However, *Philip* king of *Macedon*, was preparing to come into *Italy*, pursuant to his engagements with the *Carthaginian* general. But the prætor *Lævinus*, having drawn some of the *Greek* states into a confederacy with *Rome*, found him so much work at home, that he gave over all thoughts of carrying his arms into *Italy*, as we have related at length in our history of *Macedon*.
- IN *Spain*, *Claudius Nero*, who had been sent to succeed the *Scipio's*, suffered himself to be shamefully outwitted by *Asdrubal*, the brother of *Hannibal*. He had shut up the *Carthaginians* on a neck of land, where they were reduced to such straits, that

Capua submits to the Romans.

Asdrubal outwits the Roman commander in Spain.

¹ Liv. l. xxvi. c. 12, 13, 14, 15.

Asdrubal promised to leave *Spain* with all his troops, provided the *Romans* would only grant them their lives. *Claudius* accepted the proposal; but the artful *Carthaginian*, starting every day new difficulties about evacuating the cities he possessed, found means to convey in the mean while most part of his troops over the mountains in the night-time without the knowledge of the enemy, who after the signing of the treaty, did not keep so watchful an eye over them. At length all the infantry gained the plains, *Asdrubal* being left in the camp with the cavalry only, and the elephants; and even these he found means to save by the help of a thick fog, which covered both armies. When the weather cleared up, *Claudius* found the *Carthaginian* camp deserted, and himself egregiously deluded. He pursued the enemy, but to no purpose; for *Asdrubal*, having joined his infantry, retired in good order, and escaped with the loss of a small number of his men, who were killed in some skirmishes between his rear-guard, and the van-guard of the *Romans*^r. The senate and people of *Rome* were much mortified, when they received this news; the centuries were immediately assembled to chuse a proconsul, capable of retrieving the glory of the *Roman* name in *Spain*. But no candidates appearing, by reason that employment was generally disliked, young *Scipio*, the son of the deceased proconsul, courageously offered himself for that hazardous enterprize. He was then but twenty-four years of age; and nevertheless, not only all the centuries, but every voter in each century, declared him proconsul of *Spain*^s. He imbarqued soon after at *Ostia* with ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse, on board a fleet of thirty quinqueremes, and set out for his province. c

Young *Scipio*
chosen proconsul
of *Spain*.

AND now the time for electing new magistrates drawing near, *Fulvius Centumalus* was recalled from *Campania* to preside in the comitia. The persons raised to the consular dignity were *Marcellus*, the fourth time, who had lately taken the city of *Syracuse*, and *Lævinus*, the second time, who lay sick at *Anticyra* in *Greece*, after having signalized himself against *Philip* of *Macedon*, as we have related in the reign of that prince. As soon as *Lævinus* arrived, both consuls applied themselves wholly to the preparations for the approaching campaign. *Sicily* fell to *Lævinus*, and *Marcellus* was ordered to march against *Hannibal*, who, since the reduction of *Capua*, was marched into *Brutium*. *Marcellus* began the campaign with the siege of *Salapia* in *Apulia*, which was betrayed to him by two leading men in the place. The *Carthaginian* garison, which consisted of five hundred brave *Numidian* horse, seeing themselves betrayed, resolved to sell their lives dear; and accordingly, quitting their horses, fought on foot, and made a great slaughter of the enemy, till they were all cut in pieces, except fifty, who surrendered themselves prisoners. From *Apulia* *Marcellus* marched into *Samnium*, where he recovered many cities, and took above three thousand *Carthaginian* prisoners. But in the mean time the *Romans* received two very considerable checks; the one at *Tarentum*, where a squadron of ships, which they had sent to supply the citadel with provisions, was intirely defeated by the *Tarentine* fleet; the other in *Apulia*, where the proconsul *Fulvius Centumalus* was surpris'd by *Hannibal*, and cut off with eleven legionary tribunes, and a great number of private men, some say thirteen thousand, others only seven thousand. However that be, this victory retrieved the affairs and credit of *Hannibal*, and greatly discouraged the *Roman* senate and people, whose only hopes were now in *Marcellus*. This brave consul was no sooner informed of the defeat and death of *Fulvius*, than he marched in quest of *Hannibal*, not doubting, as he wrote to the senate, but he should soon damp the joy that swelled the mind of the proud conqueror. He came up with him near *Numistro* in *Brutium*, and drawing up his men, offered him battle. The *Carthaginian* accepted the challenge; whereupon a bloody engagement ensued, which lasted the whole day without any considerable advantage on either side. The next morning *Marcellus* marched out his army at sun-rising, and drew it up in the same place, where the battle had been fought the day before. But *Hannibal*, not caring to hazard a second engagement, kept his troops close in their intrenchments, and decamped the night following. *Marcellus* pursued him from place to place; so that these two great generals spent the rest of the campaign, the one watching for an opportunity to come to a general action, the other endeavouring to avoid it^t.

Salapia taken
by *Marcellus*.

A *Roman*
squadron de-
feated by the
Tarentine fleet.

WHILE the *Carthaginians* were thus kept in awe by *Marcellus* in *Italy*, the arms of the republic in *Spain* prospered beyond expectation under the conduct of young *Scipio*; who by the gracefulness of his person, and his wonderful complaisance, gained, on

^r Idem ibid. c. 17.

^s POLYB. l. x. c. 2.

^t LIV. l. xxvii. c. 2. PLUT. in *Marcell.*

- a his first arrival, the hearts both of the *Spaniards* and *Romans*. The first time he reviewed his troops, he asked for the brave *Marcus*, tenderly embraced him at the head of the army, heaped marks of distinction upon him, took him near his person, and was not ashamed even to consult him, and on several occasions follow his advice. When the season allowed him to take the field, he bent all his thoughts on the executing a design, which he had formed before he left *Rome*. This design he now communicated to *C. Lælius*, the commander of his fleet, and his intimate and inseparable friend; but carefully concealed it from all others. His scheme was to surprise *New Carthage*, the capital of the *Carthaginian* empire in *Spain*, where all the enemy's treasures, machines of war, and naval stores, were lodged. It was agreed, that *Lælius* should shut up the port with his fleet, while *Scipio* invested the city by land. With this view the whole army passed the *Iberus*, and marching always in the night, arrived the seventh day early in the morning before *New Carthage*. Then he imparted his design both to the officers and soldiers, represented to them of what importance the reduction of that city would be with regard to the entire conquest of *Spain*, and told them, that *Neptune* had appeared to him, advised him to that enterprise, and promised him success. He added, that they would soon see a miracle wrought by the god in their favour. He knew the hour when the tide would ebb, and leave the city accessible to his land-forces on the side of the port; and he made use of this natural event, which was a mystery to the soldiers, to persuade them, that he had a supernatural knowledge. Having thus encouraged his troops, as soon as the tide ebbed, *Scipio*, at the head of five hundred resolute men, entered the basin, having learnt from some fishermen that it was fordable when the tide was out, and marching up to the waist through the water, scaled the walls, which on that side were very low, while the *Carthaginians* were wholly intent on repulsing the *Romans*, who attacked the city on the land-side. The confusion of the besieged was so great, when they saw the *Romans* within the walls, that they abandoned the ramparts, and gave the rest of the army an opportunity of breaking down one of the gates, and entering the city. *Mago*, who commanded in the town, retired with his garison, consisting of a thousand regular troops, and two thousand of the inhabitants, to the citadel; but was soon obliged to surrender at discretion.
- d The prisoners in all amounted to six thousand men, besides women, children, and slaves. The *Africans* were reduced to slavery; but the *Spaniards* were suffered to enjoy their estates, and live according to their own laws, only in subjection to *Rome*. Eighteen galleys belonging to the enemy were taken in the port, and an hundred and thirteen merchant-ships loaded with naval stores. In the granaries were found forty thousand bushels of wheat, and two hundred and sixty thousand bushels of barley; and in the armories an immense quantity of warlike machines of all sorts with seventy-four standards. As the city was taken by assault, *Scipio* gave it up to be plundered by his soldiers, ordering them to bring all the booty into the market-place; where, upon taking an inventory of the whole, he found among other valuable effects two hundred and sixty cups of gold, most of them weighing a pound, eighteen thousand three hundred pounds weight of silver money, and a prodigious quantity of plate. All the brass-money was distributed among the soldiers, and the rest of the rich spoils put into the hands of *Caius Flaminius* the quaestor. The hostages likewise, whom the *Carthaginians* had demanded of the cities and provinces of *Spain*, were all found in the city, and sent home by *Scipio* loaded with presents. As for *Mago*, and the other *Carthaginian* officers, they were put into the hands of *Lælius*, who treated them with great humanity *.

*Scipio sur-
prises New
Carthage.*

- AFTER this glorious day, the proconsul leaving *Lælius* to command in the city, returned with his army to the camp, and spent the night there. The next morning, his officers, knowing that he was a great admirer of the fair sex, brought to him a young virgin of extraordinary beauty. Where-ever she appeared, she charmed the eyes of all, and *Scipio* was struck at the first sight of her. But though he was in the prime of his age, unmarried, and under no restraint, he did not suffer himself to be blinded by his rising passion. He examined the beautiful captive concerning her country, birth, and engagements; and finding that she was betrothed to a *Celtiberian* prince, named *Allucius*, he ordered both him and the captive's parents to be sent for, and put her untouched into their hands, telling them, that the only return he expected from them was their friendship for his republic. The young *Spaniard* was

*A remarkable
instance of
Scipio's com-
sinnence.*

* LIV. l. xvi. c. 43. & seq. POLYS. l. x. c. 11. APPIAN. in Iberia.

Asdrubal promised to leave *Spain* with all his troops, provided the *Romans* grant them their lives. *Claudius* accepted the proposal; but the artful starting every day new difficulties about evacuating the cities he possessed to convey in the mean while most part of his troops over the mountain time without the knowledge of the enemy, who after the signing of the keep so watchful an eye over them. At length all the infantry gained *drubal* being left in the camp with the cavalry only, and the elephants these he found means to save by the help of a thick fog, which covered him. When the weather cleared up, *Claudius* found the *Cartaginian* himself egregiously deluded. He pursued the enemy, but to no purpose. *drubal*, having joined his infantry, retired in good order, and left a small number of his men, who were killed in some skirmish in the rear guard, and the van-guard of the *Romans*. The senate and people were much mortified, when they received this news; the centumvirs assembled to chuse a proconsul, capable of retrieving the loss in *Spain*. But no candidates appearing, by reason that emilius was disliked, young *Scipio*, the son of the deceased proconsul, was chosen for that hazardous enterprize. He was then but twenty-three years of age; theless, not only all the centuries, but every voter in the assembly chose him proconsul of *Spain*. He imbarqued soon after at *Ostia* with six thousand horse, on board a fleet of thirty quinqueremes.

Young *Scipio*
chosen proconsul
of *Spain*.

AND now the time for electing new magistrates was come. *Marcellus* was recalled from *Campania* to preside in the comitia. The consular dignity were *Marcellus*, the fourth time, who had been consul before, and *Levinus*, the second time, who lay sick. *Marcellus* signalized himself against *Philip* of *Macedon*, as a brave prince. As soon as *Levinus* arrived, both commenced preparations for the approaching campaign.

Salapia taken
by *Marcellus*.

Marcellus ordered to march against *Hannibal*, who, finding the city of *Brutium* which was betrayed to him by two leading citizens, a garison, which consisted of five hundred men, was betrayed, resolved to sell their lives dearly. He fought on foot, and made a great slaughter of the Carthaginians, except fifty, who surrendered. He then marched into *Samnium*, where he recovered a great number of *Cartaginian* prisoners. But in the winter he suffered considerable checks; the one at *Tarentum*, the other at *Canusium*.

A Roman
squadron de-
feated by the
Tarentine fleet.

Scipio sent to supply the citadel with provisions. The other in *Apulia*, where the proconsul was defeated and cut off with eleven legionary cohorts. He lost say thirteen thousand, others only recovered. He retrieved the affairs and credit of the Roman people, whose only hopes were now. He was sooner informed of the defeat at *Canusium*, not doubting, as he was, that *Hannibal* would swell the mind of the proud *Marcellus*. He drew up his army at *Brutium*, and drawing up his army to the challenge; whereupon a battle was fought without any considerable loss. *Marcellus* marched out his army at *Brutium* at four o'clock, he had been fought the day before. He kept his troops close, and did not engage. *Marcellus* pursued him till the rest of the campaign. He was defeated in the action, the other endeavored to recover.

The progress of
Scipio in *Spain*. the Roman
proconsul was successful.

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*But the next
day gains a
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tory over him.*

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*Tarentum re-
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n garifon into his hands. Fabius, not suspecting the cheat,
ch, and would have fallen into an ambush prepared for him,
ruspices, who doubtless were more suspicious, and had better
neral, detained him in the camp, by declaring that the presages
Hannibal, impatient of Fabius's delays, sent new emissaries;
ted, and threatened with severe punishments, confessed the

* Vide PLUT. in Fab.
-15. APPIAN. in Hannibal. PLUT. in Marcell.
16. AUL. GELL. l. x. c. 3. * Liv. l. xxvii. c. 16. Cic. de senec. PLUT.

so transported with joy, that he could not so much as return *Scipio* thanks. As for ^a the parents of the captive, they had brought a considerable sum for the ransom of their daughter, which they offered to the generous proconsul as a present, since he had freely given her to her lover without ransom. They pressed and intreated him to accept of it, and at length,, throwing the money at his feet, retired. But *Scipio* immediately bestowed it on *Allucius*, as an addition on his part to his wife's fortune. This behaviour, truly heroic, did the *Roman* republic more service than even the taking of *New Carthage*. *Allucius* declared in *Celtiberia*, that the gods had sent into *Spain* a young conqueror almost equal to themselves. Upon his report *Celtiberia* came over to the *Roman* party; *Allucius* joined the *Roman* troops at the head of fourteen hundred chosen horse, and all *Spain* began to revolt from the *Carthaginians*. And now *Scipio* dispatched *Lælius*, ^b and with him *Mago*, and the senators of *New Carthage*, in a quinqueremis to *Rome*, to give the senate an account of his success. Never was news received with more applause. The republic little expected to recover her affairs in *Spain*, and feared she had hazarded too much in the hands of a young general. The senate therefore was overjoyed to find, that the very first enterprise of their young commander had eclipsed the glory both of his father and uncle. At the same time the republic received from *Sicily* the agreeable news of the total reduction of that island by the consul *Lævinus*, the particulars whereof we have related at length in our history of the city and kingdom of *Syracuse*.

Lævinus having settled affairs in *Sicily*, was recalled by the senate to hold the comitia. ^c But he was scarce arrived, when he was ordered to return to his province upon certain intelligence, that the *Carthaginians* were fitting out a new fleet with a design to attempt the recovery of *Sicily*. He was commanded by the senate to name a dictator, before he left *Rome*, to preside in the comitia for the new elections. But as he insisted upon deferring the nomination till he was in *Sicily*, and it was not thought proper to interrupt *Marcellus* in his pursuit of *Hannibal*, the tribunes of the people took upon them to name a dictator in their assembly, viz. *Fulvius Flaccus*, the proconsul of *Campania*. Thus the consuls lost the prerogative, which they had enjoyed time out of mind, of appointing dictators. The dictator, having assembled the tribes, was himself named ^d consul with *Fabius Maximus*. Two of the tribunes opposed the election of *Fulvius* as contrary to law; but the senate, well pleased with the choice that had been made of two such able commanders, declared, that the dictatorship did not by any means disqualify *Fulvius* from being chosen consul. In the mean time *Lælius* arriving from *Spain* with *Mago*, the senators of *New Carthage*, and the rich booty which had been taken there, the senate, as a mark of distinction to *Scipio*, continued him in his commission of proconsul of *Spain* not for one year only, but till an order should be made for recalling him.

The consuls lose the prerogative of appointing dictators.

Tarentum besieged by the Romans.

Marcellus is routed by Hannibal.

AND now the season of the year being fit for action, the two consuls left *Rome*. *Fabius* undertook the siege of *Tarentum*, while *Fulvius* on one side, and *Marcellus* on the other, watched the motions of *Hannibal*, intercepted his convoys, and prevented ^e his men from going in parties to plunder at any distance from their camp. The *Carthaginian*, being thus harassed, and reduced to great straits for want of provisions, resolved at length to engage *Marcellus*, while the consul *Fulvius* was at a great distance. Accordingly, having drawn up his men, and exhorted them to complete the work of *Cannæ*, he fell upon the *Romans* with incredible fury. After the engagement had lasted two hours with equal success, the right wing of the *Romans* began to give way. Hereupon *Marcellus* ordered the eighteenth legion, which was posted in the second line, to advance into the first, and take the place of the body that began to retire; but as the legion advanced too slowly, and the troops, which they were to succeed, retreated with too much precipitation, the enemy laid hold of this opportunity to penetrate a great way into the *Roman* manipuli, and to put the whole right wing into disorder. *Marcellus* strove in vain to make them keep their ranks, and lead them back to the charge. They fled in the utmost confusion, and their example was followed by the rest of the army; so that *Marcellus*, now unsuccessful for the first time, was obliged to return to his camp, leaving two thousand seven hundred auxiliaries and *Romans* dead on the field of battle. Among these were two of his lieutenants, four centurions, and many persons of distinction. *Marcellus* the same night assembled his troops, and, in a very angry speech, reproached them with the bad success of that melancholy action, which, he said, was intirely owing to their cowardice. The soldiers readily owned their fault, and asking pardon for their sudden ^f flight,

- a flight, protested that they were ready to expose themselves to any danger he should think fit, with a firm resolution either to die or conquer. Make ready then, replied the proconsul, to perform your promises to-morrow, and to deserve the forgiveness you desire. The next morning the legionaries were under arms, and ready to march by break of day. The manipuli, which had behaved so shamefully the day before, were placed, *Plutarch* says, at their own request, in the first line, that they might have an opportunity of wiping off the shame of the day before. *Marcellus*, after his men had taken some nourishment, without letting their ardor cool, marched out of his camp, and drew up his army as usual. *Hannibal*, surpris'd at this unexpected step of the *Roman* general, cried out, What a strange man is this *Marcellus*! whether conqueror, or conquered, he is always ready to fight. Let us march out, and teach him not to insult, but to fear and respect his conquerors. Having thus spoke, he gave orders for the battle; the trumpets sounded, and the attack began. The victory was for some hours disputed with equal success; but at length the *Romans* prevailed, and obliged the enemy to shelter themselves in their camp. In this action *Hannibal* lost eight thousand of his best troops. However, *Marcellus* bought his victory dear; for three thousand of his legionaries were killed upon the spot, and almost all the rest wounded; so that he could not pursue *Hannibal*, who decamped the night after his defeat, retired into *Brutium*, and there intrenched himself, while *Marcellus* led his troops to *Venusia* to give them some respite and time to be cured ^w.
- b But the next day gains a complete victory over him.
- c IN the mean time the consul *Fulvius* recovered, without bloodshed, the provinces of *Lucania* and *Hirpinia*, and great part of *Brutium*. As for *Fabius*, who had undertaken the reduction of *Tarentum*, he was put in possession of that wealthy and important city by the commander of the *Brutian* troops in garison there, who let the *Romans* into the place in the night-time. The *Romans*, seeing themselves masters of the place, spared neither *Carthaginians*, *Tarentines*, nor *Brutians*; nay, some writers tell us, that those among the latter, who had been privy to the treachery of their leader, were by *Fabius's* orders massacred the first, lest, if he spared them, this fine conquest should be imputed more to treachery, than to his prudence and bravery. But this conduct is no-ways suitable to the character of that great man ^x. The riches found in this maritime city were immense. The quæstors are said to have received, for the public treasury, eighty-seven thousand pounds weight of gold, and three thousand talents of silver. As to the pictures and statues, *Fabius*, who had no taste for arts, and therefore neglected them, being asked by the quæstors, What he would have done with those master-pieces of painting and sculpture? returned the following answer, which all the ancients mention; *Let us leave to the Tarentines their angry gods*. He alluded to the attitudes, in which the gods of *Tarentum* were represented; for, after the *Lacedæmonian* manner, they were generally armed with swords, and in fighting postures. As for the inhabitants, thirty thousand citizens, who escaped the general massacre, were reduced to slavery, and sold to the best bidder. In short, the *Tarentines* were reduced to so low a state, that they became a reproach among their neighbours, and were employed by *Roman* magistrates in the provinces only as lictors and executioners ^y. As for *Hannibal*, upon the first news of the siege of *Tarentum* he had left *Brutium*, and hastened to its relief. But when he was within five miles of the city, an account was brought him, that the *Roman* consul had taken it by artifice. Upon which he cried out in great surpris; *What! have the Romans then their Hannibal too!* However, to save his honour, he did not immediately retire; but incamped on the place where he heard the news, and continued there some days. As *Fabius* did not offer to attack him, he marched at length to *Metapontus*, a city in his interest, and there contrived a stratagem, which had like to have proved fatal to *Fabius*. He sent two of the inhabitants to the consul with letters from the chief men of the city, offering to deliver up the place and the *Carthaginian* garison into his hands. *Fabius*, not suspecting the cheat, fixed the day for his march, and would have fallen into an ambush prepared for him, had not the augurs and aruspices, who doubtless were more suspicious, and had better intelligence than the general, detained him in the camp, by declaring that the presages were all unfortunate. *Hannibal*, impatient of *Fabius's* delays, sent new emissaries; but these being arrested, and threatened with severe punishments, confessed the secret ^z.
- d Tarentum reduced.
- e
- f

^w Liv. l. xxvii. c. 12—15. Appian. in Hannibal. Plut. in Marcell. ^x Vide Plut. in Fab.
^y Liv. ibid. Plut. in Fab. Aul. Gell. l. x. c. 3. ^z Liv. l. xxvii. c. 16. Cic. de senec. Plut. in Fab.

Further progress of Scipio in Spain.

Asdrubal intirely defeated.

Hannibal gains an advantage over the Romans.

IN Spain Scipio, having fortified *New Carthage*, and left a strong garison in it, ^a marched to *Tarracon*, where he spent the winter in exercising his troops, and teaching them the exactest discipline. Early in the spring he took the field, and as the *Carthaginian* forces were still divided into three bodies under three generals, he marched to attack *Asdrubal*, the brother of *Hannibal*, who was the nearest to him, and whose army consisted almost wholly of *Spaniards*, except the *Numidians* *Masinissa* had brought with him from *Africa*. The *Carthaginian* at his approach was much perplexed, not knowing what course to take. But at length he resolved to hazard a battle, intending, if it proved unsuccessful, to make the best of his way to the *Pyrenees*, and crossing *Gaul*, enter *Italy*. He posted himself on an eminence, in the midst of a plain watered by a river, which, winding round the eminence, made it a peninsula. ^b This was a very advantageous post; but Scipio, after two days consideration, resolved to attack him before he was joined by the other *Asdrubal* and *Mago*. He succeeded in the attempt; the enemy was intirely routed; and *Asdrubal*, accompanied by *Masinissa*, fled towards the *Pyrenees* with as many troops and elephants as he could get together. The fame of this memorable action brought many of the petty princes of *Spain* to the *Roman* camp, and induced all the nations beyond the *Iberus* to renounce the *Carthaginian* party with great sincerity. While Scipio continued in the camp of *Asdrubal*, the quaestor brought to him a youth, named *Masiva*, who had been found among the captives, and by his comeliness, and an air of grandeur in his deportment, seemed to be of noble extraction. The proconsul, finding, upon examining him, that he ^c was a nephew of *Masinissa*, ordered him to be treated according to his rank; and when he had finished some other affairs, he sent for the young prince, and asked him, whether he desired to return to his uncle? *Masiva* answered with tears in his eyes, that this was the utmost of his wishes. Upon this the proconsul, having ordered him to be richly dressed, presented him with a horse finely accoutred, and in this manner sent him back under a guard. These were the methods by which Scipio gained the affections even of his enemies. The flight of *Asdrubal* towards the *Pyrenees* gave the proconsul no small uneasiness; however, he would not pursue him, but chose rather to lead his victorious army into the heart of the country, and fix the several nations in an alliance with his republic. As to the *Carthaginian* generals, they joined their armies, ^d and having consulted together about the best measures to be taken, it was resolved, that the son of *Gisco* should resign his troops to *Mago*, and repair to the *Balearic* islands to make new levies there, that *Mago* should post himself in *Lusitania*, and that *Asdrubal* should march for *Italy*, and there join his brother with as many *Spanish* troops as he could get together ^e.

IN *Italy* the time for the new elections drawing near, *Fulvius* was recalled to preside in the comitia, when *Marcellus* was chosen the fifth time, and with him *T. Quinctius Crispinus* the second time. The new consuls no sooner entered upon their office, than they took the field, and uniting their forces, formed a design of making themselves masters of *Locri*, a strong city in the interest of *Hannibal*. With this view ^e they ordered a body of troops thither, which was incamped before *Tarentum*. But *Hannibal* being informed by the *Thurians* of the march of this detachment, surprised them near the river *Latis*, killed two thousand of them, and took twelve hundred prisoners. Hereupon the two consuls advanced against *Hannibal*, and drawing up their forces, offered him battle, which he declined, waiting for an opportunity to deceive the enemy by some stratagem; wherein he succeeded at length even beyond his expectation. Between his camp and that of the *Romans* was a little hill very convenient for incampments, being well supplied with water. As it was nearest to *Hannibal*, the *Romans* were surprised that he had not taken possession of it at first; and murmured against their generals for not being so quick as they would have them, to ^f seize such an advantageous post. At length *Marcellus*, to comply with their importunity, proposed to his colleague to go with a guard of two hundred and twenty horse, and take a view of the eminence which seemed so inviting to the soldiery. *Quinctius* approving of the motion, the two consuls set out on an expedition, which would have better become a private centinel, or an inferior officer, than the heads of the republic. *Marcellus* was so little apprehensive of danger, that he left orders with his army to decamp on the first signal, and advance to take possession of this new post. *Hannibal* had hid a detachment of *Numidians* in the cavities of the hill, and under the bushes

^a Liv. ibid. c. 19. POLYB. l. x. c. 37.

which

- a which covered it. These, coming out of their ambush, surprised and surrounded the two consuls and their guards; so that they could neither retreat, nor gain the top of the eminence. Being overwhelmed with showers of darts, they fell with fury on those who cut off their retreat; and perhaps the two consuls would have made their way through the enemy, had they not been deserted by the cowardly *Hetrurians*, of whom their guard chiefly consisted. The *Hetrurians* having fled or laid down their arms at the first appearance of danger, the consuls were left with only five or six *Roman* officers, and about forty soldiers. These brave men fought with great courage and resolution, and had already opened a passage, when *Marcellus*, being mortally wounded by a dart, fell from his horse and died. His colleague, though dangerously
- b wounded in two places, and *Marcellus* the son of the deceased consul, then a legionary tribune, behaved themselves so valiantly, that with the assistance of their small guard, they returned, in spite of all opposition, to the camp. Thus died the renowned *Marcellus*, surnamed *The sword of the republic*, a man famous for many victories, the terror of *Hannibal*, and the conqueror of *Syracuse*. Though antiquity has taxed his prudence as a general, on account of this last rash attempt; yet it is certain, that on all other occasions he displayed the accomplished hero. *Hannibal*, upon the news of his death, flew to the place, where the body of his rival lay; and at the sight of it shewed no marks of joy, but seemed rather to pity the misfortune of so great a man in losing his life in a manner unworthy of so renowned a commander. His first care was to take
- c off the ring which the dead consul had on his finger, and with which he sealed his dispatches, not doubting but he should have some opportunity or other of making use of it to his advantage. Then, having for some time admired the stature and noble mien of the deceased, he ordered the body to be wrapt up in a rich stuff, laid on a funeral pile, and burnt. He gathered up the ashes, inclosed them in a silver urn, on which he placed a crown of gold, and another of laurel, and in this pompous manner sent the remains of the father to the son, who shewed them all those marks of distinction which the illustrious father deserved. *Livy*, without mentioning any of these circumstances, only tells us, that the body of the deceased consul was buried by the *Carthaginian* general. The surviving consul, being dangerously wounded,
- d decamped the following night, and posted himself among inaccessible mountains, and from his asylum dispatched messengers to all the neighbouring cities in the interest of *Rome*, acquainting them that *Marcellus* was killed, lest *Hannibal*, who was master of his ring, should attempt to deceive them by letters sent to them in his name. This precaution preserved *Salapia* in *Apulia*. Nay, the inhabitants turned the artifice of the *Carthaginian* upon himself: for a *Roman* deserter having brought them a letter as from the deceased consul, acquainting them that he would be there the next day, and ordering them to make the necessary preparations for his reception, the *Salapians* admitted six hundred of *Hannibal's* men, most of them *Roman* deserters, into the town, and then all on a sudden pulling up the draw-bridges, cut in pieces those who
- e had entered, and with a shower of darts from the ramparts, drove back the rest. *Hannibal*, being thus disappointed in his attempt upon *Salapia*, marched with all his forces to the relief of *Locri*, which the *Romans* had closely invested by sea and land. Upon his approach the *Romans* were so terrified, that *Cincius*, the admiral of the fleet, immediately sounded a retreat, and having imbarqued all the land-forces on board his gallics, sailed away, and returned to *Rome*. In the mean time, the consul *Quintius*, having left his post among the mountains, came and incamped near *Capua*, whence he sent letters to the senate, acquainting them with the death of his colleague, and desiring them to depute to him three men of prudence and integrity, with whom he might confer about the proper measures to be taken by the republic, since his wounds proving mortal, he was drawing near his end. Accordingly, three senators were commissioned to receive his last advice; and at their request he appointed a dictator to hold the comitia for the next elections. The person he chose was *T. Manlius Torquatus*, who named *C. Servilius* for his general of the horse. Soon after the consul died. However, the *Romans* were a little comforted for the loss of both their consuls with news from *Sicily*, that *Levinus*, who commanded a fleet of an hundred sail, had made a descent on *Africa*, brought from thence an immense booty, and afterwards defeated a *Carthaginian* fleet off *Clypea*.

Marcellus is slain, and the other consul mortally wounded.

The Romans are forced to raise the siege of Locri.

T. Manlius Torquatus dictator.

^b PLUT. in Marcell.

^c LIV. *ibid.*

^d LIV. l. xxvii. c. 28. APPIAN. in Hannibalic. PLUT. in Marcell.

To retrieve the affairs of the republic, it was necessary, that two men of unex-
ceptionable prudence and bravery should be raised to the consulate. The senate there-
fore cast their eyes on *Claudius Nero*, and *M. Livius Salinator*. The former was a
man of uncommon bravery, but bold and enterprising, the latter more sedate and
calm, and therefore fit to temper the vivacity of his colleague. *Livius* had discharged
the office of consul twelve years before with great prudence; but being unjustly cen-
sured by the people for a pretended unequal division of the spoils of *Illyricum*, he
had, out of pique, retired to a country house, and there, letting his hair and beard
grow, lived like a man in disgrace, till the censors obliged him to shave himself,
and take his place in the senate; and even then he still shewed his resentment, giving
his opinion by a *yes* or a *no*. As he was a man of unquestionable abilities, both the
senate and the dictator thought him a proper person to be joined with *Nero*. But it was
with the utmost difficulty, that they prevailed upon him to accept the dignity offered
him. It fell to his lot to march against *Asdrubal*, who was making the best of his way
over the *Alps* into *Italy* to join his brother, and to *Nero's* lot to act against *Hannibal* in *Br-
tium*. Levies were raised with great rigor, and the volones, formerly disciplined by
Sempronius, were obliged to serve again. Besides the forces raised in *Italy*, *Scipio* sent from
Spain to *Livius* two thousand legionaries, eight thousand *Spaniards* and *Gauls*, and
about two thousand horse, partly *Numidians*, and partly *Spaniards*. Early in the
spring the two consuls took the field. *Nero* at the head of forty thousand foot, and
two thousand five hundred horse, incamped within five hundred paces of *Hannibal's*
army; and having privately sent a considerable detachment to fall upon the enemy in
the rear from the eminences behind them, gained by this stratagem a victory, killed
eight thousand of the enemy, and took seven thousand prisoners, with the loss only
of five hundred men. After this defeat *Hannibal* decamped in the night from the
neighbourhood of *Grumentum* in *Lucania*, where the battle was fought. But the *Ro-
mans* pursued him with so much expedition, that they came up with him near *Venusia*,
and in another battle killed two thousand of his men; which obliged him to make the
best of his way to *Metapontus*, in order to join *Hanno*, whom he had sent to make
new levies in *Brutium*.*

Hannibal de-
feated by the
consul Nero.

WHILE the consul was thus pursuing and harassing *Hannibal*, a courier fell into the
hands of the *Romans* with letters from *Asdrubal* to his brother, importing, that he had
passed the *Alps*, and that he was repairing to *Umbria*, in hopes that *Hannibal* would
join him there. Upon this intelligence, the consul *Nero*, having appointed one of
his lieutenants to command the army, set out in the night with six thousand of his
choicest troops, causing a report to be spread, that he was going to attack a *Cartha-
ginian* garison in a neighbouring city of *Lucania*. But his true design, which he dis-
closed to nobody, was to join his colleague, and give *Asdrubal* battle, before his bro-
ther could come to his assistance. With this view he took the road to *Picenum*, and
advanced with incredible expedition towards *Cisalpine Gaul*, his soldiers, to whom he
imparted his design, when he was got to a considerable distance from his camp, march-
ing night and day at a great rate. At length he drew near his colleague's camp, and
entered it in the night to conceal his arrival from the enemy. A council of war was
held, in which it was resolved to give the enemy battle without delay. But *Asdrubal*,
perceiving that the *Romans* were reinforced, decamped in the night, and after a long
and tedious march came to the *Metaurus*, a river in *Umbria*, but postponed the passing
of it till day-break. In the mean time the *Romans* overtaking him, obliged him to
give battle in a disadvantageous situation, and when his men were quite spent with
hunger and want of rest. The consuls gained a complete victory, killed about fifty-
six thousand of the enemy on the spot, and took a great many prisoners. As for *As-
drubal* himself, as soon as he saw the total defeat of his army, he threw himself into
the midst of a *Roman* battalion, and died fighting. The *Romans* are said by some
writers to have lost eight thousand men in this action; but others reduce them only to
two thousand. The consul *Nero* after this glorious victory did not continue so much
as one whole night in his colleague's camp; but having cut off *Asdrubal's* head, and
taken it with him, he returned with such expedition, that in six days time he reached
his camp at *Canusium*. On his return he sent some of the natives of *Carthage*, whom he
had taken prisoners in the late battle, to *Hannibal's* camp in chains, that they might
publish the victory there. At the same time he ordered *Asdrubal's* head to be thrown

Asdrubal de-
feated and slain.

* Liv. l. xxvii. c. 35.

- a into the enemy's trenches, or, as some say, to be fixed on a pole near them. This sight, with the report of the captives, filled *Hannibal* with horror and sadness. He is said in the height of his grief to have cried out, *O Carthage; unhappy Carthage! I am sinking under the pressure of thy fate*; and then he immediately decamped, and retired into *Brutium* ^f.

THE republic for a whole year had received no account of any new exploits in *Spain*. But now, to add to her joy, *Lucius Scipio*, the brother of the proconsul, arrived at *Rome*, and brought news, that *Silanus*, the proprætor under *Scipio*, had with a detachment of ten thousand foot, and five hundred horse, routed the united forces of *Mago* and *Hanno*; that he himself with another detachment had besieged and taken *Aurinx*, a city of importance on the confines of *Lower Bætica*; and lastly, that *Asdrubal*, the son of *Gisco*, to whom *Mago* had fled after his defeat, was confined to a corner of *Spain* near the streights of *Gades*. *Lucius Scipio*, who brought this news, came to *Rome*, attended by *Hanno* and many other *Carthaginians* of distinction taken in the war. Thus was the prosperity of the *Romans* complete in this happy year ^g.

- THE next year the new consuls, *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, and *L. Velurius Philo*, carried on the war jointly in *Brutium* against *Hannibal*, who, though his troops were in a manner starving, and in want of the common necessaries of life, with which *Brutium* could not supply them, gained notwithstanding some advantage over the consuls in the plains of *Gosentia*, where he continued incamped the rest of the summer, the consuls not daring to attack him. But while *Hannibal* was upon the defensive in *Italy*, *Scipio* gave the *Carthaginians* no respite in *Spain*. He marched at the head of forty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, against the united forces of *Mago* and *Asdrubal*, consisting of seventy thousand foot, and four thousand five hundred horse, engaged them in a large plain near *Bœcula*, on the confines of *Bætica*, and gained a complete victory over them. The *Carthaginians* indeed behaved with extraordinary valor, and made such a resolute resistance, as almost disheartened the *Romans*; insomuch that *Scipio* was forced to dismount, seize a buckler, and throw himself sword in hand into the midst of the *African* battalions, before he could engage his men to make the necessary efforts to decide the day in their favour. *Asdrubal* fled to his camp, but abandoned it in the night, and retired towards the sea. *Scipio* pursued him close, and coming up with him, made a second furious havock of his men; insomuch that of his vast army only six thousand were left about him, the *Carthaginians* being for the most part killed, and the *Spaniards* returned after the first battle to their respective countries. With these small remains of so numerous an army, the three chiefs, *Asdrubal*, *Mago*, and *Masiniſſa*, gained the summit of a steep hill, and there intrenched themselves as well as they could. As the sea was near, first *Asdrubal*, and afterwards *Mago*, escaped in the night by a shameful flight, and finding ships ready to sail, imbarqued for *Gades*, leaving their men to shift for themselves. *Masiniſſa* continued on the hill, where he was invested by *Silanus*, whom *Scipio* left there with a detachment, while he himself returned to *Tarracon*. A few days after the departure of the proconsul, *Silanus* had a private interview with *Masiniſſa*; and though we know not the conditions of the engagement, into which the *Numidian* king entered with *Rome*, it is certain he bound himself by such ties as proved indissoluble. The effects of his good understanding with *Silanus* immediately appeared, the troops he commanded on the rock being allowed to disperse, and he to return into his own dominions, where he took proper measures to support the party he had newly embraced ^h.

- Spain* being now almost totally reduced, *Scipio* sent *Lælius* into *Africa* to negotiate an alliance with *Syphax*, king of *Masæſſia*, who had espoused the *Carthaginian* party. As *Lælius* was only a subaltern in *Scipio's* army, the king, for his greater security, insisted upon having a personal conference with the proconsul himself. Hereupon *Scipio*, whose great soul was above the fear of danger, having left the brave *Marcus* at *Tarracon* with part of the army, and sent *Silanus* with the rest to *New Carthage*, imbarqued with *Lælius* for *Africa*, and arrived at the capital of king *Syphax*. As the fugitive *Asdrubal* happened to arrive there at the same time, the *Numidian* king would fain have had *Scipio* enter into a conference with the *Carthaginian*, in order to an amicable accommodation. But the proconsul excused himself, as not having received any commission to treat of peace. However, he accepted the invitation to dine at the king's table with *Asdrubal*; on which occasion he appeared as much superior to his rival

^f LIV. l. xxvii. c. 46—51. POLYB. l. xi. c. 1. APPIAN. in *Hannibal*. OROS. l. iv. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 9.

^g LIV. l. xxviii. c. 1.

^h LIV. l. xxviii. c. 15, & seq. APPIAN. in *Ibericis*. POLYB. l. xi. c. 21.

Illiturgis, Castulo and Astapa taken by the Romans.

A mutiny in Scipio's army.

The Spanish rebels defeated.

Masiniissa confers privately with Scipio, and enters into an alliance with Rome.

Scipio, having reduced all Spain, is recalled.

in the charms of conversation, as he had been in war. *Syphax* was so taken with his eloquence, address, and noble behaviour, that he entered into a secret treaty with him, amusing the *Carthaginian*, who had a fleet there, till the proconsul was safely arrived at *New Carthage*. Upon his return he marched in person to besiege *Illiturgis*, and sent *Marcus* to reduce *Castulo*; both which cities had revolted from the *Romans*. The former being taken by assault, all the inhabitants, without distinction of sex or age, were put to the sword, and the city razed. The latter capitulated, and was more favourably treated. *Marcus* in the next place appeared before *Astapa*, the inhabitants of which city, obstinately devoted to the *Carthaginians*, sallied out in good order to attack the *Romans*, and all died fighting, except fifty, who had been left in the city to guard their effects, their wives, and children, whom they had brought into the market-place, designing to destroy them all with fire and sword in case the *Romans* should prevail. This trust they discharged upon the first news of the defeat of their countrymen, setting fire to a great pile, on the top of which they had placed the women, children, and their most valuable moveables. This done, they threw themselves into the flames, leaving the *Romans* masters of an empty city. While *Marcus* was thus executing vengeance on the rebellious cities, *Scipio* was returned to *New Carthage*, where he fell dangerously sick; and a report being spread that he was dead, not only *Indibilis* and *Mandonius*, two petty kings mentioned above, immediately revolted from the *Romans*; but eight thousand legionaries, who were incamped on the banks of the *Sucro*, mutinied, drove away their leaders, and chose two common soldiers, *Atrius* and *Albius*, to conduct them. These fellows, seeing themselves at the head of eight thousand *Roman* legionaries, had the insolence to usurp the consular dignity, and to order lictors to march before them. The pretence for the mutiny was their not having received pay for six months. But in the mean time the proconsul, having recovered his health, and by a stratagem secured the ring-leaders of the revolt, caused their heads to be struck off; which so terrified the rest, that they all returned to their duty, and took a new military oath. As to the *Spanish* princes, who had revolted, *Scipio* was informed, that they had raised an army of twenty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse, and that they were living upon free quarter in the territories of the friends of *Rome*. Hereupon he marched against them, and coming up with them in the country of the *Sedetani*, gained there a complete victory, seventeen thousand *Spaniards* being killed upon the spot. After this defeat, the two kings had no resource, but in the clemency of the conqueror, who contented himself with obliging them to supply him with money enough to pay his troops. After this the proconsul marched with part of his troops towards *Gades*, the only city of *Spain* in the *Carthaginian* interest. His chief design in this journey was to have an opportunity of conferring with *Masiniissa*, who had shut himself up in that city with *Mago*, and was impatient to have a conference with the *Roman* general. Accordingly, the *Numidian* prince, under pretence of going out to forage, met *Scipio*, and entered into an alliance with *Rome*, advising the proconsul to pass over into *Africa*, and lay siege to *Carthage* itself, which, he said, would be easily reduced. The treaty being concluded, the proconsul returned to *Tarracon*, and *Masiniissa* to *Gades*, after having pillaged some part of the continent to conceal the true design of his journey. Soon after *Mago* received orders to leave *Gades*, and hasten with all his forces to the assistance of *Hannibal* in *Italy*. Upon his departure, the *Gaditani* immediately submitted to the *Romans*, who were now become masters of all *Spain*. As *Mago* was coasting along *Spain* in his way to *Italy*, he formed a rash design of surprising *New Carthage*; but lost in the attempt eight thousand men; which misfortune obliged him to stop at the *Balearic* islands, where he forced ten thousand of the inhabitants into the service of his republic, and did not sail from those islands for *Italy* till the spring. At *Rome* the senate no sooner received an account of the intire reduction of *Spain*, but they determined to recall *Scipio*; and accordingly, without giving him time to enjoy any rest after his fatigues, or even waiting for the new comitia, they dispatched two persons to succeed him, *Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Manlius Acidinus*; the former was to govern the *Hither Spain*, from the *Pyrennees* to the *Sucro*, and the latter the *Further Spain*, from the *Sucro* to the *Ocean*. To these *Scipio* surrendered the fasces without murmuring, and attended by his faithful *Lolius*, and his brother *Lucius*, immediately set sail with a squadron of ten ships, and returned to *Italy*.

¹ Liv. l. xxviii. c. 24, & seq. APPIAN. in Ibericis. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 10, 11.

- a As *Scipio* arrived at *Rome* about the time of the new elections, it is not to be expressed with what zeal the centuries gave their suffrages in his favour, though he had not yet attained to the years customarily required for the consular dignity, being only between twenty-eight and twenty-nine years of age. The colleague appointed him was *P. Licinius Crassus*, surnamed *Dives*, and at this time pontifex maximus. When the fathers came to settle the provinces of the new consuls, *Scipio* desired to be sent into *Africa*. But old *Fabius*, now president of the senate, in a long and studied speech, laboured to set forth the dangers of such an enterprise. It was very visible, that jealousy of a rising merit, which already began to eclipse his own, was what chiefly animated *Fabius* at this time; and *Scipio* in his answer did not fail to expose this infirmity of the old president. After long and warm debates, the affair of the provinces of the two consuls was put to the vote, when it was decreed, that *Scipio* should command in *Sicily*, and that, if he thought it for the advantage of the republic, he might, with the fleet there, consisting only of thirty ships of war, pass over into *Africa*. As for *Licinius*, he was directed to carry on the war against *Hannibal* in *Brutium*. *Scipio*, whose thoughts were wholly bent on *Africa*, notwithstanding his colleague, at the persuasion of *Fabius*, did all he could to obstruct his measures, obtained leave to take with him into *Sicily* as many volunteers as he could get together, and a power to ask of the allies all things necessary for building and equipping a new fleet. Many of the provinces and cities voluntarily taxed themselves to furnish him with corn, iron, timber, cloth for sails, &c. so that in forty days time after the cutting of the timber, he was in a condition to set sail with a fleet of thirty new galleys, and about seven thousand volunteers ^b.

Scipio is chosen consul.

And sent into Sicily.

- In the mean time news was brought to *Rome*, that *Mago*, the brother of *Hannibal*, had landed in *Liguria* with twelve thousand foot, and two thousand horse, and that his army was, soon after his landing, greatly swelled by the *Gauls* and *Ligurians*, who flocked to him from all parts. At the same time the consul *Licinius* sent the senate an account, that a plague raged in his camp, and obliged him to continue inactive. But as *Hannibal's* troops were affected with the same distemper, and had also a famine to struggle with, eighty ships, loaded with provisions for him and his brother *Mago*, having been lately taken by a *Roman* squadron, the fears of the people were intirely quieted ^d.

Mago the brother of Hannibal lands with an army in Italy.

- DURING this inaction in *Italy*, *Scipio*, having disciplined the volunteers he had brought with him into *Sicily*, sent *Lælius* with the choicest of them on board a fleet of thirty galleys to make a descent in *Africa*, and pillage the country. *Lælius* landed near *Hippo*, laid the territory about it waste, and threw the people of *Carthage* into the utmost consternation. *Masiniſſa* was no sooner informed of the arrival of *Lælius*, than he went to confer with him; and expressed his surprise, that *Scipio* so long delayed his departure from *Sicily*, since there could never be a more favourable opportunity of attacking *Carthage*, which was destitute both of men and provisions. The *Numidian* promised to join *Scipio*, the moment he arrived, with all his forces; but advised *Lælius* to imbarque his troops, and return without delay, since the *Carthaginian* fleet was getting ready to intercept him. *Lælius* followed his advice, and weighing anchor the next day, arrived safe in *Sicily* with an immense booty. In the mean time *Mago* in *Liguria* received from *Carthage* a reinforcement of six thousand men, with vast sums for raising troops in *Cisalpine Gaul*. But notwithstanding all he could do, *Livius* and *Lucretius*, who commanded two *Roman* armies in the neighbourhood of *Ariminum*, took their measures so well, that he was forced to continue in *Liguria*, though he had been ordered by his republic to join his brother in *Brutium* ^e.

Lælius makes a descent in Africa.

- In the mean time *Scipio*, having surprised the city of *Locri*, which stood on the sea-coast near *Sicily*, and left *Pleminius* governor of the place, returned to the said island, and there went on with the preparations for his *African* expedition, hoping that at least the next year the republic would suffer him to carry the war into the neighbourhood of *Carthage*. In *Spain*, *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, despising the new proconsuls, revolted from the *Romans*; but were intirely defeated in a pitched battle, thirteen thousand of the *Spaniards* being killed on the spot, among whom was *Indibilis* himself, and eight thousand taken prisoners. After this defeat, the *Spaniards* seized *Mandonius* with the other heads of the revolt, and sent them under a strong guard to the camp of the proconsuls *Lentulus* and *Acidinus*, who had insisted on this as a condition of their

The Spanish rebels intirely defeated.

^a Liv. l. xxviii. c. 43. & seq. PLUT. in Fab.

^b Liv. ibid. c. 45.

^c Liv. l. xxix. c. 4.

obtaining

obtaining mercy. In *Italy* the plague made a dreadful havock in the camp of the consul *Licinius*, as well as in that of the enemy; so that nothing was attempted on either side during this campaign. *Licinius* not being in a condition to return to *Rome*, named *Cæcilius*, the proconsul in *Brutium*, to hold the comitia for the new elections. *M. Cornelius Cethegus*, and *P. Sempronius Tuditanus*, were chosen consuls. The latter was then in *Greece*, and before he left that country, he entered into a treaty of peace with *Philip* king of *Macedon*, which was confirmed by the senate. *Licinius* in quality of proconsul was ordered to continue the war against *Hannibal*, *Livius* to watch *Mago* in *Cisalpine Gaul*, and *Scipio* to remain in *Sicily*. The latter was allowed to pass over into *Africa*, and to chuse such of the *Roman* troops in *Sicily* as he thought fit for that enterprize. We have observed above, that *Scipio* had gained over to the *Roman* interest the two *Numidian* kings, *Syphax* and *Masinissa*. On the other hand, *Asdrubal*, the son of *Gisco*, undertook to draw off one of them at least by means of his daughter *Sophonisba*, who is represented by historians as a woman of extraordinary beauty, sublime genius, engaging manner, and of a courage above her sex. Her father, to gain *Masinissa*, had promised her in marriage to him; but that prince being afterwards unfortunately dispossessed of the throne of his ancestors, *Asdrubal* broke his word, and gave her to *Syphax*, who, forgetting his engagements with *Scipio*, entered into an alliance with *Carthage*. However, to keep some measures with *Rome*, he wrote to *Scipio*, acquainting him with his marriage, the new alliance he had made with the *Carthaginians*, and the necessity he was under of taking part with them, in case they were attacked. The proconsul received this letter with some surprise; but concealing the contents of it from his army, he assembled his troops, and told them, that both *Masinissa* and *Syphax* complained of his dilatoriness, and pressed him not to delay his departure, since they were ready to join him with all their forces. He then ordered his fleet to the port of *Lilybæum*, and commanded his troops to repair thither by land. It is not certain what number of men *Scipio* imbarqued; but never was imbarcation made with more order and solemnity. The concourse of people, who came from all parts to see him set sail, and wish him a prosperous voyage, was prodigious. Just before he weighed anchor, he appeared on the poop of his galley, and after a herald had proclaimed silence, addressed a solemn prayer to the gods; which ended, he ordered a victim to be slain, threw the entrails into the sea, and then the trumpets sounding, he weighed anchor, sailed out of the harbour with a favourable wind, and arriving safe on the coast of *Africa*, landed at the *Fair Promontory*, where we shall leave him a while to return to the affairs of *Italy*.

Sophonisba is given in marriage to Syphax who enters into an alliance with Carthage.

Scipio imbarques for Africa.

Hannibal gains some advantage over the consul Sempronius.

But is afterwards defeated by him.

Several cities in Brutium taken by the Romans.

Scipio arrives in Africa.

THE consul *Sempronius* no sooner arrived in his province, but he marched towards *Croton*, where *Hannibal* was incamped. The *Carthaginian* met him unexpectedly on his march, and having forced him to fight before he could draw up his men, killed twelve hundred *Romans*, and obliged the rest to retire in disorder. The consul, incamped at some distance from the enemy, resolved to hazard a second battle, when joined by the proconsul *Licinius*, who was not far off. Accordingly, he was no sooner reinforced by the proconsular army, but he marched out of his intrenchments, and bid the enemy defiance. *Hannibal* was too proud of his late victory not to accept the challenge. The victory was long doubtful; but in the end the *Romans* prevailed, killed four thousand of the enemy on the spot, and took about three hundred prisoners, and eleven standards. After this defeat *Hannibal* retired to *Croton*, and appeared no more in the field the whole campaign. But the consul *Sempronius*, taking advantage of the enemy's inaction, made himself master of *Petilia*, *Clampetia*, *Cosentia*, and *Pandusia*; and then returned to *Rome* to erect a temple to *Fortune*, which he had vowed before the last battle, in case it proved successful. On the other hand the consul *Cethegus*, who acted against *Mago*, kept *Hetruria* and *Cisalpine Gaul* in awe; so that the *Carthaginian*, who was not in a condition to force the *Roman* intrenchments, gave over all thoughts of joining his brother this campaign.

DURING these transactions in *Italy*, *Scipio*, as we have observed above, arrived safe on the coast of *Africa*. The alarm and terror which this unexpected descent caused at *Carthage*, is not to be expressed. The republic had no general to make head against *Scipio*, except *Asdrubal*, the son of *Gisco*, who was not a match for him; nor was she provided with any regular and disciplined troops. *Scipio*, having ordered his fleet to *Utica*, incamped with his land-forces on certain eminences at a small distance

^a Liv. l. xxix. c. 27—36. APPIAN. *ibid.*

- a from the coast, and from thence sent out a detachment of five hundred men to forage. These were attacked by a flying party under the command of *Hanno*, a young warrior, who had been ordered to observe the enemy's motions. The *Romans* had all the advantage, and the young *Carthaginian* was killed in the engagement. *Scipio*, Hanno defeated, and Locha taken. looking upon this first success as a good augury, immediately drew near to *Locha*, a city which seemed to promise his soldiers a rich booty. But he had no sooner planted his scaling-ladders for the assault, than the inhabitants sent a herald to demand their lives with liberty to retire. Upon this *Scipio* sounded a retreat; but the greedy soldiers carried on the assault, scaled the walls, and entering the city, put all, even women and children, to the sword. But so barbarous an action, and so signal a disobedience, did not escape unpunished. The centurions, who had encouraged the soldiers to carry on the attack, were ordered to draw lots, which of them should die. Three of them were executed, and the guilty soldiers were deprived of the booty they had taken.
- b AFTER this expedition, *Masiniſſa* came privately in the night to confer with *Scipio*. He had been deprived of his kingdom by *Syphax*, and restored to it by the mediation of the *Carthaginians*, who readily embraced that opportunity of obliging a prince, whose bravery and enterprising genius gave them no small umbrage. However, *Syphax* detained *Masiniſſa's* mother, whom he had taken prisoner, as a hostage to secure her son's fidelity. *Masiniſſa* was sensible, that the *Carthaginians* were not sincere at the bottom; and therefore he still retained his former affection for *Rome*, tho', to comply with the times, he had joined *Asdrubal* with a strong reinforcement of horse. In the private interview he had with *Scipio*, it was agreed, that the *Numidian* should continue to deceive the credulous *Carthaginians*, till a favourable opportunity offered of breaking openly with them, and till he could free himself from the constraint he was under by the captivity of his mother. In the mean time *Asdrubal*, at the head of twenty thousand foot, and seven thousand horse, with an hundred and forty elephants, drew near to *Utica*, which *Scipio* was preparing to invest. *Masiniſſa*, who was one of the council of war on all occasions, persuaded *Asdrubal* to detach his son *Hanno* with a thousand horse, to watch the motions of the enemy, and attempt to enter *Utica* with that reinforcement, promising to favour the enterprize with all his *Numidian* cavalry. He then gave notice to *Scipio* of the design, who surprised the detachment, and took *Hanno* prisoner. And now *Masiniſſa*, not doubting but *Asdrubal* would willingly exchange his mother for *Hanno*, joined the *Romans* with all his forces (R). As for *Syphax*, when he saw that his rival had declared for the *Romans*, Masiniſſa joins the Romans. he endeavoured first to draw him off from the party he had embraced; but not succeeding therein, he attempted to bribe one of his servants to poison him. This treachery was discovered; and then *Syphax*, who had hitherto taken upon himself the office of mediator between *Rome* and *Carthage*, and incamped apart with his army, And Syphax the Carthaginians. which consisted of fifty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, kept no longer any measures with the *Romans*. He led his troops before *Tholus*, a place where the *Romans*

° APPIAN. in Punic.

(R) We have followed *Appian* in this matter; but *Livy* relates it in a quite different manner. According to him, *Scipio* had no sooner landed his troops in *Africa*, than he advanced towards *Utica*, and encamped within a mile of that city. The *Carthaginians*, in order to stop the progress of the *Roman* army, had recourse to *Syphax*, who was intirely governed by *Asdrubal* his father-in-law, and his new wife *Sophonisba*. *Asdrubal*, who was then at the court of king *Syphax*, was ordered to leave it, and hasten to the defence of his country. Till he arrived, *Hanno* was appointed to watch the motions of the enemy, and secure the country against their incursions. The *Carthaginian*, pursuant to his commission, found means to draw together a body of four thousand horse; and with this small army he took the road to *Solera*, and cantoned his troops in that neighbourhood, about fifteen miles from the *Roman* camp. Hereupon *Scipio* ordered *Masiniſſa*, who, according to *Livy*, had already declared openly for the *Romans*, to march with a troop of *Numidian* horse towards *Solera*, while he himself, at the

head of a choice body of *Roman* horse, followed him at some distance through by-ways among the hills, in order to conceal his approach from the enemy. *Masiniſſa*, as had been concerted, advanced with his troop to the very gates of *Solera*, as it were to insult *Hanno*, who had retired with his troops into that city. *Hanno* did not fail to sally out against him; and then the *Numidian* king, retiring in good order, drew the enemy by degrees into the plain, when *Scipio*, who lay in ambush among the rocks, starting up, cut off their retreat, and surrounded them on all sides. Two thousand of the enemy were either killed or taken, and among the former was, according to *Livy*, *Hanno* himself, with several *Carthaginians* of distinction. This is the account *Livy* gives us of this action; but that of *Appian* seems to us to agree better with the precedent and subsequent events. Besides, *Calpurnius* and *Valerius*, two ancient annalists, quoted by *Livy* himself, tell us, that *Hanno* was not killed, but taken prisoner; as does also *Zonaras*, whose authority is an additional weight to incline the balance in favour of *Appian*.

had a magazine of corn, surpris'd it, and put the garison to the sword. In the mean time *Scipio* was so harass'd by the enemy, who surrounded him, that he was oblig'd to raise the siege of *Utica*, after he had continued it forty days, and retire, as the winter approached, to a more commodious post. The place which he chose was a promontory, under which his fleet was anchored. There he fortified his camp, and waited for the return of the spring to renew the war with vigour.

In the mean time cloaths, corn, and provisions of all sorts, were sent from *Rome* to *Scipio's* army, in spite of the peevish jealousy of old *Fabius*, who was ever inveighing against the proconsul, and even moved in the senate to have him recalled. When the comitia had elected the new consuls, *Cn. Servilius Cæpio* and *C. Servilius Geminus*, and came to appoint the proconsuls, *Scipio* was honoured with a particular mark of distinction; for while the others were nominated only for one year, he was continued proconsul in *Africa* till the war was ended. The whole winter was spent in fruitless negotiations between *Scipio* and *Syphax*, who had assumed anew the quality of mediator. Early in the spring the proconsul sent a detachment to take possession of the old post, where he had incamped when he besieged *Utica*. Both the *Romans* and *Africans* imagined, that his intention was to renew that enterprize. But his design was to attack the two camps of the enemy in the night; for *Syphax* was incamped with his army apart from the *Carthaginians*. This scheme he imparted to his troops the night before the attack; and the motion being approved of by all, tho' there were more men in each camp than the whole of the *Roman* army, *Scipio* divided his troops, and gave the command of one part to *Masinissa*, and of another to *Lælius*, ordering them to invest the camp of *Syphax* on different sides, and to set fire to their barracks, which were of wood, mats, hurdles, and such combustible materials. As for himself, he told *Masinissa* and *Lælius*, that he would watch the motions of *Asdrubal's* army, but suspend the attack of his intrenchments, till he received advice, that they had penetrated to the centre of the *Numidian* camp. The whole scheme was happily executed. The camp of *Syphax* first, and then that of *Asdrubal*, was surpris'd and burnt. Many of the *Carthaginians* and *Numidians* were burnt alive in their beds, some were suffocated with the smoke, others ran to the gates, and were either stifled in the croud, or massacred by the enemy. Men, beasts of burden, and elephants, all perished, either in the flames, or by the sword. Those who leaped down from the top of the ramparts to avoid perishing in the flames, were cut in pieces by parties of *Roman* troops, who had seized all the avenues to the two camps. The plain was all covered with dead bodies, and the two camps filled with heaps of ashes and bones. Forty thousand of the enemy were destroyed either by fire or sword, and five thousand made prisoners. Among the latter were many persons of distinction; particularly eleven *Carthaginian* senators. The *Romans* saved out of the flames a hundred and sixty standards, two thousand seven hundred *Numidian* horses, and six elephants. *Scipio* did not lose a hundred men in this decisive action. The two *African* commanders, *Asdrubal* and *Syphax*, found means to make their escape, with two thousand foot, and five hundred horse. The consternation of the people at *Carthage* was inexpressibly great, when they saw *Asdrubal* arrive there with the poor remains of his shattered army. The *Suffetes*, or supreme magistrates, immediately assembled the senators, who were divided in opinion, some being for recalling *Hannibal* without delay, others for proposing a truce with the enemy; but the *Barcan* faction, which was for pursuing the war, and continuing *Hannibal* in *Italy*, prevailed. *Hanno*, the son of *Hamilcar*, was appointed to command the troops in the room of *Asdrubal*, who was sentenced to die for his ill conduct; but the troops being for him, he avoided the execution of the sentence, and having assembled about eight thousand foot, and three thousand horse, he endeavour'd to serve his country without any commission from the republic. As for *Syphax*, he had retired, after his defeat, to *Abba*, or *Obba*, where he was soon joined by *Asdrubal*, and other troops; so that the two *African* commanders found themselves in a very short time in a condition to appear anew in the field, having drawn together from several parts near thirty thousand men. With this army they incamped in a place called the *Great Plain*, about five days march from *Utica*, which *Scipio* had besieged anew. However, the proconsul was no sooner inform'd of their motions, than he turned the siege into a blockade, and hasten'd to attack them. After some slight skirmishes, the two armies came to a general engagement, in which the

Scipio surpris'd and burns the camps of Syphax and Asdrubal.

Hanno appointed commander of the Carthaginian forces.

- a Romans prevailed, and gained a complete victory. After this success, the proconsul Scipio gains a complete victory over Asdrubal and Syphax. dispatched *Lælius* and *Masiniſſa* after *Syphax*, who, with the best part of his troops, hastened back into his own country. *Scipio* resolved to make himself in the mean time master of the towns in the neighbourhood of *Carthage*. With this view he marched to *Tunis*, from whence *Carthage* could be seen, and took it without the loss of a single Tunis taken by Scipio. man, the garison having deserted it in a fright at his approach. The *Cartaginians*, in order to divert *Scipio* from laying siege to their capital, having equipped with incredible expedition a fleet of a hundred galleys, sent it, under the command of *Hamilcar*, the father of *Hanno*, to burn the *Roman* fleet, which lay under the promontory formerly mentioned. *Scipio*, perceiving from *Tunis* the course which the *Cartaginians* steered, made what haste he could to preserve his fleet; and reaching the port by land, before the enemy arrived there by sea, drew up his galleys as near to the shore as he could, and repulsed the enemy, who nevertheless took six of his galleys. With this small prize *Hamilcar* returned to *Carthage*; and the proconsul thought it adviseable to continue where he was, till he could receive from *Italy* a reinforcement of ships, his whole fleet consisting now but of fourteen galleys ¹.

- In the mean time *Lælius* and *Masiniſſa*, who, with the third part of the legions, were gone in pursuit of *Syphax*, penetrated, after fifteen days march, into the heart of *Numidia*. *Syphax*, at the head of a very numerous army, advanced to meet them; but was vigorously repulsed in a general action which ensued, forced to fly, and pursued to the banks of a river, where *Masiniſſa* himself took him prisoner, with his son *Vermine*. After this, the victorious *Numidian*, with the approbation of *Lælius*, who Syphax defeated, and taken prisoner. was to follow him by slow marches, hastened to appear before *Cyrtba*, the capital of *Syphax's* dominions. As he had taken the captive king with him, the city, being destitute of all hopes of relief, readily surrendered. *Masiniſſa* entered it in triumph, and hastened to the palace, with full intention to punish *Sopbonisba*, for entering into engagements with his rival, after she had been betrothed to him. But he was soon disarmed; for he no sooner entered the palace, than the beautiful queen, set off with all the charms of dress, fell at his feet, and embracing his knees, conjured him in the most moving manner not to deliver her up to the *Romans*, but rather to free her by death from the chains of an insulting enemy. These words made a deep impression on *Masiniſſa*; he looked tenderly on her, and feeling his former flame revive, he reached out his hand to her; which was a token that her request was granted. But as the fair captive properly belonged to *Scipio*, and *Masiniſſa*, who was but a subaltern in the *Roman* army, had no right to make such a promise, he was greatly perplexed to know how he should perform it. At length he resolved to follow the dictates of his love, and marry her, thinking that neither *Scipio* nor *Lælius* could lay any claim to her, after he had, by a lawful marriage, made her his own. The public rejoicings on this occasion were not over when *Lælius* arrived. He was so shocked at so precipitate a marriage, that he resolved at first to snatch the queen from the nuptial bed, and send her away with the other captives to *Scipio*; but, upon second thoughts, Masiniſſa marries Sopbonisba. he determined to refer the matter to the judgment of the proconsul, and in the mean time let the prince enjoy his amours. As for *Syphax*, he was sent under a strong guard to *Scipio's* camp, where he was treated with great politeness and respect, the proconsul remembering the hospitable entertainment this prince had formerly given him at his court. As *Scipio* took frequently pleasure in conversing with his royal captive, he learned of him, that, if he had been left to his own judgment, he would have continued faithful to *Rome*; but that his wife *Sopbonisba*, having by her irresistible charms made herself mistress of his heart, had induced him to prefer *Carthage* to *Rome*. Hereupon *Scipio*, fearing she might gain such an ascendant over her new husband, resolved to take her from him. It was not long before *Masiniſſa*, having reduced all *Numidia*, arrived at the proconsul's camp with his new queen. *Scipio* received him with all possible marks of distinction; but took no notice of *Sopbonisba*, tho' she entered his tent together with *Masiniſſa*. From the proconsul's tent she was conducted to *Masiniſſa's* quarters, and there respected as his wife; but *Scipio*, by no means liking to see a *Cartaginian* woman with the title of queen in the midst of a *Roman* army, had a private conference with *Masiniſſa* a few days after his arrival. He complimented him in the first place on his heroic behaviour, and then, expostulating with him on his late conduct, exhorted him to conquer the love of pleasure, and not

¹ Liv. l. xxx. c. 10. Appian, in Punic. Zonar. l. ix. c. 10.

suffer himself to be enslaved by a woman, after having subdued a vast kingdom. At the same time he put him in mind, that the spoils and captives taken from the enemy belonged not to him, but to the *Romans*. He concluded his speech thus: I am very sensible, that your heart trembles at the thought of the sacrifice I require of you; but return, *Masiniſſa*, return to your reason. Hitherto your weakness deserves pity; but it may become unpardonable. Your perseverance in it may be attended with a long repentance. The *Numidian* prince blushed and wept. His heart was rent with opposite passions; but at length his virtue and his interest gained the ascendant over his love. He promised the general to shake off his chains; and so far got the mastery over his passion, as to carry in person to his beloved *Sopboniſſa* the decree, which *Scipio* had pronounced against her, declaring, that she belonged to the *Roman* people. When he entered his tent, Receive now, said he, the last testimony of my affection and fidelity. It is absolutely out of my power to deliver you from the slavery with which you are threatened, any other way than by death. Remember only whose daughter and whose queen you are, and then surely you cannot be afraid to descend to the shades. *Masiniſſa* will soon follow you thither. Tears flowed down the prince's cheeks while he uttered these words; and, as soon as he had spoke them, he rushed out of the tent, where all things were prepared to give the unhappy princeſs the most speedy and easy death. A slave, whose business it was to prepare poison, entered the tent as soon as *Masiniſſa* went out, and presented to the queen the fatal cup, which she took with an air of great composure, upbraiding her weeping nurse for dishonouring her death with her tears. Then turning to the slave, Let my husband, said she, know that I die contented, since I die by his orders. Assure him, that I was forced, contrary to my inclinations, to enter into engagements with another. My heart has been enslaved to none but him; and as for my body, I readily abandon it to the fury of the *Romans*. Having thus spoke, she drank the poison, and almost instantly expired. *Scipio*, to console the *Numidian* prince, caressed and diverted him; and, when he had assembled his troops, styled him king for the first time in a juridical way, and presented him with a crown of gold, a curule chair, an embroidered robe, and a tunic adorned with palm-branches. These honours counterbalanced in the prince's heart the remembrance of his dear *Sopboniſſa*, and he now conceived hopes of becoming sole master of all *Numidia*.

The Carthaginians make a fraudulent proposal of peace.

AND now that the winter kept both armies from entering upon action, *Scipio* dispatched *Lælius* with *Syphax* and the rest of the captives to *Rome*, and returned himself to his old post near *Tunis*. The *Carthaginians*, alarmed at his neighbourhood, endeavoured to gain time by a fraudulent treaty of peace, till *Hannibal* and *Mago* should arrive from *Italy*. The better to impose upon the proconsul, they sent deputies to *Rome*, and with them a small number of *Roman* captives and deserters; but at the same time they prepared to renew the war with vigour, strengthened their alliances on all sides, and once more prevailed upon *Philip* of *Macedon* to engage in their interest. While *Scipio*, deceived by the fraudulent proposals of the *Carthaginians*, was suspending hostilities in *Africa*, *Lælius*, arriving at *Rome*, gave the conscript fathers a pompous, but true account of his friend's exploits. This occasioned an universal joy in the city. The prætor published a decree for a general supplication, and the people crowded to the temples to return thanks for the proconsul's success. As for *Syphax*, the senate ordered him to be conducted to *Alba*, in the country of the *Marſi*, and there kept to grace the triumph of the *Roman* general at his return. At the same time the senate confirmed the title which *Scipio* had given to *Masiniſſa*, and sent him new presents in the name of the republic.

Mago embarks for Africa, but dies of a wound at sea. Hannibal recalled.

IN *Italy* *Hannibal* was now wholly confined to a corner of *Brutium*, and had not attempted any thing this campaign. As for his brother *Mago*, he did not venture to give battle to the consul *Servilius Geminus*, who commanded an army in *Heſtruria*; but falling down upon *Inſubria*, engaged two *Roman* armies there, under the conduct of the proconsul *Corn. Cethegus*, and the prætor *Quintilius Varus*. The victory was long disputed; but at length *Mago* himself being wounded, the *Carthaginians* were routed, and obliged to take shelter among the mountains of *Liguria*. There he received strict orders to repair forthwith to *Carthage*; but he had scarce doubled the island of *Sardinia*, when he died of his wound. *Hannibal* received the same orders, and complied with them, but not without great reluctance. He resolved to take a

† Liv. ibid. c. 14. APPIAN. in Punic. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 12. * Liv. l. xxx. c. 16.

a body of *Brutian* troops with him ; but these, refusing to abandon their native country, took refuge in the temple of *Juno Lucina*, where the barbarous *Carthaginian* caused them all to be cruelly massacred. When he was out at sea, he often looked back on the country he had hoped to conquer, and is said to have uttered bitter execrations against gods and men. The joy at *Rome*, on the news of his departure, was inexpressibly great ; but old *Fabius* endeavoured to allay it, by exclaiming, that the *Roman* state was never in a more deplorable condition ; but the people confided in the abilities of *Scipio*, and public thanks were appointed to be offered to the gods for *Hannibal's* departure ^r.

Scipio had granted the *Carthaginians* in *Africa* a truce, till their ambassadors returned from *Rome* ; but in the mean time an accident discovered the insincerity of their intentions. *Scipio* had sent for a reinforcement of ships both from *Sicily* and *Sardinia*. The squadron from *Sicily* was dispersed by a tempest, and many of the ships being driven near the port of *Carthage*, the *Carthaginians* seized and plundered them. Hereupon the proconsul sent *M. Babius* with two other deputies to *Carthage*, to complain of the injustice, and require satisfaction ; but the senate, depending on the return of *Hannibal*, agreed to send them back without an answer ; nay, the quinqueremis, which carried the envoys, was attacked by the *Carthaginian* admiral, and, after some resistance, forced to run aground near the shore, where most of the *Romans* were killed ; but the ambassadors themselves had the good luck to escape ^u. This perfidiousness was too plain a proof, that the war would be renewed with fresh vigour, as soon as *Hannibal* arrived ; and it was not long before that general, so much wished-for, came within sight of *Africa*, which he had left at nine years of age, and had not seen for thirty-three years past. He landed at *Little Leptis*, a city between *Susa* and *Adrumetum*. About the same time *Laelius* and *Fulvius* returned from *Rome*, the latter to continue in his post of lieutenant in *Scipio's* army, and the former in quality of quæstor as well as lieutenant. As for the troops, which *Mago* commanded in *Cisalpine Gaul*, the fleet, which carried them, was dispersed by a storm, and most of the ships were taken by the *Romans*. The Carthaginians break the truce.
Hannibal lands in Africa.

AND NOW the eyes of all nations in *Europe* and *Africa* were fixed on the two heroes of the age, *Scipio* and *Hannibal*, who were to enter the lists. The latter, being informed that hostilities were begun anew, gained over as many of the princes of *Numidia* as he could, and among the rest the second son of *Syphax*, who joined him with a considerable body of *Numidian* horse. On the other hand, *Scipio* pursued the war with all the fury, which the perfidiousness of the *Carthaginians* deserved. He took several towns by assault, put the garisons to the sword, and made the inhabitants pass under the yoke. However, he dismissed the *Carthaginian* ambassadors, who had been arrested by *Babius*, on their return from *Rome*, after having treated them with great humanity and politeness, tho' most of the officers were for retaliating upon them the injuries which their ambassadors had suffered.

c IN the mean time *Tib. Claudius Nero* and *M. Servilius Pulex* being chosen consuls for the next year, they drew lots for their provinces, and it fell to the latter to conduct the army in *Hetruria*, and to the former to command the fleet in *Africa* ; but by a decree both of the senate and people, he was to leave the direction of all affairs at land wholly to the proconsul.

As *Scipio* continued ravaging the territories of *Carthage*, and taking her cities, *Hannibal* was ordered to advance towards the enemy, and stop their progress. Accordingly he left *Adrumetum*, marched a hundred and seventy-five miles, and incamped near *Zama*, a town in *Africa Propria*, about seventy-five miles from *Carthage*. From his new camp he sent out spies to observe the situation and strength of the enemy. These spies, being discovered and apprehended, were, by *Scipio's* orders, led into all the quarters of the camp, and, after they had been shewn every thing which they came to learn, dismissed with money to defray the expences of their journey. *Hannibal* was so struck with admiration at the magnanimity and confidence of the *Roman* general, that he immediately resolved to ask an interview with him, in order to a peace. With this view he addressed himself to *Masinissa*, begging him to intercede with the proconsul, and persuade him to come to an interview. *Masinissa* discharged his commission with zeal ; but the people, having got the ascendant at *Carthage*, would hearken to no measures that tended to a reconciliation ; nay, orders were

^r Idem ibid. c. 19.^u Idem ibid. c. 25. POLYB. l. xv. c. 1.

An interview
between Scipio
and Hannibal.

dispatched to the general to continue the war, and come to a decisive battle without delay. But, notwithstanding these orders, which had been extorted from the senate by the people, *Hannibal*, having obtained the proconsul's consent to an interview, drew near, and incamped with his army about five miles from the *Romans*. There was between the two camps a large plain, intirely open, and where no ambush could be laid. Thither the two generals repaired, escorted by a like number of guards, and then separating from their attendants, each with his interpreter, they held a private conference. Perhaps two greater men never met, nor was ever any deliberation of more importance. These two heroes had never seen one another; but fame had given each a high esteem of the other. *Hannibal* is said to have been struck with admiration at the first sight of *Scipio*. His hair flowed down his back to a great length; he had an equal mixture of majesty and sweetness in his countenance; he was in his full strength and bloom, and deemed one of the most comely men of his age. There was nothing affected or too negligent about him. His habit was plain, but neat, and such as became a foldier, who despised the studied elegancies of dress. Their surprize at meeting kept them for some moments in a profound silence, which *Hannibal* first broke with a long descant on the vicissitudes of fortune; and then, having artfully flattered the *Roman*, he proposed the cession of *Spain*, *Sardinia*, *Sicily*, and of all the islands between *Italy* and *Africa*, as the terms of a peace. *Scipio* answered with all the haughtiness of a conqueror, that he offered nothing but what the *Romans* already possessed; that if he had made such a proposal before he left *Italy*, it might perhaps have been thought a tolerable one; but now that his republic would insist upon conditions of a different nature, which he proposed, adding, If you like these conditions, the *Roman* senate and people will condescend to enter into a treaty with your republic; if not, let us fly to arms, and decide the controversy by the sword. At these words the two generals parted, and each returned to his camp to prepare for a general action. Early the next morning *Scipio* marched out his troops into the plain, and sent a detachment to seize an eminence between the two camps. These meeting with a detachment sent by *Hannibal* for the same purpose, repulsed them, and made themselves masters of that post. This brought on a general action, contrary, as some say, to the inclination of *Hannibal*. Never was a more memorable battle fought, whether we consider the generals, the armies, the two states that contended, or the importance of the victory. Both generals displayed an uncommon skill in drawing up their men, and chusing their ground, and no less courage and resolution in charging the enemy. They both represented to their men, that this battle must decide, whether *Rome* or *Carthage* should give law to the world. Never was victory more obstinately disputed. The *Carthaginians*, especially in the second line, performed wonders, repulsing three times the *Roman* legionaries with great slaughter. As for *Hannibal's* first line, which consisted of mercenaries, it was put to the rout at the first onset, which occasioned at length the defeat of the second line; for the *Romans*, pushing on the routed mercenaries with their bucklers, forced them back on the *Carthaginians*, and by that means put the second line into confusion, and at length obliged them to give ground, and betake themselves to flight; but the greatest difficulty was to break into the enemy's phalanx, where *Hannibal* commanded in person. The phalanx was the choice of *Hannibal's* army, the *Carthaginian* general having formed it of those veterans, who had often made the *Romans* tremble in the plains of *Italy*. However, *Scipio* advanced boldly at the head of his hastati to attack this formidable body; but the ground he was to cross to come at the phalanx, being covered with dead bodies, bucklers and darts, and the earth soaked with blood, and so slippery, that his men could scarce keep their feet, *Scipio* commanded the principes and triarii to join the hastati; and having drawn up all his men in one great front, marched over heaps of dead bodies against *Hannibal*, who, at the head of his phalanx, kept his men close, and waited for the enemy. The *Romans* fell upon this last body with a fury not to be expressed; but the *Carthaginians*, encouraged by the presence and example of their leader, kept their ground, in spite of the utmost efforts of the whole *Roman* infantry. *Scipio*, resolving either to complete the victory, or die in the attempt, exerted, at the head of the legionaries, all his skill and personal bravery; but could not by any means break into that impenetrable body. The attack was often renewed, but to no purpose. The ground was covered with heaps of dead bodies; but not one of the *Carthaginians* offered to fly, or even quit his rank. The proconsul, finding all his efforts unsuccessful, was at a loss what to do; but while he was under the

The battle of
Zama.

greatest

a greatest concern to see his brave legionaries fall in great numbers, without being able to gain the least advantage over the enemy, *Lælius* and *Masiniſſa*, returning from the pursuit of the *Carthaginian* and *Numidian* cavalry, appeared very seasonably on the field of battle, and attacked the phalanx in the rear. And now *Hannibal* could hold out no longer; his phalanx was put in disorder, and so terrible a slaughter was made of those brave men, that few of them escaped. *Hannibal*, after having signalized himself by a thousand acts of valour, was at length obliged to save himself by flight. *Masiniſſa*, tho' wounded, pursued him close, being extremely desirous to crown his other exploits with the taking of the general himself; but the *Carthaginian*, being favoured by the darkness of the night, got safe into *Tbon*, a small city in that neighbourhood, attended only by twenty horsemen. From thence he fled, with one man only, in whom he could confide, and taking the road to *Adrumetum*, reached that city in two days and two nights. In this action above twenty thousand men were slain on the side of the *Carthaginians*, and as many prisoners taken, among whom were many *Macedonians*, and *Sosipater* their commander. The *Romans* did not lose above two thousand men; a memorable victory, which raised *Scipio* above *Hannibal*, and paved the way for the *Romans* to the conquest of the world^w.

Hannibal totally defeated.

Hannibal was soon called from *Adrumetum* to *Carthage*, where he declared in the senate, that they had no resource but in a peace. These words, in the mouth of the warlike *Hannibal*, were decisive; and *Carthage* now thought of nothing but using all means to soften the *Roman* general, whose humane temper was well known. Thirty of the chief nobility were dispatched away in haste to *Tunis*, where *Scipio* then was. These deputies spared neither submissions, protestations nor promises. *Scipio* received them at first with the haughty air of a conqueror, and seemed not to give ear to their proposals; but, at the bottom, he was as fond of concluding a peace as they; for he had certain intelligence from his friends in *Rome*, that the consul *Nero* was equipping a fleet with all expedition, in order to come into *Africa*, and rob him of the glory of finishing the war there. The next day therefore he sent for the deputies, whom he had rejected the day before, and imparted to them the conditions, on which he was willing to grant them a peace. These were as follow: 1. The *Carthaginians* shall

d live according to their own laws, and enjoy all the cities and provinces which they had in *Africa* before the war; but the *Romans* shall hold *Spain*, with all the islands in the *Mediterranean*. 2. The *Carthaginians* shall deliver up to the *Romans* all their deserters, fugitive slaves, prisoners of war, and all the *Italians* whom *Hannibal* forced to follow him. 3. They shall deliver up into *Scipio's* hands all their ships of war, except ten triremes, with all their tamed elephants, and tame no more. 4. The republic of *Carthage* shall enter into no war, either in *Africa* or elsewhere, without the consent of the *Roman* people. 5. They shall restore to *Masiniſſa* all they have usurped from him and his ancestors, and even enter into an alliance with him. 6. They shall supply the *Roman* legions with corn, and pay their auxiliaries, till the return of the ambassadors they shall send to *Rome*. 7. They shall pay the *Romans*, in the space of fifty years, ten thousand talents, at equal payments. 8. They shall deliver up to *Scipio* a hundred such hostages as he shall chuse, the youngest of which shall not be under fourteen, and the oldest above thirty years of age. 9. Neither the peace nor the truce shall take place, till the *Carthaginians* have restored to the *Romans* the ships and effects taken from them during the late truce. 10. The *Roman* armies shall leave *Africa* within fifty days after the conclusion of the treaty. These were hard conditions, but readily complied with, *Hannibal* himself declaring zealously for a peace. Pursuant to his advice, deputies were sent to *Scipio's* camp, to make satisfaction for the ships and effects taken from the *Romans* during the last truce; and the whole sum amounted to twenty-five thousand pounds weight of silver^x. Then the suspension of arms took place, and ambassadors were dispatched to *Rome* to obtain of the senate and people a ratification of the treaty. When the deputies were introduced into the senate, *Asdrubal*, surnamed *The Ram*, who was at the head of them, and had always opposed the *Barcan* faction, made a modest speech, in which he laid all the blame of the late war on the family of *Hamilcar*, and endeavoured to move the *Romans* to compassion, by representing the deplorable condition to which the city and republic of *Carthage* were reduced. The conscript fathers were divided in opi-

Articles of peace between Rome and Carthage.

^w POLYB. l. xv. c. 9. LIV. l. xxx. c. 30. APPIAN. in Punic. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 49. ^x POLYB. l. xv. c. 18. APPIAN. in Punic. LIV. l. xxx. c. 37. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 14.

nion ; some were for concluding a peace on the terms proposed by *Scipio*, who, said they, is certainly the best judge, in the present case, of what is most for the interest of *Rome*. But as *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus* and *P. Aelius Patus* had been lately chosen consuls, and the command of the fleet had fallen to the former, all his friends and relations were for continuing the war, that he might have the glory of completing the great work begun by *Scipio*. Among the rest, *C. Lentulus* maintained, that nothing could be more to the interest of *Rome*, than utterly to destroy *Carthage*, and put it out of the power of the perfidious *Africans* to hurt *Rome* for the future. In the close of his speech, turning to the chief of the embassy, What gods, said he, will you call to witness the sincerity of your oaths? To which *Asdrubal* immediately replied, The same who have so severely punished us for the breach of them. This answer was applauded by the assembly ; and the senate plainly seeing, that *Lentulus* had no other view in declaiming with so much zeal against a peace, but to give the consul, his relation, an opportunity of finishing the war, to the prejudice of *Scipio*, passed a decree, granting the *Carthaginians* their request. The consul *Lentulus* appealed from it to the people ; who being assembled, gave their consent to a peace with *Carthage*, declaring, that they would suffer none but *Scipio* to conclude it, or bring back the troops to *Rome*. The *Carthaginian* ambassadors were therefore dismissed with a favourable answer, and ten deputies, attended by the *secales* of the republic, sent with them, to assist *Scipio* in settling the articles of the treaty. Upon their arrival at the proconsul's camp, the *Carthaginians* began to execute the articles they had agreed to. In the first place, they delivered up all deserters and prisoners of war, and then their elephants, of which *Scipio* sent some to *Rome*, and gave the rest to *Masiniſſa* ; but nothing was more mortifying to the *Carthaginians*, than the delivering up all their ships, galleys and frigates, except ten triremes, to the number of five hundred sail. These *Scipio* burnt at sea, within sight of *Carthage*. The last thing that remained, was to discharge the first payment of the tribute, which the *Romans* had required for fifty years ; and this article was also executed, a tax being laid on all the citizens of *Carthage* for the raising of this sum. And now *Scipio* prepared for his departure ; but before he left *Africa*, with the consent of the ten commissioners, he settled *Masiniſſa* in the peaceable possession of his hereditary dominions, and of all the places he had taken from *Syphax*. This done, he sailed to *Lilybzum*, and thence to *Italy*. The news of his landing was no sooner spread in the neighbouring places, but the people flocked from all parts to see the deliverer of *Rome*, and the conqueror of the formidable *Hannibal*. From the port where he landed to *Rome*, the roads were crowded with infinite numbers of people, not only the citizens, but even the peasants, running to behold and applaud the man, to whom they owed their liberty and preservation. As he drew near *Rome*, the whole city went out to meet him ; and such of the citizens and senators as had at first opposed his expedition, were the most earnest to congratulate him on the success of it. He wanted only to have received the congratulations of the great *Fabius* ; but he was dead. However, the conqueror had the satisfaction to find, that the predictions of this old general had proved false, and served only to augment his glory. Both senate and people concurred in decreeing him a triumph, which was the most magnificent one that had ever been seen in *Rome*. *Polybius* tells us, that king *Syphax* was carried in triumph, and that he died a few days after in prison ; but he is therein contradicted by all the ancients, who say, that the captive king died before the triumph at *Tibur*, whither he had been removed from *Alba*, the place of his confinement. Among the captives was, according to some writers, the famous poet *Terence*, at that time very young ; at least it is certain, that he was a native of *Africa*, and was afterwards enfranchised by *Terentius Lucanus*, whose name he took. The senator *Terentius Culleo*, who had been taken by the *Carthaginians*, and delivered by *Scipio* from a cruel captivity, to shew his gratitude, wore, in the triumphal procellion, the *pileus*, as a symbol of his having obtained his freedom. The booty *Scipio* brought from *Africa* was immense ; among other things he delivered to the *quæstors* one hundred and twenty thousand pounds weight of silver. The republic, to shew her gratitude to a man, who had done her more important services than all her other commanders together, would have raised him above the level of other citizens, by bestowing on him, as some authors write, the perpetual dictatorship, and erecting statues to him in the comitium near the rostra, before the senate-house, and even on the capitol ; but *Scipio* wisely declined these extraordinary honours, content-

The senate and people of Rome consent to a peace with Carthage.

The articles of the treaty are executed, and an end put to the second Punic war.
Year of the flood 2803.
Before Christ 196.
Of Rome 552.

Scipio triumphs, and gets the surname of Atricanus.

- a ing himself with the glorious name of *Africanus*, which history has preserved to him, as a lasting monument of his conquests in *Africa* ?.

7 Vide Liv. l. xxx. c. 43. POLYB. l. xvi. c. 12. APPIAN in Punic. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 14.

C H A P. VII.

The history of Rome, from the end of the second Punic war, to the destruction of Carthage.

- b **R**OME, by the peace she concluded with *Carthage*, was delivered from those continual alarms she had long been under from so powerful a rival. However, she was not yet in such a state of peace and security as to shut the temple of *Janus*. While the treaty with the *Carthaginians* was executing, the *Boii* entering the territories of the allies of *Rome*, laid them waste; which obliged the consul *Ælius Patus* to take the field. He detached *Oppius* with two legions, and about two thousand auxiliaries, to go before him, and ravage the enemy's country; but that general was surprised by the *Boii*, surrounded on all sides, and cut off with seven thousand of his men. The consul advanced to revenge his defeat; but the *Gauls* appearing no more in the field, he pillaged their country, and then falling down on *Liguria*, he obliged the *Ingauni*, who inhabited a small canton of *Liguria Maritima*, to enter into an alliance with *Rome* ^{The Boii gain a considerable advantage over the Romans.}.
- c These were the only exploits of the consul *Ælius* during this campaign. Upon his return to *Rome*, a decree was passed, empowering him to name a general to go with a fleet into *Macedon*; for the senate had just received advice, by ambassadors from the *Rhodians*, and from *Attalus* king of *Pergamus*, that *Philip* of *Macedon* was soliciting the states of *Asia* to join him against *Rome*. The person, whom the consul named for this expedition, was *Lævinus*, who no sooner appeared on the coasts of *Macedon*, than he was joined by *Aurelius*, who had long resided in *Greece*, to defend it with a small squadron, and a few *Roman* troops. These two, having consulted together about the state of *Macedon* and *Greece*, agreed to write to the senate, that they thought it necessary to declare war without delay against king *Philip*, who was preparing to make a descent upon *Italy*. These letters arrived soon after the election of the new consuls, *P. Sulpicius Galba* and *C. Aurelius Cotta*, who having assembled the people, prevailed upon them to vote for a war with the king of *Macedon*, notwithstanding the opposition of *Bæbius*, a tribune of the people, who endeavoured to persuade the centuries, that the nobility, from party-views, hindered them from enjoying any repose. The consul *Sulpicius*, to whose lot *Macedon* fell, passed over into that kingdom with two legions; and being assisted by *Attalus*, the *Rhodians* and the *Ætolians*, gained great advantages over *Philip*, as we have related at length in our history of *Greece* and *Macedon*. ^{The Romans resolve upon a war with the king of Macedon.}
- e WHILE the consul *Sulpicius* was employed in *Macedon*, the *Gauls*, headed by *Hamilcar*, whom *Hanno* had left in *Italy*, made a sudden irruption into the lands of the allies of *Rome*, and having seized *Placentia*, put all the citizens to the sword. From thence they advanced to *Cremona*; but the inhabitants of that city, shutting their gates against them, gave notice of their danger to *Furius Purpureo* the *Roman* prætor, who commanded five thousand men of the allies in the neighbourhood of *Ariminum*. *Furius*, before he marched to their relief, wrote to the senate, desiring succours, the *Gauls* being above forty thousand strong. Hereupon the fathers

8 Liv. l. xxxi. c. 1.

The Gauls intirely defeated by the prætor Furius.

decreed, that either the consul *Aurelius*, who was still in *Rome*, should put himself ^a at the head of his legions, which were incamped in *Uetruria*, and hasten to the relief of *Cremona*; or, in case he declined it, that those legions should march to *Ariminum* without him, and be commanded in that expedition by *Furius*, who should send his five thousand men into *Uetruria*. As *Aurelius* chose rather to continue at *Rome*, *Furius*, at the head of his legions, marched against the enemy, defeated them in a pitched battle near *Cremona*, and killed above thirty thousand of them on the spot. The victorious prætor returned to *Rome*, where, after a warm debate in the senate, he was decreed a triumph. This is the first instance we find in the *Roman* history of a triumph granted to a general, who had fought under the auspices of another; and on this account it was, that the oldest senators opposed it, tho' to no effect, the majority ^b being for honouring the brave prætor with that mark of distinction.

In the following consulate of *Cornelius Lentulus* and *P. Villius Tappulus*, the *Ætolians* took part with the *Romans* against the king of *Macedon*; but *Villius*, to whose lot *Macedon* fell, staid at *Rome*, till the season was too far advanced to undertake any thing of moment this campaign. The other consul, *Lentulus*, who remained in *Italy*, instead of marching against the *Gauls*, who were not yet quelled, staid at *Rome*, tho' there was no business of sufficient moment to detain him there. The consular year being expired, the republic bestowed the fasces on *Quintius Flaminius* and *Sext. Ælius Catus*, tho' neither of them had been in the prætorship, and the former, who was but thirty years of age, had never been so much as ædile. The war of *Macedon* fell to ^c the lot of *Flaminius*, and that of *Italy* to *Ælius*. *Cato* was at the same time appointed prætor of *Sardinia*, where he made himself remarkable for his frugality, austeriety of life, and strict justice in punishing offenders. His only amusement was to hear the instructions of the poet *Ennius*, under whom he learned the *Greek* sciences, and perfected his fine genius. He banished usurers from his province, and reduced the interest upon loans almost to nothing ^b.

The progress of Flaminius in Macedon.

As for *Flaminius*, he immediately set out for his province, where he forced the intrenchments of king *Philip*, opened himself a way into the heart of *Macedon*, took several towns in *Thessaly*, and, by his insinuating manner, gained over the *Æthians* to the interest of *Rome*, as we have related at length in our history of the *Achæans*. ^d His colleague *Ælius*, who had performed nothing worth mentioning in *Cybalpine Gaul*, when the time of the elections drew near, was called home to assemble the centuries. The persons raised to the consulate this year were *C. Cornelius Cetbegus* and *Q. Minucius Rufus*. They were both sent into *Cisalpine Gaul* against *Hamilcar*, who still headed the revolt there. *Flaminius* was continued, in quality of proconsul, general of all the *Roman* forces in *Greece*, till the senate and people should think fit to recal him. They also granted him a supply of five thousand foot, three hundred horse, and three thousand seamen and rowers, and appointed his brother *Quintius* to command the fleet under him. With this reinforcement *Flaminius*, having first gained over the city of *Thebes* and all *Bæotia* to the *Roman* interest, marched into *Thessaly* ^e in pursuit of *Philip*, and came up with him in the plains of *Cyncephalæ*. Here the two armies came to a general engagement, in which the *Macedonians* were intirely defeated, eight thousand of them being killed upon the spot, and five thousand taken prisoners. At the same time *Androstenes*, one of *Philip's* generals, whom that prince had left in *Corinth* with six thousand men, was defeated by *Nicostratus* prætor of the *Achæans*. Hereupon the *Macedonian*, having no other resource but in a peace, submitted to such terms as *Flaminius* was pleased to impose upon him ^c. Thus ended the first *Macedonian* war, of which we have given a very particular account in our history of *Greece*.

Philip submits to the terms of peace proposed by Flaminius.

The Cisalpine Gauls defeated.

In *Italy* the war, which was carried on with the *Gauls* by the two consuls, gave the people more concern than that of *Macedon*. But their fears were soon quieted; ^f for *Cetbegus*, who marched against the *Insubres* and *Cenomani*, gained a complete victory over them on the banks of the *Mincius*. Thirty thousand of those *Gauls* were killed upon the spot, and five thousand seven hundred made prisoners, with their general *Hamilcar*. *Minucius*, the other consul, having no opportunity of coming to a pitched battle with the *Ligures* and *Boii*, over-ran their country, and laid it waste. For these successes the senate and people ordered public thanksgivings in all the temples of *Rome* for four days ^d. The republic thought fit at this time to increase the number of prætors to six, by creating two new ones for the government of *Spain*,

^a Liv. l. xxii. c. 48. Fast. Capit. Min. Polym. l. xiii. Justin. l. xxx.

^b Plut. in Caton. ^c Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 14. Plut. in Flam. ^d Liv. l. xxxii. c. 13—19. Polym. Justin. ibid.

which

a which she divided into two provinces, by the names of *Hiber Spain* and *Further Spain*. But the *Spaniards*, highly displeased to see their country reduced to the state of *Roman* The Spaniards revolt. provinces, took arms, and falling upon *Sempronius*, prætor of *Hiber Spain*, cut him off with most of his troops. In *Further Spain* several towns revolted; and there was almost a general disposition to shake off the *Roman* yoke.

The new consuls, *L. Furius Purpureo* and *M. Claudius Marcellus*, were ordered to continue the war with the *Cisalpine Gauls*, who were not yet totally subdued; but *Flaminius*, by a new decree, was appointed to act as general in *Greece*, till such time as the treaty with *Macedon* should be concluded. Ten commissioners were sent from *Rome* to assist him in this undertaking. These, by the advice of *Flaminius*, decreed, that
b that all the *Greek* cities, both in *Europe* and *Asia*, should be restored to perfect liberty. This decree was soon after proclaimed by a herald in a vast assembly of *Greeks*, met together from all parts to celebrate the *Isthmian* games. Their amazement and joy on this occasion was inexpressible. Many speeches were made in praise of the *Roman* greatness and generosity. The *Ætolians*, who had been refused some towns which they claimed, were the only people dissatisfied with the peace. They complained of it, and at length had recourse to *Antiochus* king of *Syria*, who, at their instigation, passed over into *Europe*, under pretence of recovering *Thrace*, which his great-grandfather, *Seleucus Nicator*, had conquered from *Lysimachus*.

In *Italy* the two consuls carried on the war with great success against the *Gauls*, and
c intirely destroyed two considerable armies of those rebels, plundered their country, and returned to *Rome* loaded with booty. After this, the republic was wholly employed in publishing some new edicts. The pontifices and augurs were now required, for the first time, to pay a tax towards the expences of the war; but they were at the same time eased of one burdensome part of their function, a new sort of sacerdotal college being erected, under the name of *Epulones*, whose office was confined wholly to the care of religious feasts. At first these *epulones* were three only, and all chosen out of plebeian families. The three first were *C. Licinius Lucullus*, *T. Romuleius*, then
d tribune of the people, who had got the law passed, and *Porcius Lacas*, who, two years before, while he was tribune of the people, had, in spite of all opposition, carried a law, forbidding, under very severe penalties, any magistrate to cause a *Roman* citizen to be whipt with rods. This law, which secured the shoulders of the people, to use the expression of one of the ancients^c, was called the *Porcian* law, not from the famous *Porcius*, known afterwards by the name of *Cato the censor*, as some have falsely
e imagined, but from *Porcius Lacas*, first tribune of the people, and afterwards one of the *epulones*^f. However, this privilege did not extend to the armies, where the generals had an absolute power of life and death.

The consul *Marcellus*, when the time for the new elections drew near, assembled the centuries, who raised to the consular dignity *L. Valerius Flaccus* and *M. Porcius Cato*. The conduct of the war in *Spain* fell by lot to the latter; but, while he was
e making the necessary preparations for his departure, the *Roman* ladies took a step, which obliged him to stay longer at *Rome* than he expected. About eighteen years before, when *Hannibal* was ravaging *Italy*, and the treasury was exhausted, a tribune of the people, named *Oppius*, had got a law passed, forbidding even the richest of the *Roman* ladies to use above half an ounce of gold in their apparel, to wear habits of various colours, or to make use of chariots, either at *Rome* or in the neighbouring villages, unless they were to assist at a public sacrifice a mile off. The women of distinction, thinking it intolerable to be under this restraint; now that the republic abounded with riches, made a great stir to get the law repealed. *Valerius* and *Fundanius*, two of the tribunes, presented their request to the comitia; and never was an
f assembly more divided. The capitol, where it was held, was full of people crying out for and against the law. Even the women, neglecting the orders of their husbands, the rules of decency, and the public authority, ran thither, beset the passages which led from the capitol to the voting place, solicited the men as they passed for their suffrages, and urged the justice of their pretensions. As the affair was more than one day under deliberation, the women flocked to *Rome* from all the neighbouring colonies and towns, and offered petitions to the consuls and prætors: "But *Cato* was inexorable; he made a long harangue to the assembly in behalf of the law, full of satyrical reflections on the women, for their appearing in public to solicit votes.

^a SEXT. POMP. fast.

^c Cic. de orator. L. iii. Liv. ibid. c. 36.

The Oppian
law repealed.

But the tribune *Valerius* made a very eloquent speech in behalf of the women, in which he excused their appearing in public to solicit their own cause, and urged the reasonableness of repealing the *Oppian* law. His harangue made such an impression on the minds of the people, that they all voted for the abrogation of the law, *Cato* being the only man who dissented.

Cato defeats
the Spaniards.

AND now the consul set out for *Spain* with two legions, five thousand auxiliaries, and five hundred horse. He imbarqued at *Luna* in *Hebruria*, and landed at *Rhoda*, now *Roses*, in *Catalonia*. From thence he marched by land to *Emporia*, where he was joined by the prætor *Helvius*, who had just gained a considerable victory over the *Spaniards*. As *Cato's* troops consisted for the most part of raw soldiers, he took great pains to discipline them, considering that they had to deal with the *Spaniards*, who, in their wars with the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, had learned the military art, and were naturally brave and courageous. The general himself was a pattern to his men of vigilance, sobriety and assiduity in labour. His dress was always plain, he readily exposed himself to the inclemencies of the season, and his provisions were the same which the common soldiers had. When a camp was to be pitched, he was always the first to take up the spade, and the last to lay it down. By this management, the consul soon put his troops on the foot he desired, and then marched in quest of the enemy, but first sent away his fleet, that his soldiers might place all their hopes in their bravery. With this same view, when he came near the enemy, he took a compass, and posted his army behind them in the plain; so that the *Spaniards* were between him and his camp. In the general action which ensued, the *Spaniards* were, by *Cato's* admirable conduct, intirely defeated, and driven out of the field. After this victory, deputies flocked to his camp from all the neighbouring cities, intreating him to pardon them; but he did not accept their submissions, till they had given him hostages. As the dread of his name procured him great respect in all the provinces beyond the *Iberus*, he wrote the same day private letters to the commanders of several fortified towns, ordering them to demolish without delay their fortifications, assuring them, that he would pardon none, but such as readily complied with his orders. Every one of the commanders, believing the order to be sent only to himself, immediately beat down their walls and towers; so that all the places in whole provinces beyond the *Iberus*, were left defenceless, and seized by the *Romans* without opposition. After this, the consul marched into *Further Spain*, to assist *Manlius* the prætor, who commanded in those parts; but not being able to bring the enemy to a battle, he returned to his old camp upon the banks of the *Iberus*. In his way he took several towns, and a prodigious booty, bestowing on each of his soldiers, besides the spoils, a pound weight of silver. When some of the officers seemed surprised at this liberality, he told them, *It is better that many of the Romans should return home with silver, than a few only with gold.* Of all the booty he appropriated nothing to his own use, but continued to live in as frugal a manner as the meanest soldier. The campaign being ended, he sailed back to *Rome* with his troops, and was honoured the next year with a triumph; after which he led a private life, employing his leisure in study. He wrote a book of the origin of the cities of *Italy*, and another of agriculture, in which he took great pleasure. He often pleaded before the senate and people, and was always ready to serve his country even as a private soldier.

Nabis, tyrant
of Lacedæmon,
submits to the
terms of peace
proposed by
Flaminius.

BUT to return to *Flaminius*: Tho' a peace was concluded with *Philip*, yet the senate, being well apprised, that, sooner or later, they must break with *Antiochus*, judged it necessary, that *Flaminius* should continue in *Greece*; and as there was reason to suspect, that *Nabis*, tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, would join the king of *Syria*, orders were sent to the proconsul to attack and crush that tyrant. Pursuant to these orders, *Flaminius* marched with all his forces to besiege *Lacedæmon*; and at the same time his brother *Quintilius* appeared on the coast with forty ships of war. Upon their appearance, several cities on the coast of *Laconia* submitted to the *Roman* admiral, and among the rest *Gythium*, a strong town, and, as it were, the port of *Lacedæmon*. Hereupon *Nabis* sent deputies to desire a conference with the proconsul; which being granted, a peace was soon after concluded upon such terms as *Flaminius* thought fit to impose. And now the proconsul, having intirely rescued *Greece* from slavery, and put it out of the power either of *Philip* or *Nabis* to disturb the peace he had established in all parts, returned to *Rome*, where he was honoured with a triumph, which lasted three days.

^a Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 2—7. ^b Liv. ibid. c. 35. APPIAN. in Iberic. PLUT. in Caton. ^c PLUT. ibid. ^d Idem ibid. ^e Liv. ibid. c. 24—36. POLYB. l. iv. c. 81. PLUT. in Flamin.

- THE following year, when *Scipio Africanus* and *Tiberius Sempronius Longus* were consuls, nothing happened worth mentioning, except a victory which the latter gained over the *Cisalpine Gauls*. The enemy lost eleven thousand men, and the Romans five thousand. *Scipio* hoped to be sent against *Antiochus*; but as that prince had not yet openly declared against *Rome*, that illustrious Roman had no opportunity to signalize himself in his second consulate. In the beginning of the next year, when *Cornelius Merula* and *Minucius Thermus* were consuls, three ambassadors came to *Rome* from *Antiochus*, to propose an alliance with the republic; but the Romans requiring him to renounce all his pretensions to *Thrace*, *Æolis* and *Ionis*, to which he had an undoubted right, the ambassadors returned to *Antioch*, much dissatisfied with the reception they had met with at *Rome*^m. This year *P. Cornelius Scipio*, surnamed *Nasica*, gained a considerable victory over the *Lusitanians*, who inhabited the country we now call the kingdom of *Portugal*. After this, he left *Spain*, and resigned his army to *Fulvius* his successor, who defeated in a pitched battle the united forces of the *Vaccæi*, *Vettones* and *Celtiberians*, and took *Hilermus*, one of their kings, prisoner. In *Hither Spain*, *Flaminius* came late into his province; but nevertheless made himself master of *Ilucia*, a strong town, and cleared the country of some banditti, who infested it. In *Cisalpine Gaul*, the consul *Merula* defeated the *Boii* near *Mutina*, killed fourteen thousand of them on the spot, made near two thousand prisoners, among whom were three of their generals, and took two hundred and twelve colours, with sixty three *Gallic* carts loaded with baggage. However, this victory was much disputed, and cost the conquerors dear; for they lost five thousand men, legionaries and auxiliaries, among whom were twenty-three centurions, two tribunes of the second legion, which was most exposed, and many officers of the allies. Notwithstanding this victory, *Merula* was refused a triumph, being charged by *Marcellus*, one of his lieutenants, with some misconduct during the action. *Q. Minucius Thermus*, the other consul, marched against the *Ligures*, who, to the number of fifty thousand men, were incamped near *Pisa*; but as the consular army consisted for the most part of raw and undisciplined troops, *Thermus* acted only upon the defensive.

The success of
the Romans in
Spain and Ci-
salpine Gaul.

- WHEN the time for electing new consuls drew near, two patricians, of high birth and great merit, offered their service to the republic, viz. *Scipio Nasica* and *L. Quinctius*. Two other illustrious citizens contended for the plebeian consulship, *Lælius* and *Domitius Ænobarbus*. *Nasica* and *Lælius* were supported by *Africanus*, who was cousin-german to the former, and united to the latter by the ties of an intimate and strict friendship. *Quinctius* was recommended by his brother *Flaminius*, who had lately been so successful in *Greece* and *Macedon*. When the day appointed for the elections came, it appeared, that *Flaminius* had more interest than the great *Scipio*, who had the double mortification of not succeeding either for his cousin or his friend; so that *Quinctius* was preferred to *Nasica*, and *Ænobarbus* to *Lælius*, tho' the plebeian consul was not recommended by any extraordinary merit of his own or his friends.
- e Time had somewhat lessened the esteem and veneration of the people for the conqueror of *Hannibal*; besides, he had disoblinded the commons, by the invidious distinction he had procured the senators the year before, of sitting in the orchestra at the scenic shews apart from other spectators. The new consuls were scarce entered upon their office, when news was brought to *Rome* of the defeat of the *Ligurians* by *Thermus*, now proconsul. He had been drawn by the enemy into a kind of *Caudian Forks*, but rescued out of danger by a stratagem of the *Numidian* horse in his army. These advancing towards the posts the *Ligurians* had seized, galloped up and down the plain, without offering to attack them; so that they were rather an entertaining sight, than matter of terror. Nothing could be more contemptible in appearance
- f than the *Numidian* squadron; the men had no arms but one dart each; their horses were small and lean, and as they had no bridles, they thrust out their necks, and hung down their heads when they galloped. The *Numidians* added to the ridiculousness of their appearance out of design, affecting to fall off their horses, to raise the laugh and shouts of the enemy. This scene was so agreeable to the *Ligurians*, that many of them, not apprehending any danger from so contemptible an enemy, quitted their arms and ranks, and sitting down on the grass, entertained themselves with so diverting a sight. On the other hand, the *Numidians*, advancing nearer and nearer, as if they could not govern their horses, all on a sudden clapping their spurs to them, flew through

^m Liv. *ibid.* c. 58. APPIAN. in Syriac.

The Ligurians
defeated.

the *Ligurian* battalions with incredible swiftness, and entering the plain, set fire to a the enemy's magazines. This caused such a diversion, that one pass was left unguarded, which gave the *Romans* an opportunity of seizing it, and getting out of the snare. After this, *Rome* sent the proconsul a reinforcement of four thousand foot, and two hundred horse; and then he forced them to come to a battle, and gained a complete victory over them. Nine thousand of the enemy were killed on the spot, their army was dispersed, and their camp besieged, which they valiantly defended till night; but quitted it by favour of the darkness, and left it to be plundered by the *Romans* ^a.

Antiochus
lands in Greece.

Is defeated at
the pass of
Thermopylae.

The Boii in-
tively sub-
jected.

WHILE these things were transacting in *Italy*, the *Ætolians* raised new disturbances in *Greece*. They resolved, in a general diet of the nation, to renounce their alliance with *Rome*, and form a new confederacy against her. With this view they sent deputies to *Philip*, *Nabis* and *Antiochus*. *Nabis* immediately took arms, and besieged *Gythium*. Upon this beginning of a general commotion in *Greece*, the senate sent three ambassadors to the king of *Syria*; and on this occasion it was, that *Scipio Africanus*, who accompanied them without a commission, had the famous conference with *Hannibal*, who, being persecuted at home by the *Romans* and the *Barcan* faction, had taken refuge in the court of *Antiochus*, as we have related in the history of *Syria*. As *Rome* would not abate any thing of her first pretensions, the conference between the king and the *Roman* ambassadors was warm, but not long. From this time *Antiochus* resolved to declare war against *Rome*, and began to make the necessary preparations for passing over into *Greece*, contrary to the advice of *Hannibal*, who pressed him to invade *Italy*. Pursuant to the resolution he had taken of making *Greece* the seat of the war, he transported himself thither with only ten thousand foot, five hundred horse, and six elephants, these being all the forces he had ready. Hereupon war was immediately declared at *Rome* against *Antiochus*. The new consuls, *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica* and *M. Acilius Glabrio*, drew lots for their provinces; and *Greece* falling to the latter, he immediately set out for his province with twenty thousand foot, two thousand horse, and fifteen elephants. On his arrival in *Greece*, he was joined by the allies of the republic there, and with their assistance he soon subdued all *Theffaly*. In the mean time *Antiochus* seized the famous freights of *Thermopylae*; but the consul, by the advice and assistance of *Cato*, who served in no higher a station than that of a legionary tribune, forced the *Syrian's* strong intrenchments, and obliged him to abandon *Greece*, and retire to *Ephesus*. Much about the same time, *Livius*, the *Roman* admiral, gained a complete victory over the *Syrians* at sea. The joy of the *Roman* people for these successes in the *Levant*, was greatly heightened by the account they received from *Cisalpine Gaul* of the intire reduction of the *Boii* by *Scipio Nasica*. This whole nation being subjected, their lands were shared among *Roman* colonies sent thither for that purpose. The same year the proconsul *Thermus* finished the war with the *Ligurians*, by the reduction of their whole country; so that *Italy* now enjoyed a profound tranquillity. Endeavours were used by one of the tribunes to have *Nasica* and *Thermus* triumph jointly; but the senate granted that honour to the former only. His procession was set off with all sorts of spoils, with chariots made after the *Gallic* fashion, standards, vases of brass, fourteen hundred and seventy collars of gold, twelve hundred and twenty horses taken from the enemy, two thousand three hundred and forty pounds weight of gold, and lastly, a great number of captives, among whom were many of the chief nobility of the country. The conqueror bestowed on each of his soldiers a hundred and twenty-five asses of brass, that is, about eight shillings; to every centurion twice as much, and to every horseman three times that sum. At the same time the senate granted an ovation to the propraetor *Fulvius Nobilior*, for having subdued the *Vellones* and *Oretani* in *Spain*. His procession was adorned with spoils of great value, viz. a hundred and thirty thousand pieces of silver money, ten thousand pounds weight of silver in bars, and a hundred and twenty-five pounds weight of gold in ingots ^b.

THE consuls chosen for the new year were *L. Cornelius Scipio* and *C. Laelius*, the former brother, the other friend to the great *Scipio*. As *Laelius* had the reputation of being the abler commander, he artfully proposed to his colleague, that, instead of drawing lots, they should leave the matter to the decision of the senate. *Scipio Africanus* advised his brother to accept the proposal; and when the affair was laid before the senate, he offered to serve under his brother in quality of his lieutenant.

^a Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 21.

^b Liv. xxxvii. c. 46. & l. xxxvi. c. 40. Tab. triumph.

There

- a There needed no other argument ; the conscript fathers immediately assigned *Asia* to the two *Scipios*, as their common province. Thus the great *Africanus* shewed more regard to the honour of his family, than partial affection to his friend. It would have cast a blemish on his brother, if he had not been judged fit to command the army against *Antiochus* ; besides, *Lælius* had been a little wanting in point of friendship, by exposing his friend's brother to an affront. The two brothers immediately imbarqued at *Brundisium* with thirteen thousand men, and landed at *Apollonia*. From thence they marched through *Epirus* and *Thessaly*, and at length arrived before *Amphissa*, a city of the *Ætolians*, which *Acilius* was besieging. Hither came deputies from the *Athenians* to intercede for the *Ætolians* ; and the consul was prevailed upon to grant
- b them a truce, that they might send ambassadors to *Rome* to treat of a peace with the senate. By this truce the siege of *Amphissa* was raised ; and then *Acilius* resigned the command of his two legions to the consul, and returned home. The *Scipios* pursued their march through *Macedon* and *Thrace*, and crossed the *Hellefont* without opposition. *Scipio Africanus* fell sick near *Elæa* ; but his brother *Lucius*, being ambitious of gaining a victory in his absence, pursued *Antiochus*, and coming up with him near *Magnesia*, gave him a total overthrow. The *Syrian* lost on this occasion fifty thousand men, including prisoners of war, and the *Romans* not above three hundred foot, and twenty-five horse. Tho' the success of this action was chiefly owing to the bravery and conduct of *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, and his brother *Attalus*, yet *Lucius Scipio* gained by it the surname of *Asiaticus*, as his brother had done, by his victories in *Africa*, that of *Africanus*. *Antiochus*, after his defeat, readily submitted to such conditions of peace as the consul thought fit to impose upon him, as we have related at length in the history of *Syria*, to which we refer our readers. The *Ætolians*, hearing of the defeat of *Antiochus*, sued for peace in good earnest ; which was granted them at the intercession of the *Athenians*, but upon very severe conditions ; which the reader will find in our history of *Ætolia*. *Acilius*, who had overcome *Antiochus* at the pass of *Thermopylæ*, was honoured on his return with a triumph, in which were carried many valuable spoils of *Greece* and *Asia*, a great many silver vases carved after the Greek fashion, all the plate of the king of *Syria*, and his moveables, which were of an
- d inestimable value, two hundred and thirty standards, three thousand pounds weight of silver in bars, a hundred and thirteen thousand *Attic* tetradrachmæ, amounting to fourteen thousand five hundred and ninety-five pounds sixteen shillings and eight pence, and two hundred and forty-eight thousand cistophori, pieces of silver coin current in *Asia*, and amounting in the whole to four thousand two hundred and seventy-one pounds two shillings and two pence. *Acilius* also brought home with him forty-five crowns of gold, which were presents made him by cities in alliance with *Rome*. Thirty-six *Ætolian* chiefs, taken prisoners in war, walked before the triumphant victor's chariot.

Antiochus totally defeated in the battle of Magnesia. Year of the flood 2814. Before Christ 185. Of Rome 563.

- The consular year being expired, the fasces were transferred from *Scipio* and *Lælius* to *M. Fulvius Nobilior* and *Cn. Manlius Vulso*. The former was sent into *Ætolia*, to settle affairs there, and the latter into *Asia*, where he took upon him the command of the army, which had defeated *Antiochus* at *Magnesia*. As no nation had lent *Antiochus* more powerful succours than the *Gallo-Greeks* or *Galatians*, the consul resolved to march against them, and attempt the reduction of their country. They were originally *Gauls*, who, to the number of twenty thousand, had, in the time of *Brennus*, crossed the *Alps*, and passing through *Thrace*, entered *Asia*, and settled in an inland country beyond *Caria* and *Phrygia*. The consul being assisted in his long march by *Seleucus* the king of *Syria*'s son, and by *Attalus* the brother of *Eumenes*, arrived at length on the confines of *Galatia*. Upon his approach, the *Galatians* retired with
- f all their effects and provisions to the tops of high mountains, with a design to tire out the patience of the *Romans*, by leaving them to languish away their time in desolate plains. The consul marched first against those *Galatians*, who were called *Tolistobii*, and were posted on mount *Olympus*, forced their intrenchments, slew great numbers of them, and took forty thousand prisoners, including women and children. After the defeat of the *Tolistobii*, the consul led his army against the *Tectosagi* and *Troemi* posted on mount *Magaba*, attacked their intrenchments with the same success as he had done the other, and forced the whole nation to sue for peace. He would not treat with them on the spot ; but ordered their deputies to follow him to *Ephesus*, whither

The Romans carry the war into Galatia.

The Galatians entirely reduced.

he retired with his army, the weather beginning to be very cold in *Galatia*. The *Galatians* obeyed the commands given them, and concluded a peace with the consul on his own terms ^a.

The Ligurians
subdued.

THE war with the *Gauls* in *Asia* was scarce finished, when a new one broke out with the *Gauls* and *Ligurians* in *Italy*. *M. Valerius Messala*, one of the new chosen consuls, was ordered to *Pisa*, to watch the motions of the latter, and *C. Livius Salinator*, the other consul, to march against the former. *Fulvius* and *Manlius* were continued in their respective provinces, in quality of proconsuls. *Fulvius* had, during his consulship, established all the cities on the continent of *Greece* in their ancient freedom; but had added the island of *Cephalenia* to the demesns of the republic. Hither he transported his troops, and now, being proconsul, made it the place of his residence, giving from thence law to all *Greece*. All disputes between the *Greek* cities and states were brought to his tribunal; so that in reality they had only an appearance of liberty. The consuls of this year performed nothing worthy of notice against the *Gauls* and *Ligurians*; and therefore the new consuls, *M. Æmilius Lepidus* and *C. Flaminius*, were both ordered against the *Ligurians*, whom they reduced in one campaign, and made all quiet between *Hetruria* and the *Alps*. During their consulate, the proconsul *Manlius* arrived at *Rome*. After the reduction of *Galatia*, he had crossed the *Hellepont* in his way home. As he was passing through *Thrace*, a body of ten thousand *Thracians* attacked him in a narrow pass between woods, where the *Romans* could not form themselves in order of battle. However, he escaped the danger, with the loss only of some spoils, and continuing his march through *Thessaly* and *Epirus*, arrived at *Apollonia*, where he was to imbarque; but the season being now far advanced, he passed the winter there, and arrived in *Italy* early in the spring. He halted in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, and demanded, as usual, a triumph of the senate, assembled in the temple of *Bellona*; but his request met with great opposition. It was objected, that he had undertaken his expedition against the *Galatians*, without the orders of the republic, and carried it on more like a robber, than a *Roman* consul. It was also urged, that he had been wanting in conduct, since he had suffered the *Thracians* to rob him of part of the spoils. But *Manlius* shewing that the *Gauls* had assisted *Antiochus*, and excusing, as well as he could, his disaster in *Thrace*, after a long debate, a triumph was decreed him by a majority of votes ^c.

Scipio Africanus is accused before the tribes.

AND now *Rome* being disengaged from all foreign wars, the most zealous republicans took pleasure in prosecuting the chief men in the state. They thought it perhaps a refined policy to humble those in times of peace, whom they had exalted in times of war. *Cato*, who had always been a secret enemy to *Scipio Africanus*, no sooner saw the republic in a condition to do without him, but he resolved to destroy him: With this view he engaged two tribunes of the people, both *Petilius's*, to cite him before the tribes, to answer to a charge of misdemeanour. One of the tribunes made it matter of accusation against him, that he had spent a whole winter in effeminacy and pleasures at *Syracuse*, before he went into *Africa*. The other charged him with the pillage of *Locri*, and many violences, which had been committed in that city by *Pleminius*, whom he had appointed governor of the place; but the grand accusation was, that he had received from *Antiochus* great sums to procure him an advantageous peace. The number of the accusers was so great, that the whole day was spent in their speeches; so that the trial was postponed to twenty-seven days after. In the mean time the tribunes moved in the senate, that *Scipio* should be obliged to give an account of the spoils he had brought from *Asia*, and produce the book, in which he had set down the sums he had received from *Antiochus*; and the senate complied with the motion. When the time came for determining the affair, it happened to be the same day of the year, on which he had obtained the famous victory over *Hannibal* at *Zama*. *Scipio* brought his books of accounts with him, and having only shewed it to the people, he tore it in pieces before them, saying, On this day *Hannibal* was conquered, and *Carthage* subdued: why then do we trifle it away in bearing idle declamations? The gods expect us at the capitol: follow me, *Romans*; let us go thither, and jointly offer up our vows and thanksgivings. He had scarce uttered these words, when the tribes began to move, and the whole assembly followed him; even the apparitores and other officers, whose business it was to attend the tribunes, deserted them. This was a glorious triumph for the accused. However, he was cited to appear a third time; ^d

But comes off with great glory.

^a Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 16, & seq. POLYA. legat. xxxv. VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 1. ^c Liv. ibid. c. 45.

and

- and then he gave way to the storm, and retired to his country house near *Liternum*, in the neighbourhood of *Naples*. The tribunes proceeded in order to condemn him as by default, tho' *Lucius Scipio* appeared, and alledged, that his brother was sick. This fury against so venerable a man raised the compassion even of his enemies. A tribune of the people, named *Tib. Gracchus*, tho' an avowed enemy to the *Cornelian* family, declared, to the great surprize of all, that, he thought, *Scipio Asiaticus* ought to be believed concerning the sickness of his brother; and then went on thus: *If Scipio were at Rome, I would oppose his appearing to take his trial. What! shall the conqueror of Carthage appear at the foot of our tribunal, to be reviled there by an insolent populace? Did he conquer Hannibal and Antiochus, to fall a sacrifice to the two*
- b *Petilius's? Shall we pretend to triumph over a man, who has been honoured with so many triumphs of the noblest kind? Let him at least find a safe retreat for his old age in the port to which he is retired for refuge.* This unexpected declaration from an old enemy of the *Scipios*, had such an effect on the rest of the tribunes, that they dismissed the tribes, telling them, that they would consider more maturely of the matter. Whether *Scipio's* sickness was feigned or real, we cannot determine; but it is certain that he died soon after, in the forty-eighth year of his age. He is said to have been so dissatisfied with the cowardice of the senate, the iniquity of the people, and the ingratitude of both, that, at his death, he desired his wife *Emilia*, the daughter of *Emilius Paulus*, who died so gloriously at the battle of *Cannæ*, not to carry his bones to
- c *Rome*. She erected a mausoleum for him at *Liternum*, and there placed his statue, with that of the poet *Ennius*, who was probably his faithful friend, and companion of his retreat. Such was the end of the greatest commander, and the most accomplished citizen the republic had ever produced.

Scipio Africanus dies at Liternum.

- BUT even the death of the great *Scipio* did not extinguish the hatred of the implacable *Cato* to the *Cornelian* family. He thought the vast authority of the *Scipios* might prove dangerous to the republic, and therefore was resolved to humble them. In republican states precaution is often carried to ingratitude and injustice. To have done great services is sometimes enough of itself to make a man suspected. The eyes of *Africanus* were scarce closed, when *Cato* turned his fury, or, as some call it, the bitterness of his zeal, against *Asiaticus*. He drew up a petition to the people, which
- d was presented by the two *Petilius's*, *That the tribes would solicit the senate to order an inquiry concerning what money had been received from Antiochus, and from the cities in his dominions.* This petition was accepted, and a decree passed pursuant to it, with an additional clause, *That an inquiry should be likewise made after the money received from the allies of Antiochus.* *Furius Purpureo*, one of the ten commissioners, who had been sent into *Asia* to settle the conditions of peace with *Antiochus*, got this clause added, in order to include *Manlius* in the process, who was supposed to have drawn great sums from the *Galatians*. The person whom the faction pitched upon was *Terentius Culco*, at that time prætor, but a secret enemy to the *Cornelian* family, tho' he had been formerly delivered out of slavery in *Africa* by *Scipio Africanus*, as we have related above.
- e Before this unjust and partial judge *Scipio Asiaticus* was cited to appear, and with him *Aulus* and *Lucius Hostilius*, two of his lieutenants, and *C. Furius* his quæstor. The prætor, having heard the charge, and received the depositions, declared *Scipio*, *Aulus*, *Hostilius* and *Furius* convicted; the first of having received from *Antiochus*, to procure him a favourable peace, six thousand pounds weight of gold, and four hundred and eighty pounds weight of silver; the second of having received twenty pounds weight of gold in ingots, and four hundred and three pounds weight of silver in bars; and the third of having received a hundred and thirty pounds weight of gold, and two hundred of silver. The prætor condemned them to pay large fines. The two
- f latter immediately gave security; but *Scipio*, still insisting on his having accounted with the republic for all the money he had brought from *Asia*, and refusing to give bail, the officers were ordered to carry him to prison; but then *Scipio Nasica* appealed from the prætor's sentence to the people. While he was pleading his cousin's cause, the prætor *Culco* ordered the house of the accused to be searched, and his goods to be confiscated. But he did not find effects enough to pay the fine laid upon him; and it was much to his justification, that, among all his moveables, not one thing was to be found, which could be judged to have been brought from *Asia*. *Nasica* being informed of this, took thence an occasion to justify his relation. At the same time

Scipio Asiaticus is arraigned before the people.

And Manlius.

Scipio is fined.

And his effects confiscated.

* Vide Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 50. APPIAN. in Syriac. AUL. GELL. iv. c. 18. VAL. MAX. l. iii. c. 5. PLUT. in Cat. & Græch.

Gracchus, dissenting from the other tribunes, spoke with great eloquence in his favour. ^a The multitude applauded what *Gracchus* said; truth seized their minds all at once, and changed their affections. However, the prætor would not repeal his decree; so that *Scipio's* effects remained confiscated, by which means he was reduced at once to a state of beggary. His relations and clients endeavoured to persuade him to accept of their presents; and, had he done so, he would have been richer than he was when his effects were confiscated: but it was in vain; he had courage enough not to fear poverty, and therefore would accept of nothing more than bare necessities. *Rome* afterwards acknowledged his innocence and merit, sent him ambassador to terminate some differences between *Eumenes* and *Seleucus*, and, upon his return, took pleasure to enrich him; insomuch that he was in a condition to celebrate games for his victory ^b over *Antiochus* for ten days together at his own expence. All the shame of his disgrace fell on the ungrateful *Culeo*, and the tribunes. As for *Cato*, he only kindled the fire, and disappeared when it burnt with most fury; and the people being disposed to think he meant well, he lost no reputation; nay, he was soon after promoted to the greatest honours. The *Scipios*, to express their gratitude to *Gracchus*, bestowed on him *Cornelia*, the younger daughter of the great *Africanus*, the elder being already married to *Scipio Nasica* ^c.

The combats of
the *athletæ* in-
troduced at
Rome.

BEFORE the consular year expired, the proconsul, *L. Fulvius Nobilior*, being returned from *Greece*, obtained a triumph, but not without great opposition, for having reduced *Ætolia*. His triumphal procession was set off with a great number of crowns ^e of gold, a vast quantity of gold in ingots, and silver in bars, immense sums of *Attic* and *Macedonian* money, multitudes of marble and brass statues, &c. *Fulvius* made rich presents to his officers, gave twenty-five denarii, that is, sixteen shillings and one penny, to every common soldier, fifty to every centurion, and seventy-five to every horseman. As for his games, they were celebrated with the greatest magnificence and judgment. On this occasion the combats of the *athletæ* were seen for the first time in the arena at *Rome*, and the people were likewise entertained with the hunting of lions and panthers. The consulship of *Sp. Posthumius Albinus* and *Q. Marcius Philippus* was spent in making preparations for carrying on the war against the *Spaniards* and *Ligurians*, who began to move anew. In the beginning of the following consulship ^d of *Appius Claudius Pulcher* and *M. Sempronius Tuditanus*, three commissioners were sent into *Greece*, to terminate some disputes between the king of *Macedon* and the *Greek* republics. The commissioners chose the vale of *Tempe* for the place where the contending parties should meet; and *Philip* had the mortification to be cited before the tribunal of three *Roman* citizens. The seats in the court of judgment were so disposed, that the commissioners sat uppermost, the accusers next, and the king the lowest, as a criminal; for the *Greeks* pretended, that he had seized and detained many cities belonging to them. *Philip* answered the charge brought against him with an air of threatening; whereupon the commissioners, thinking it necessary to humble him, pronounced the following decree: *Our will and pleasure is, that the Macedonian garisons evacuate forthwith all the places in dispute, and that the kingdom of Macedon be reduced to its ancient limits.* *Philip* made no reply, but readily submitted to the sentence pronounced against him. Thus the citizens of *Rome* began to determine the fate of monarchs, and treat them as their vassals ^e. In *Spain* the two new prætors, *Quintilius* and *Calpurnius*, fought two battles with the *Lusitanians*. In the first they were defeated, and lost five thousand men; but in the second they gained a complete victory, killed and took thirty thousand of the enemy, and quieted the country for some time. In *Italy* both consuls marched against the revolted *Ligurians*. *Sempronius* carried the war into the country of the *Apuans*, in the east of *Liguria*, and *Claudius* into the territory of the *Ingauni*, more to the west. The former ravaged the enemy's fields, pillaged their villages, burnt down the woods, and opened a way into the heart of the country. The latter fought several successful battles with the *Ingauni*, took six of their cities, made a great many prisoners, and put to death forty-three of the ringleaders of the revolt. The campaign being ended, both consuls returned to *Rome* to hold the comitia for the great elections, in which *P. Claudius Pulcher* and *L. Porcius Licinius* were chosen chief magistrates for the new year. When the censors came to be elected, *Cato* and *L. Valerius Flaccus* were, by a great majority, preferred to *Scipio Asiaticus*, and other men, who had done the republic eminent services. The ^f

The Roman
arms prosper in
Spain and Li-
guria.

The censorship
of *Cato*.

^a LIV. l. xxxviii. c. 54—56. PLUT. in Scip. & Gracch. VAL. ANTIAS apud LIV. l. xxxix. c. 22.

^e LIV. l. xxxix. c. 21.

- a cenfors immediately drew up a new list of the senators, and degraded seven of that illustrious body, among whom was *Quintius*, the brother of *Flaminius*, for having killed with his own hand, when he commanded in *Cisalpine Gaul*, a *Boian* nobleman, who fled to him for protection. This treacherous murder he had committed only to gratify the curiosity of a young *Carthaginian*, for whom he had conceived an execrable passion, the infamous pathic expressing a desire to see a man die a violent death. *Manlius*, or, as others call him, *Mamilius*, was degraded, and his name struck out of the list of the senators, only for having saluted his wife in the presence of his daughters. *Scipio Asiaticus*, since his disgrace, had been made a *Roman* knight; but the rigid cenfor, out of an inveterate hatred to the *Cornelian* family, took away, upon what pretence is not known, the horse which the public kept for him; so that the conqueror of *Antiochus* was now reduced to the condition of the most private persons. After this, his severity fell on multitudes of people; he laid a heavy tax on fine moveables, jewels, and all superfluities both of men and women; and, by such popular acts, made himself so acceptable to the people, that they erected a statue to him in the temple of *Health*. After the expiration of his cenforship, he spent the rest of his days in a private life. He found exercise enough for his philosophy in his own family, his wife, who was of a high birth, being very expensive, and ill-tempered. He took upon himself the education of his only son, whom he would not suffer to be taught the learning of the *Greeks*, saying, That the only study of a *Roman* should be how to conquer, and how to govern conquered nations. He was a great soldier, an able statesman, an eloquent orator, a learned historian, and well skilled in rural affairs: but these accomplishments were counterbalanced by great defects; he was extravagantly severe, jealous of the merit of others, and ambitious to a high degree. As a private person, he lived frugally; but it was only to lay up money. He used to say to his son, That no man deserved any esteem till he had doubled his fortune. In public he was ever extolling continence; but in private was familiar with a beautiful slave. To revenge himself on his son and daughter-in-law for treating her contemptuously, he married a second time in his old age; and when his son asked him by what act of disrespect he had incurred his displeasure, he replied, *I have no manner of complaint to make against you; your conduct is so prudent, that I am resolved to have other children like you.* As his merit and virtues were known, and his vices concealed, he acquired the esteem of the multitude; so that, tho' four-and-forty times accused before the people, he was always acquitted *.

His character.

- THE following consulship of *Q. Fabius Labeo* and *M. Claudius Marcellus* was remarkable for the death of two famous men, *Philopæmen*, of whom we have spoke in the history of the *Achæans*, and *Hannibal*, who, persecuted by the *Romans*, had taken refuge in the court of *Prusias* king of *Bithynia*; but that prince being obliged by the *Romans*, contrary to the laws of hospitality, to withdraw his protection from him, the illustrious *Carthaginian*, to avoid falling into the hands of his implacable enemies, either drank a poisonous draught, or took a subtle poison, which he is said to have always carried about with him in his ring †. Thus died, to the eternal reproach of the *Roman* name, in the seventieth, or, as others will have it, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, a hero, who, to his last breath, was the terror of *Rome*. He is said to have upbraided the *Romans*, before he took the poisonous potion, with degenerating from the virtue of their ancestors, who had honourably prevented the murder of their mortal enemy *Pyrrhus*; whereas they forced a king to violate the most sacred laws of hospitality, to get rid of an old man in a treacherous and cowardly manner.

The death of Philopæmen and of Hannibal.

- THE following year, when *L. Æmilius Paulus* and *Cn. Bæbius Tampilus* were consuls, proved barren of great events. But the consulate of *P. Cornelius Cethegus* and *M. Bæbius Tampilus*, was remarkable for considerable victories gained by the *Roman* armies in *Spain* and *Liguria*, and for the suppressing of a revolt in *Sardinia*. The same year a stop was put to immoderate expences in feasts and entertainments. At the motion of one *Orcius*, a tribune of the people, it was enacted, that no man should spend more than one hundred asses of brass, that is, six shillings and five pence, at an entertainment; and the number of guests was likewise limited. In the succeeding consulship of *A. Posthumius Albinus* and *C. Calpurnius Piso*, the proconsul, *Paulus Æmilius*, defeated the *Ligurians*, and reduced the whole country of the *Ingauni*. *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, the prætor of *Hither Spain*, was attended with equal success against the *Celti-*

The Orcian law.

The Ingauni reduced.

* PLUT. in Cat. LIV. l. xxxix. c. 4†.

in Flamini.

† LIV. l. xxxix. c. 51. CORN. NEP. in Hannibal. PLUT.

berians,

The Celtiberians
defeated.

The Villian
law.

Two brothers
chosen consuls.

The Istrians
subdued.

The Scythians
subdued.

berians, whom he defeated in a pitched battle, killed twenty-five thousand of them ^a on the spot, made four thousand eight hundred prisoners of war, and took above five hundred horses, and ninety-eight standards. The Romans lost two hundred legionaries, seven hundred of the Latin troops, and two thousand four hundred of the Spanish auxiliaries ^v. This same year *Gentius*, one of the kings of *Illyricum*, who had countenanced some piracies in the *Adriatic*, made his submissions to the senate, and was pardoned. Before the consular year was expired, the famous *plebiscitum* was published, called the *Villian law*, from *Villius Tappulus*, tribune of the people, who got it passed in the comitia. It enacted, that no man should be *quæstor* before he was one-and-thirty years of age, *curule ædile* before thirty-seven, *prætor* before forty, *consul* before forty-three; and this law continued in force till the fall of the republic ².

WHEN the time came for the elections, two brothers, the first instance of this kind, were promoted to the consular dignity, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, who had lately triumphed for his victories in *Spain*, and *L. Manlius Acidinus Fulvianus*. The latter was called *Manlius*, because he had been adopted into the *Manlian* family. Both consuls marched against the *Ligurians*. *Manlius* performed no memorable exploits; but *Fulvius*, who was a great soldier, defeated the *Ligurians* in a pitched battle, killed three thousand two hundred of them, and forced the rest to leave their mountains, and settle in the flat country. In *Spain* the prætors *Sempronius* and *Albinus* made themselves masters of *Munda* and *Certima*, two important places belonging to the *Celtiberians*, over whom ^c they gained several considerable victories. *Sempronius* is said to have killed near forty thousand of the *Vaccæi* and *Lusitani*; and *Albinus* to have destroyed about the same number of *Celtiberians*. The former, on his return, brought into the public treasury forty thousand pounds weight of silver, and the latter twenty thousand. They were both honoured with a triumph ². In *Italy* *M. Junius Brutus* and *A. Manlius Vulso* being chosen consuls, the latter, without any orders from the senate or people, marched against the *Illyrians* and *Istrians*, commanded by *Gentius* their king. The consul was shamefully surpris'd in his camp, and driven out of it; but he soon after recovered it again, and killed eight thousand of the enemy, while they were drunk with the wine they had found in it. The king, drunk as he was, was put on horseback, and ^d conveyed away by his guards. Notwithstanding this victory, the war was not finished before the succeeding consulship of *C. Claudius Pulcher* and *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*. *Claudius*, by taking three towns, *Nesattium*, *Mutula* and *Favaria*, brought the whole *Istrian* nation under subjection to *Rome*. The consul *Sempronius* maintained in *Sardinia* and *Corfica* the glory he had acquired in *Celtiberia*. He either took or killed twenty thousand of the rebels, and was on that account honoured on his return with a triumph, which was set off with a prodigious number of *Sardinian* captives, who were all sold by auction; and hence came the proverb, *Sardinians to sell*, tho' others carry the origin of it higher, as we have observed elsewhere.

THE consul *Claudius*, having subdued *Istria*, led his forces into *Liguria*, where he ^e gained a complete victory over the rebels, having killed or taken fifteen thousand of them. He then returned to *Rome* to preside at the comitia, when *Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hispalis* and *Q. Petilius Spurinus* were chosen consuls; but the former dying soon after of an apoplectic fit, *C. Valerius Lavinius* was elected in his stead. *Petilius*, jealous of the glory which *Claudius* gained in *Liguria*, where he acted as proconsul, hastened thither, and took upon him the command of the army; but having attempted to force the *Ligurian* intrenchments, he was run through with a javelin, and killed, while he was leading on his men, after a repulse, to renew the attack. However, the Romans, tho' deprived of their general, gained a considerable victory, and killed above five thousand of the enemy, after they had made themselves masters of their ^f camp ^h. The two following years were barren of military exploits. In the first, *P. Mucius Scævola* and *M. Æmilius Lepidus* were consuls; and in the second *Sp. Posthumius Albinus* and *Q. Mucius Scævola*. During the consulship of the latter, the streets of *Rome* were paved, which had never been done since the building of the city. *L. Posthumius Albinus* and *M. Popillius Lænas* being chosen consuls for the new year, the latter marched against the *Stelliates*, a people in *Liguria*, bordering on the river *Tanarus*, and in a sharp conflict, which lasted three hours, killed ten thousand of them, and took seven thousand prisoners, and eighty two standards. The Romans lost

^v Liv. l. xl. c. 33.

² Cic. Philip. II.

^a Liv. l. xli. c. 7.

^b Idem ibid. c. 16.

- a three thousand men, and the number of their wounded was exceeding great. After this defeat, the *Stelliates*, finding the forces of their nation reduced to ten thousand men, submitted to the consul, without settling any terms. Hereupon *Popilius* took away their arms, dismantled their cities, reduced them all to slavery, and sold them and their goods to the best bidder; but this severe proceeding was repented by the senate, and a decree passed, commanding *Popilius* to restore the money he had received for the sale of the *Stelliates*, to let them at liberty, return to them their effects, and even to purchase new arms for them. The senate concluded their decree with words, which posterity ought never to forget, Victory is glorious, when it is confined to the subduing of an untractable enemy; but it becomes shameful, when it is made use of to oppress the unfortunate ^c.

The equity of the Roman senate.

- b THE following year the *Romans* chose for the first time two plebeians to the consulate, *P. Acilius Ligus* and *C. Popilius Lænas*. From this time to the dictatorship of *Julius Cæsar*, nothing was more common than to see two plebeians consuls together. During the present consulate, *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus* came to *Rome*, out of pure zeal to acquaint the senate, that *Perfes*, who had succeeded his father *Philip* in the kingdom of *Macedon*, was soliciting alliances in *Greece* and *Asia*, and making great preparations for war. Tho' the senate kept the intelligence they had received from *Eumenes* an inviolable secret, yet *Perfes*, not doubting but he had acquainted the conscript fathers with his designs, resolved to be revenged on him; and accordingly employed ruffians to murder him as he was going to *Delphos*, to pay his homage to the god worshipped there. The king, tho' dangerously wounded, was afterwards cured; but the senate was so exasperated at this wicked attempt upon the life of their friend and ally, that they commanded *Solon* and *Hippias*, two deputies sent by *Perfes* to clear him of the crimes laid to his charge, to leave *Rome* immediately. They were scarce gone, when war was formally declared with the king of *Macedon*, for having usurped from the allies of *Rome* several cities, and refused to restore them to their lawful owners. The prætor *Sicinius* was ordered to sail from *Brundisium* with ten thousand men for *Apollonia*, and begin hostilities. In the mean time the consular year being near expired, *P. Licinius Crassus* and *C. Cassius Longinus* were raised to the supreme magistracy. *Macedon* falling by lot to the former, two legions were appointed him of six thousand foot and three hundred horse each, to which were added sixteen thousand auxiliary foot, and six hundred horse. Leave was likewise given him to chuse as many as he pleased of the veterans, who were not yet fifty years old. When the necessary preparations were made for imbarquing, new ambassadors came from *Perfes*, representing, that it was needless to send an army into *Macedon*, since the king their master was ready to give the republic all the satisfaction she could require; but the senate ordered them back with the following answer, That a consul would be soon sent into *Macedon*, and that *Perfes* might treat with him, if he was sincerely disposed to give the *Romans* satisfaction ^d.

Two plebeians chosen consuls.

The Romans declare war with Perfes king of Macedon.

- c SOON after, the consul *Licinius* imbarqued with his troops at *Brundisium*, landed at *Apollonia*, and marched to the *Roman* camp at *Nymphæum*; which post the prætor *Sicinius* had seized some months before. Hereupon *Perfes* assembled his army at *Citium*, consisting of forty thousand *Macedonians*, and some thousands of *Gauls*, *Thracians*, *Cretans*, *Bæotians* and *Ætolians*. With these forces, which formed the most considerable army that had been seen in *Macedon* since the time of *Alexander the Great*, *Perfes* marched against the consul *Licinius*, who, having left *Nymphæum*, was advanced into *Thessaly*, and had incamped on the banks of the *Peneus*. As the king was much superior to the consul in cavalry, he drew near his camp, and insulted him so far, that he was obliged to send out his light-armed troops to oppose those of the enemy; and then a smart action ensued, in which the *Macedonians* had all the advantage. The *Romans*, full of shame and confusion, left their camp in the dead of the night, crossed the river *Peneus*, and intrenched themselves on the other side of it. The next morning the king passed the river after them; but they removed to a stronger and more inaccessible place, where they received a reinforcement of a thousand foot, a thousand horse, and twenty-two elephants, under the command of *Misagenes*, the natural son of *Masiniissa*. The king, not being able to force the *Roman* intrenchments, and hearing that troops were marching from all parts to join the consul, sent, by the advice of his wisest counsellors, a new embassy to him, offering to maintain inviolably

Perfes gains some advantages over the Romans.

* Liv. l. xlii. c. 8.

^d Idem ibid. c. 10—36.

The Romans
gain some ad-
vantages over
Perſes.

the treaty which had been made with his father, and to reſtore to the allies of Rome all the places which *Philip* had yielded to them; but *Licinius* returned the following answer to the deputies, *There is no peace for Perſes, till he ſurrenders up himſelf and his dominions to the Romans at diſcretion.* Hereupon *Perſes*, laying aſide all thoughts of peace, prepared to renew hoſtilities. He attempted to bring the enemy to a general engagement; but the conſul declining it, he ſet out in perſon with two thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, to fall upon ſome parties of the *Romans*, who were buſy in reaping. *Licinius*, having timely notice of his deſign, haſtened with the greater part of his army to the aſſiſtance of his foragers, met the king, and cut in pieces the beſt part of his life-guard, who were thought invincible. This defeat ſo diſheartened the king, that he retired into *Macedon* to ſpend the winter there. As for the conſul *Licinius*, after ſome inconfiderable expeditions in *Theſſaly*, he took up his winter-quarters in *Beotia*. His colleague *Caffius*, tho' confined by his lot to *Italy*, had attempted to make his way into *Macedon* through *Illyricum*; but was recalled by the ſenate, and ſeverely reprimanded for engaging in ſuch an enterprize without orders.

The conſul Ho-
ſtilius attempts
in vain to enter
Macedon.

THE following year *A. Hoſtilius Mancinus* and *A. Atilius Scranus* being choſen conſuls, *Macedon* fell by lot to the former, who immediately ſet out for his province, and arriving in *Theſſaly*, took upon him the command of the army; but was attended with no ſucceſs in two attempts which he made to enter *Macedon*. He firſt tried to force the paſs of *Elymea*; but his troops were put to flight by *Perſes*. After this, he endeavoured to make his way into *Macedon* through *Theſſaly*; but the king oppoſed him there likewiſe, and offered him battle; which the conſul, either out of cowardice, or an exceſs of precaution, declined; ſo that this campaign was chiefly ſpent in vain projects. *Hoſtilius* was recalled, under pretence of aſſiſting at the elections, when *Q. Marcius Philippus* and *Cn. Servilius Cæpio* were choſen conſuls. Theſe, when the levies came to be made, found the *Roman* youth, through ſome unaccountable humour, very obſtinate in reſuſing to inliſt themſelves. Hereupon two laws were enacted by the people for regulating the inrolments. The firſt required all thoſe who were under forty-fix, to appear, in order to be incorporated in the legions; the ſecond ordered all thoſe who were come from *Macedon* within three years laſt paſt, to return to their duty. The publication of theſe laws had ſo good an effect, that, in the ſpace of eleven days, a ſufficient number of ſoldiers were raiſed to recruit the armies in *Spain* and *Macedon*, and to form four legions, which were to be ready to march any-where upon the firſt orders. The levies being made, the conſul *Marcus*, to whoſe lot *Macedon* fell, haſtened into *Theſſaly*, reſolving, in ſpite of all difficulties, to force a paſſage into *Macedon*. *Perſes*, which is very ſurpriſing, never once appeared to oppoſe his march, tho' the roads were ſo bad, the paſſes ſo narrow, and the mountains ſo ſteep and craggy, that, by *Marcus's* own confeſſion, the *Macedonian* might have deſtroyed the whole conſular army with a handful of men. The conſul, having entered *Macedon*, marched firſt to *Dium*, and afterwards to *Heraclea*, made himſelf maſter of both theſe places, and then returned towards the frontiers of *Theſſaly*, his army being greatly diſtreſſed for want of proviſions. As he had no account of the king's army, he turned his thoughts wholly to the making of roads from *Theſſaly* to *Macedon*, in order to facilitate the conveyance of proviſions from one country to the other. He erected magazines all along the road, fortified them, and built houſes for the convenient lodging of thoſe who guarded the convoys. By this means he opened for his ſucceſſors an eaſy entrance into a kingdom, which had hitherto been deemed inacceſſible. In the mean time *Perſes* continued inactive in his camp on the banks of the *Enipeus*, where he ſpent the greater part of the ſummer, without ſo much as offering to diſturb the conſul in the proſecution of a work, which ſecured to the *Romans* the conqueſt of *Macedon*. And now both armies being retired into their winter-quarters, *Perſes*, thinking it ſafeſt for him to ſue for a peace, engaged *Prusias* king of *Bitbynia*, and the *Rhodians*, to be his mediators. The former employed intreaties, and the latter menaces; but neither the one nor the other prevailed. As for the *Rhodians*, the ſenate threatened to chaſtiſe them for their insolence, as ſoon as the conqueſt of *Macedon* ſhould be finiſhed.

The conſul
Marcus Phi-
lippus opens a
way into Mace-
don.

AT Rome the people were very uneaſy at the ſlow progreſs of their generals in the conqueſt of *Macedon*, and therefore applied themſelves wholly to find out a man, who ſhould be capable of recovering the glory of the republic, and putting a ſpeedy

* Liv. ibid. c. 42—53. PLUT. in Æmil. in legat. 87.

† Liv. l. xliv. c. 18—46. PLUT. in Paul. Æmil. POLYB.

- a end to this war. The person they cast their eyes upon was *Paulus Æmilius*; a patrician of consummate virtue, bravery and prudence, who had been consul thirteen years before. He was the son of the consul *Æmilius*, who perished in the battle of *Cannæ*, and the father of the famous *Scipio Æmilianus*, who was afterwards known by the name of the *Second Africanus*. This latter was named *Scipio*, from his adoption into the *Cornelean* family by the son of the great *Scipio*. The person raised to the consulate with *Æmilius*, was *Lucinius Crassus*, a man of great probity, who thought himself obliged to yield the conduct of the war in *Macedon* to his colleague, without drawing lots. Early in the spring *Æmilius* set out for *Macedon*, and the prætor *Anicius* for *Illyricum*; *Gentius*, the king of that country, having openly declared for *Perjes*. The
- b prætor reduced all *Illyricum* in thirty days. Having first defeated the *Illyrian* fleet, The Romans conquer Illyricum. he marched his land forces to *Scodra*, the metropolis of the kingdom, whither *Gentius* had retired with an army of fourteen thousand men. Tho' the place was strong, and defended by such a numerous garison, yet the king was so terrified at the approach of the *Roman* army, that he submitted to the prætor at discretion, who committed him to the care of a legionary tribune. Some days after, the king, the two queens, his mother and his wife, with three princes of the royal family, were sent captives to *Rome*, to grace in due time the prætor's triumphs. As for the consul *Æmilius*, as soon as he arrived in *Thessaly*, where his army was incamped on the banks of the *Enipeus*, he detached five thousand men, under the conduct of his eldest son *Fabius*
- c *Æmilianus*, and of his son-in-law *Scipio Nasica*, to surprise *Pythium* on the top of mount *Olympus*. The king, who was incamped on the opposite side of the *Enipeus*, having notice of this motion, sent out a more numerous detachment to intercept that of the consul; but the *Macedonians* were defeated, and cut in pieces. This disaster, and the news the king received at the same time of the misfortunes of *Gentius*, so disheartened him, that he abandoned his camp, and retired in great haste into *Macedon*, under the walls of *Pydna*. Thither *Æmilius* followed him; but restrained the impetuosity of his men, who were eager to fight the very moment they arrived. He first formed a camp, and having finished his lines, made his troops retire within them to
- d repose themselves that night. As the enemy's forces were drawn up in battalia, *Scipio Nasica* took the liberty to tell the consul, That his declining an engagement would bring the reproach of cowardice upon him and the whole army; but the general made only this short reply, *At your age I talked as you do; and you at mine will act as I do*. The next day a mere accident brought on a general engagement. A horse, having got loose from a *Roman* who was leading him, ran pretty far into a river between the two camps. Two *Thracians* of the enemy's guard, posted on the other side, went into the water to seize the horse, and three *Romans* at the same time hastened to recover him. One of the *Thracians* being killed, his countrymen on guard, to the number of eight hundred, advanced to revenge his death. This put
- e the *Romans* in motion, and by degrees brought on a general engagement. The king's army consisted of forty-five thousand men, the finest troops that had been seen in *Macedon* since the time of *Alexander the Great*. However, the *Romans*, by the excellent conduct of their general, obtained a complete victory, tho' they were considerably inferior in number. The *Macedonians* lost near twenty-five thousand men in the battle, five thousand were taken prisoners in the plain, and six thousand more in *Pydna*. The *Romans* are said not to have lost above a hundred men. As for *Perjes*, he fled first to *Pella*, from thence with his family and his treasures to *Amphipolis*, and lastly, being abandoned by all his troops, to the island of *Samothrace*, which was dedicated to the mother of the gods, and on that account respected by all nations.
- f The fugitive prince took up his habitation in a temple dedicated to *Castor* and *Pollux*, and there waited for some favourable turn of fortune. In the mean time the consul, having sent orders to *Octavius* the *Roman* admiral to invest the island of *Samothrace* with his fleet, marched into the heart of *Macedon*, and made himself master of *Pella*, *Thessalonica*, and many other important places. When he arrived at *Siræ*, a town in the most easterly part of the kingdom, he was met there by ambassadors from *Perjes*, who presented him a letter from their master; but *Æmilius* no sooner read the direction of the letter, where *Perjes* styled himself king, than he turned his back upon the ambassadors, and dismissed them without an answer. Hereupon the unhappy prince changed his style, and wrote as a private person, *Perjes* to the consul *Paulus Æmilius*.

* Liv. *ibid.* c. 30—332 APPIAN. in *Illyric.*

This letter was well received, and the consul, in compliance with the king's request, ^a sent three officers to confer with him. These demanded by way of preliminary, that *Perfes* should abdicate the title of king, and leave his fate to be determined by the senate and people of *Rome*. This *Perfes* would not by any means comply with, insisting, that a lawful sovereign could not lay down his sovereignty, but with his life. In the mean time *Octavius*, having landed his men in *Samothrace*, and invested the island with his fleet, pressed *Perfes*, in an amicable manner, to throw himself on the clemency of the *Romans*. But the king being inflexible on that head, *Octavius* tried all means possible to persuade the inhabitants to drive him out of their island. The king, apprehending they might be prevailed upon to drive him away, or deliver him up, ^b privately contracted with a *Cretan* merchant, whose ship lay at anchor under *Demetrium*, a promontory of *Samothrace*, to convey him and his effects into *Thrace*, to *Cotys*, his old friend and ally. He sent part of his treasures before him, and in the dead of the night set out himself, accompanied only by his eldest son *Philip*, and three men, in whom he could confide. His other children, his pages, who were the sons of the chief lords of the kingdom, and all his retinue, he left behind him to the mercy of the *Romans*. But when he came to the shore, to his great surprise, he found no ship there. The perfidious *Cretan* had set sail in the dead of the night, and carried off the treasure he had on board. Hereupon the king, having rambled about the shore for some time in great perplexity what to do, returned at last into the temple, and concealed himself in a corner of it. In the mean time *Octavius*, having caused ^c proclamation to be made by sound of trumpet, *That all Macedonians in Perfes's retinue, who should surrender themselves voluntarily to the Romans, should have life and liberty, not one remained with Perfes, except his eldest son.* The unhappy prince, seeing himself thus abandoned by his domestics, and even his children, surrendered himself at length ^d to *Octavius*, and consented to be carried with his eldest son, and the remains of his treasure, to *Amphipolis*, whither the consul came to meet him, and receive his submissions. *Æmilius* received him with great honour and respect, entertained him the first day at his own table, and then committed him and his children to the care of an officer, till the time he had fixed for transporting them to *Italy*. ^e Thus ended the second *Macedonian* war, and with it the *Macedonian* monarchy, after it had continued in splendor about an hundred and ninety-three years, reckoning only from *Philip*, the father of *Alexander the Great*.

Perfes surrenders himself to the Romans.

The kingdoms of Illyricum and Macedon changed into republics.

AND now the consular year being near expired, the comitia were held for the new elections, when *Q. Ælius Patus*, and *M. Junius Pennus*, were raised to the consulate. *Liguria* fell by lot to the latter, and *Cisalpine Gaul* to the former. *Æmilius* was continued in the command of the army in *Macedon* as proconsul, and *Anicius* and *Octavius* in their respective provinces in quality of proprætors. During this consulate, princes and ambassadors came to *Rome* from all parts of the *Levant*, some to be rewarded, others to return thanks, some with compliments and presents, and others to make apologies for their conduct. *Prusias*, king of *Bithynia*, came to *Rome* in person, and carried his flattery to a monstrous excess of meanness. The *Rhodians*, who had stood neuter, and shewed a great inclination to assist *Perfes*, were deprived of all dominion over *Lycia* and *Caria* formerly granted them. But the chief business of the senate was to settle the government of the two conquered countries, *Illyricum* and *Macedon*. Instead of reducing them to *Roman* provinces, it was determined to change them into republics. ^f Accordingly, ten commissioners were appointed to assist *Paulus Æmilius* in settling *Macedon*, and five to assist *Anicius* in *Illyricum*. When the affairs of *Macedon* and *Illyricum* were settled, and the proconsul was preparing to conduct his army back to *Rome*, he received positive orders from the senate to go into *Epirus*, and to plunder and demolish the cities of that country, for having assisted *Perfes*, after they had by repeated oaths promised to be faithful to the *Romans*. *Æmilius* executed his instructions with great prudence and severity, as we have related in the history of *Epirus*, and then set out for *Italy*. *Anicius* and *Octavius* arrived at *Rome* much about the same time, and they were all three honoured with triumphs. That of *Æmilius* was the finest *Rome* had ever seen. The city was so much enriched by the valuable spoils brought from *Macedon*, that she had no occasion to lay any tax on the people from this time to that of *Augustus*. *Perfes* sent from the common gaol, where he was kept, to intreat the victor to spare him the confusion of appearing in his triumphal procession. *Æmilius*

^a Liv. l. xiv. c. 31—46, & l. xlv. c. 6—8. PLUT. in Paul. POLYB. legat. 71.

- a gave the messenger the following answer ; *Tell Perses, that it long has been, and still is in his power to free himself from our chains.* This was telling him, that death alone could deliver him from the disgrace he feared. But the cowardly king, preferring the most shameful of all indignities to what was then deemed an honourable death, was led in triumph with his sons, *Philip* and *Alexander*, his little daughter, and the chief nobility of *Macedon*. The triumph of *Æmilius* was followed the next day by that of the proprætor *Octavius*, admiral of the *Roman* fleet. The triumphal procession of *Anicius*, the conqueror of *Illyricum*, was postponed for three months. King *Gentius* with his wife, children, his brother *Caraventius*, and several lords of his court, were led before the triumphant victor's chariot. *Gentius* was sent with his family to *Iguvium*, a city of *Umbria* ; but *Perses* was shut up in a close prison in *Alba*, a city of the *Marfi*, where he died miserably, as we have related in the history of *Macedon*¹. *Perses dies.*
- b *Philip* his eldest son is said to have died before him ; but his second son, being put out to a turner, gained his livelihood, first by that profession, and afterwards by doing the business of a scribe. And thus ended the race of the kings of *Macedon*².

THE following year, when *C. Sulpicius Gallus* and *M. Claudius Marcellus* were consuls, proved barren of memorable events. In the succeeding consulship of *T. Manlius Torquatus* and *Cn. Octavius Nepos*, *Terence*, the famous dramatic poet, was in his highest reputation. The fasces were afterwards transferred to *A. Manlius Torquatus*, and *Q. Cassius Longinus* ; during whose administration a census was made, by which there appeared to be in *Rome* 337552 citizens fit to bear arms. *Paulus Æmilius*, who was at this time one of the censors, soon after the expiration of his censorship, fell sick of a lingering disease, which in the end carried him off. Notwithstanding the prodigious sums with which he had filled the treasury of the republic, he continued poor himself, and after his triumph led a private life. In the height of his glory, his two sons by a second marriage died, the elder five days before his triumph, and the younger three days after it. Just before his retreat he harangued the people, and taking notice of this severe stroke of fortune on himself, expressed an acquiescence to it, provided it might satisfy the gods, and avert any evils from the republic, which in so much prosperity she might have reason to expect³.

- c *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, and *M. Juventius Thalna* being raised to the consulate, the latter was obliged to sail with an army into *Corfica* to quell a rebellion there ; while the other marched against the *Ligurians*, who had taken arms anew. But these wars were in reality no more than an amusement. During this consulate, *Antiochus Epiphanes* died, and was succeeded by his son *Antiochus Eupator*, who was but nine years old. *Demetrius*, the son of *Seleucus*, the late king's elder brother, had an indisputable right to the crown of *Syria*. But the *Romans*, thinking it more for the interest of their republic to have a child upon the throne, excluded *Demetrius*, who had been twelve years a hostage at *Rome*, and, without the consent or privity of the *Syrians*, declared young *Antiochus* the ward of the republic, and appointed *Cn. Octavius* and two other *Roman* senators to govern, as his guardians, the kingdom of *Syria*, in the name and under the direction of the republic. Nor were the *Romans* satisfied with doing this injustice to *Demetrius* ; they gave instructions to *Octavius* and his colleagues to burn all the ships with decks belonging to their ward, disable his elephants, and, in a word, to weaken as much as possible, the forces of his kingdom. In the following consulship of *P. Cornelius Lentulus* and *Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus*, *Octavius* set out for *Syria*, and arriving at *Laodicea*, a maritime city between *Tripolis* and *Antioch*, began to put the severe orders of his republic in execution, under pretence, that in virtue of the treaty with *Antiochus the Great*, the *Syrians* were to build no more ships of war, nor tame more elephants. The *Syrians* were highly exasperated at this presumption, especially *Lysias*, the young king's guardian, who being encouraged by the rage of the people against *Octavius*, hired an *African* to assassinate him. When the news of his murder reached *Rome*, *Demetrius*, who was still there, applied once more to the senate for leave to go and take possession of the kingdom, which of right belonged to him. But being a second time refused, by the advice of his friend *Polybius* the historian, he made his escape from *Italy*, got safe into *Syria*, and was there received and proclaimed king. The year following, when *M. Valerius Messala* and *C. Fannius Strabo* were consuls, the new king of *Syria*, to ingratiate himself with the *Romans*, sent an embassy to *Rome*, with a rich present of a crown of gold, and at the same

¹ Vide Vol. III. p. 499.
Liv. ibid.

² Liv. l. xlv. c. 40, & seq. PLUT. in Paulo.

³ PLUT. in Paulo Æmil.

time delivered up the *African*, who had murdered *Octavius*. The senate accepted the present, but sent back the assassin, telling the deputies, that such a victim was not an adequate satisfaction to the republic for the affront she had received ^a.

The Romans enter into an alliance with the Jews.

THE consuls for the new year, *L. Anicius Gallus* and *M. Cornelius Cethegus*, went rather to incamp, than make war, one in *Liguria*, the other in *Cisalpine Gaul*. During their administration, the Romans entered into a treaty of confederacy with the Jews; and at the request of *Judas Maccabæus*, who implored their protection against *Demetrius*, wrote the following imperious letter to the Syrian: *Why have you insulted and oppressed the Jewish nation? Know that the Jews are our allies. If you give them the trouble to send another embassy to complain of you, we will treat you as an enemy, and pursue you by sea and land* ^b.

Of the two consuls for this year *Cethegus* only gained himself some reputation by drying up the *Pomptine* marshes, which infected the air of the whole neighbourhood, and reducing them to a fruitful plain, which however was afterwards drowned again by fresh overflowings of the rivers. The following consuls, *Cn. Cornelius Dolabella*, and *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, signalized themselves yet less in their administration. In the consulate of their successors, *M. Æmilius Lepidus* and *C. Popillius Lænas*, *Demetrius* drove *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia* from the throne for refusing to marry his sister, and placed upon it *Orofernes*, a supposititious son of the late *Cappadocian* king. *Ariarathes* fled to *Rome* for refuge, and pleaded his cause before the senate. But the Romans, pursuant to their common maxims of policy, ordered the kingdom to be divided between the two competitors ^c.

The next year, when *Sextius Julius Cæsar* and *L. Aurelius Orestes* were consuls, the *Dalmatians*, who bordered upon *Illyricum*, made incursions, and committed great robberies there, though it was a country tributary to the republic. Nay, they would scarce vouchsafe an audience to *Fannius* the Roman ambassador, who came to complain of these proceedings, and demand satisfaction. The senate therefore, upon the report which *Fannius* made of the haughty treatment he had met with, resolved to begin a war with *Dalmatia*.

The first occasion of the third Punic war.

Another embassy, sent this year into *Africa*, at the head of which was *Cato* the censor, paved the way for the third *Punic* war. *Masiniſſa* had invaded *Tyſca*, a rich province belonging to the *Carthaginians*, and the dispute being referred to the arbitration of the senate, ten commissioners were ordered to go into *Africa*, and determine it upon the spot. But when *Cato* and his colleagues arrived there, the *Carthaginians* refused to accept them for judges, saying, that *Scipio* had settled their limits by a treaty of peace, and that to alter his appointments, would be to reflect on the memory of the greatest of men. This declaration provoked the pride of *Cato* to the highest degree. However, he dissembled his resentment, and leaving *Tyſca* a prey to *Masiniſſa's* troops, went to *Carthage*, and there examined every thing with a malicious eye. When he returned to *Rome*, he reported, that *Carthage* was grown immensely rich, that her magazines were crowded with stores, her ports full of ships, and that the war she was making with *Masiniſſa* was only an introduction to a more important one with *Rome*. He concluded with a warm exhortation to the senate to lose ^e

no time, but immediately to send troops with orders utterly to destroy a city, which would ever be an obstacle to the progress of the Roman arms. From this time he was always inciting them to destroy *Carthage*. Whenever he gave his opinion in the senate, be the subject what it would, he never failed to conclude with these words; *I am also of opinion, that Carthage should be destroyed*. But *Scipio Nasica*, who after the death of *Paulus Æmilius*, had the chief sway in the senate, constantly opposed the too rigid censor in this particular. The two succeeding consuls, *C. Marcus Figulus* and *L. Cornelius Lentulus Lupus*, prevailed upon the senate to declare war with the *Dalmatians*, the conduct of which was committed to the former, who, crossing the *Adriatic*, landed in *Illyricum*, and marched thence against the enemy. The *Dalmatians*, who ^f

Dalmatia conquered by the Romans.

were a savage, but brave people, surprised and defeated the consul. But *Scipio Nasica*, who was raised to the consulate the next year with *C. Claudius Marcellus*, being appointed to continue the war, laid siege to *Delminium*, the metropolis of *Dalmatia*, made himself master of it, and in one campaign brought the whole country under subjection. His colleague *Marcellus* gained likewise some advantages over the *Ligurians* ^g. The republic having chosen *Q. Opimius Nepos* and *L. Posthumius Albinus* consuls, she ordered the latter into *Spain*, and the former into *Transalpine Gaul*. The avarice and extortions of the Roman prætors in *Spain* had caused almost a general

^a POLYB. legat. 114.—120. APPIAN. in SYRIAC. JUSTIN. l. xxxiv. ^b 1 MACCAB. viii. ^c POLYB. in legat. 126. DIODOR. SICUL. eclog. l. xxxi. ^d APPIAN. in Illyric. 761. LIV. in epit.

revolt

- a revolt there. The legion commanded by the prætor *Calpurnius Piso* had been defeated by the *Lusitanians*, and he himself with his quæstor *Torrentius Varro* had been killed in the battle. *Posthumus* was therefore ordered thither. But his wife having given him, before he left *Rome*, a slow poison, he was taken so ill at sea, that he could not bear the motion of the ship; so that he was brought back to *Rome*, where he died in seven days after his return. *Acilius Glabrio*, who was chosen consul in his room, was not sent into *Spain*, the senate not judging him qualified to undertake the re-establishment of their affairs in that country. As for the consul *Opimius*, he penetrated into *Transalpine Gaul* to assist the inhabitants of *Marseilles*, the old friends of *Rome*, against the *Ligurians*, who had taken from them two cities, *Nicæa* and *Antipolis*, defeated not only the *Ligurians*, but also the *Deceata*, who came to their assistance, and reduced their whole country, which comprehended the present territories of *Antibes* and *Grasse*. Such was the first conquest the Romans made beyond the *Alps* 9.

The Romans
penetrate into
Transalpine
Gaul.

- It had been long customary for the consuls not to enter upon their office till the ides, or fifteenth of *March*; but this year the necessity of sending a consul into *Spain*, made the Romans assemble the comitia for the elections before the usual time. *Q. Fulvius Nobilior*, and *T. Annius Luscus*, were promoted to the consulate, and entered upon their office the first day of *January*, their predecessors abdicating to make way for them. From this time to the end of the republic, the first of *January* was always the day for the consuls to take possession of the fasces. The elections being over, *Fulvius* was sent with a considerable army into *Spain*, above half that vast continent being in a flame. The consul landed at *Tarracon*, and from thence marched against the *Segedani* and *Aravacæ*, who had united their forces to the number of twenty-five thousand men under the command of a brave general named *Carus*. He having laid an ambush for the consul in a wood, surprised him, and killed six thousand of his legionaries; but pursuing the fugitives with too much ardor into the plain, he was there attacked by the *Roman* horde, and killed with six thousand of his men. The battle was fought on the feast of *Vulcan*, a day which the republic ordered to be ever after deemed unlucky, like those on which she had lost the battles of *Allia*, *Cannæ*, &c. This regulation was chiefly owing to an excessive resentment of the senate and people against *Fulvius*. The *Spaniards*, having assembled their forces near *Numantia*, and chosen two new leaders, came to a second engagement with the Romans; but were defeated by means of some elephants sent by *Masimissa*; the *Spaniards* of that country, who had never seen any of those huge beasts, being terrified at the sight of them. After this victory, the consul attempted to scale the walls of *Numantia*, whither the enemy had retired; but one of his elephants being wounded, the hideous noise it made so frightened the others, that they turned upon the *Roman* legions, and put them into disorder. The besieged took advantage of the accident, sallied out, totally defeated the consul's troops, and killed four thousand of them. *Fulvius* after this ill success, and some other disasters that followed it, not daring to separate his troops, even during the winter, incamped in the field, and the season proving very severe, great numbers of his men perished with cold, want, and fatigue. The campaign which the *Roman* prætor *Mummius* made in *Lusitania*, was not much more successful. Immediately after his arrival he offered the rebels battle, which they did not decline, being commanded by one *Cæsar*, a *Lusitanian* of great courage and experience in war. The *Lusitanians*, after a vigorous resistance, were put to flight; but the Romans pursuing them in disorder, they rallied again, returned to the charge, killed nine thousand of the prætor's men, took his camp, and plundered it. The *Roman* army, now reduced to five thousand men, waited in an advantageous post for an opportunity of retrieving their reputation. And indeed they gained soon after some small advantage over the enemy, cut a detachment of *Lusitanians* in pieces, and recovered the *Roman* standards. A poor comfort after so great a misfortune! But it raised the courage of the Romans, and kept them from despairing 1.

The Roman
arms unsuccessful
in Spain.

THE consuls for the new year, *M. Claudius Marcellus* and *L. Valerius Flaccus*, no sooner entered upon their office, than the former set out for *Spain* with eight thousand foot, and five hundred horse. On his arrival he was attacked by the enemy; but *Marcellus*, who was an officer of great experience, put them to flight, made a great slaughter of the fugitives, and committed dreadful ravages in their country. Hereupon the rebels sent one of their chief officers to sue for peace, which *Marcellus*

9 POLYB. legat. 131, 134. LIV. in epit.

1 APPIAN. in Iberic. c. 286. STRAB. l. iii.

readily

readily granted them upon very reasonable terms. The consul was desirous of settling a general peace in *Spain* before his consulship expired, that he might on that account be honoured with a triumph on his return to *Rome*. But the senate seeing through his design, and being likewise advised by some deputies from two provinces in friendship with the *Romans* not to grant the peace desired, they not only refused to ratify the articles agreed upon between the consul and the rebels, but resolved to pursue the war with more vigor than ever¹.

Carthage provoked the Romans.

IN the mean time a war began to break out in *Africa*. The *Carthaginians* being continually harassed by the invasions of *Masiniſſa*, and tired out with the injustice and partiality of the *Roman* republic, entered into an alliance with *Archobazanes*, the grandson of *Sypbax*, and king of one part of *Numidia*, engaging him to march with a great army to the frontiers of *Masiniſſa*'s dominions. *Rome* looked upon this step as a breach of the treaties between her and the states of *Africa*, none of which were to take arms without her privity and consent. *Cato* on this occasion displayed his hatred to the *Carthaginians*, and was for immediately declaring war with that republic. But *Scipio Nasica*, who bore a greater sway in the senate than *Cato*, prevailed upon the conscript fathers to have the war deferred, till an embassy should be sent to *Carthage* to examine without passion into the true state of affairs there. *Nasica* himself was appointed ambassador for the negotiation he had proposed. When he came into *Africa*, he conducted himself with great prudence and moderation, and taking upon him the office of mediator between *Carthage* and *Masiniſſa*, he prevailed on the latter to restore the lands which had occasioned the quarrel. Thus all commotions would have been quieted, had not a seditious *Carthaginian*, named *Gisgo*, a man in office and favour with the people, spoke in the public assemblies with great warmth against the peace, which had been just negotiated. He by his seditious harangues so inflamed the populace, that they would have offered violence to *Nasica*, if he had not saved himself by flight. Upon his retreat, those in the senate of *Carthage*, to the number of forty, who had approved the peace, were condemned to perpetual banishment. The *Roman* senate was highly incensed at the treatment their ambassador had met with, and *Cato* much rejoiced to find *Nasica* at his return agree with him thus far, that *Carthage* deserved to be destroyed. However, the vengeance of the republic was suspended for some time on account of the war with the revolted *Spaniards*².

WHEN the new consuls, *L. Licinius Lucullus* and *A. Posthumius Albinus*, were ordered to recruit the legions in *Spain*, none of the citizens would give in their names, protesting, that they would not serve under the consul to whose lot *Spain* should fall, even in quality of lieutenants or legionary tribunes. The accounts they had received of the hardships which the troops under *Fulvius* had suffered, by spending a whole winter in the field, discouraged them to such a degree, that not one of the *Roman* youth appeared to inroll themselves. To increase the misfortune, the tribunes of the people protected those who refused to inlist themselves, and even went so far as to order the two consuls to be carried to prison for forcing some young men into the service. While the senate and consuls were perplexed what methods to take, a young *Roman*, not above thirty years of age, extricated them out of their difficulties. This was *Scipio Æmilianus*, the son of *Paulus Æmilius*, and by adoption the grandson of *Scipio Africanus*. One day, when the people were assembled for the inrollments, he desired leave to speak to them; which being granted, he mounted the rostra, and made an harangue full of the true *Roman* spirit. The ardor he expressed for the service of his country, and his offering to go himself into *Spain*, in what capacity soever the consuls should think fit, had such an effect on the people, that they were now as eager as they had before been backward, to give in their names. Then the consuls drew lots for their provinces, when *Spain* fell to *Lucullus*, and *Cisalpine Gaul* to *Posthumius*. It is uncertain whether *Scipio Æmilianus* served under *Lucullus* as one of his lieutenants, or only as a legionary tribune; but whatever was his post, he gained all the glory that was acquired during the war. Both *Lucullus*, who commanded in *Hither Spain*, and the prætor *Sulpicius Galba*, who commanded in *Lusitania*, made themselves infamous by the basest treachery, cruelty, and avarice. The former, finding that his predecessor had granted the *Celtiberians* a peace, went of his own head to make war on the *Turduli* and *Cantabri*. These had not given the *Romans* the least provocation; but *Lucullus*, who was covetous to excess, wanted to reap some profits by his con-

The cruelty of the Romans in Spain.

¹ POLYB. l. 31. APPIAN. in Iberic. 281. 287. LIV. in epit.

² APPIAN. in Punic. PLUT. in Catone.

fulship.

a fulship. With this view he entered their territories, and committed every-where most dreadful ravages, putting the inhabitants of whole cities to the sword, without distinction of sex or age, even after they had submitted upon terms. *Æmilianus* on this occasion acquired a high reputation of probity even among the oppressed *Spaniards*; and as for his bravery, he not only slew in single combat a *Spaniard* of a gigantic size, who had challenged the boldest of the *Romans*; but was honoured with a mural and civic crown. *Lucullus* soon after sent him, probably out of jealousy, into *Numidia*, under pretence of demanding some elephants of *Masinissa* *. The prætor *Galba*, who was as covetous as *Lucullus*, and more cruel, penetrated into *Lusitania*, destroyed every thing with fire and sword, and glutted himself with the spoils of those unhappy people. We are told, that he cruelly massacred above thirty thousand *Lusitanians*, b after he had solemnly promised them both their life and liberty, and by that means prevailed upon them to deliver up their arms. Neither the consul *Lucullus*, nor the prætor *Galba*, were so much as accused before the senate or people for these unjust and inhuman proceedings. The *Romans* were so prejudiced against the *Spaniards*, that they seem to have authorized the cruelties and injustice of their generals *.

In the mean time *Gulussa*, the son of *Masinissa*, arriving at *Rome*, confirmed the accounts which the senate had received from several quarters, that preparations were making at *Carthage* for an open declaration of war with the republic. *Cato* immediately laid hold of this occasion to repeat the words he had so often uttered; *There c is no safety for Rome, till Carthage is destroyed*. But the advice of *Scipio Nasica* still prevailed; and at his motion deputies were sent into *Africa* to inform themselves upon the spot of the preparations the *Carthaginians* were making by sea and land. The deputies on their return reported, that *Carthage* had undoubtedly a design to make war in some other place than the continent of *Africa*; that her fleet was numerous, and well equipped; and that she had on foot a formidable army. But notwithstanding these appearances, and all the eloquence of *Cato*, *Nasica* had influence enough over the senate to suspend the decree against the *Carthaginians* *.

In the following consulate of *T. Quinctius Flaminius* and *M. Acilius Balbus*, a bloody war broke out between *Carthage* and *Masinissa*. The *Numidian* king, though now almost ninety years of age, to revenge an affront offered by the *Carthaginians* to his d two sons, *Gulussa* and *Micipsa*, put himself at the head of a powerful army, and laid siege to *Oroscofa*, a city subject to the *Carthaginian* republic. Hereupon *Carthage* sent out a considerable number of troops under the command of *Asdrubal* to relieve the place. In several skirmishes the *Numidians* had always the disadvantage; whereupon *Masinissa*, who had learnt the art of war under the great *Scipio*, pretending fear, retired before the enemy, and by degrees drew them into a place, where he had all the advantage he could wish for. Here he halted with a design to give the enemy battle. While he was preparing for a general engagement, news was brought him, that *Scipio Æmilianus* was come from *Spain* into *Africa*, to desire, in the name e of the consul *Lucullus*, some elephants to be employed against the revolted *Spaniards*. Though *Æmilianus* was only the grandson of *Africanus* by adoption, yet upon the bare name of *Scipio*, the old king's affection and gratitude for a family, to which he owed his grandeur, revived. He would have gone in person to meet the *Roman*, if he had not been engaged in preparing for the battle, which was to be fought the next day, the two armies, each of them above fifty thousand strong, being incamped over against each other. However, he sent his two sons, with all his cavalry, to receive and escort him. When he arrived in the camp, *Masinissa* ran to embrace him with great tenderness, and could not refrain from tears, in mentioning his old benefactor *Scipio Africanus*. He attended him all over the camp, acquainted him with the preparations he was making against the next day's engagement, and made the flower of f his troops pass in review before him. *Æmilianus* was highly pleased with this sight; but the chief object of his surprise and admiration was the king himself. His great age had neither abated the vigor of his mind, nor the strength of his body, so as to render him unable to sustain military labours. He mounted and dismounted his horse with the activity of a young man. He rid, after the *Numidian* manner, without a saddle, and continued all day, and sometimes all night, on horseback. He had no better provisions than the meanest of his soldiers. In short, *Masinissa*, as *Æmilianus* said on his return to *Rome*, was not old in any respect, but his long experience in business

A war breaks out between Carthage and Masinissa.

* APPIAN. in Iberic. VELL. PATERCUL.

w APPIAN. ibid.

* APPIAN. in Punic.

The Cartha-
ginians de-
feated by Masi-
nissa.

and arms. As *Rome* had not yet openly broken with *Carthage*, the next morning *Æmilianus* retired from *Masinissa's* camp, not thinking it lawful for him to have any share in the action, and posited himself on the top of an eminence, whence he saw very distinctly one of the greatest battles that had ever been fought in *Africa*. It lasted from the rising of the sun, till night; both parties performed great exploits, and the victory was long in suspense; but at length declared for *Masinissa*. Then *Æmilianus* came down from his eminence, returned to the camp of the conqueror, and congratulated him on his victory. *Masinissa*, on this joyful occasion, gave the *Roman* the sincerest proofs of an inviolable attachment to his republic, and esteem for his family, granted him the elephants he demanded, and kept him with him as long as he could. As this victory was not decisive, *Æmilianus* undertook to negotiate a peace between the two parties. But his mediation proving ineffectual, hostilities were renewed with more animosity than ever. After many slight battles, *Masinissa* so blocked up the *Carthaginian* camp, that no convoys could be brought to it, or detachments sent out without great difficulty. The *Carthaginian* army, which was very numerous, having now no communication with the country, was soon reduced to the last extremity. At first they lived upon the flesh of their horses, and then boiled the harnesses of their carriages, burning their bucklers, and the shafts of their spears for want of wood. The famine produced a plague, which carried off more men than they had lost in all the engagements. In this extremity *Asdrubal* yielded to all the conditions of peace, which the *Numidian* thought fit to impose upon him. Among other things *Masinissa* obliged all the *Carthaginians* to pass under the yoke unarmed, and half naked. These unhappy wretches, thus branded with ignominy, and so weak, that they could scarce stand, comforted themselves at least with hopes of seeing their native country again. But revenge inspired *Gulussa* with a very cruel resolution. The *Carthaginians* had formerly laid an ambush to surprise him and his brother *Micipsa* on their return from *Carthage* to *Numidia*, and falling upon them, had on that occasion killed some of their attendants. This *Gulussa* remembered; and to revenge one perfidious act with another, let loose the *Numidian* horse on the disarmed multitude. Whether *Masinissa* was privy to his son's treachery, was never known. But however that be, the *Numidian* horse coming up with those unhappy men, who, being exhausted with hunger and distempers, had neither courage enough to resist, nor strength to fly, butchered them like so many victims; so that of fifty-eight thousand men only *Asdrubal*, and some other officers of distinction, escaped the general massacre. The *Romans* had sent ambassadors into *Africa*, under pretence of putting an end to the differences between *Carthage* and *Numidia*, in an amicable manner. But they had private instructions to take upon them the office of mediators, only in case *Masinissa* was defeated. If that prince should happen to get the better, their directions were to encourage him to push the *Carthaginians* to the utmost extremity, which they did accordingly; and then taking advantage of the prodigious loss the *Carthaginians* had sustained, deferred no longer to declare war against them, though they sent an embassy to *Rome*, offering all kinds of submission, and even leaving it to the senate to propose their own terms.

The third
Punic war.

As soon as the new consuls, *L. Marcius Censorinus* and *M. Manilius Nepos*, entered upon their office, they caused the war with *Carthage* to be proclaimed in the comitia of the people, and then drew lots for their provinces, the command of the fleet falling to *Marcius*, and that of the land-forces to *Manilius*. When all things were ready for their expedition into *Africa*, ambassadors arrived at *Rome* from the people of *Utica*, offering to surrender up their city to the republic, and desiring to be admitted into an alliance with *Rome*. The *Carthaginians*, terrified at the defection of so powerful a city, and the great preparations which were making at *Rome*, resolved to avert the impending storm by yielding themselves and their dominions to the *Romans* by way of *dedition*, which was to give them an absolute authority over every thing in the country, their cities, lands, rivers, temples, &c. and likewise over all the inhabitants, of what rank soever, sex, or condition. The ambassadors, who came to *Rome* to make this absolute surrender, were well received by the senate, and told, that since they had done all that could be required of them, they should enjoy their lands, effects, laws and liberty as before, upon condition that they sent three hundred hostages to the consuls, who were now in *Sicily*, and put in execution what they should think fit to command them. The ambassadors, overjoyed at this unexpected

The Carthagi-
nians yield
themselves and
their dominions
to the Romans.

† Idem ibid.

‡ Idem ibid.

- a success, took their leave of the senate, and flew to *Carthage* with the good news. Most of the *Carthaginian* senators cried up the moderation of the *Romans*; but some began to suspect that *Rome* concealed some artifice under this appearance of clemency. However, a decree passed, commanding three hundred hostages to be sent to *Lilybaeum*, where the *Roman* fleet lay at anchor. The consuls, having sent them on board a squadron to *Italy*, immediately set sail for *Utica*, and there landed their troops to the number of seventy-four thousand men, horse and foot. As soon as the troops were landed, *Mamilius* went to take possession of the same ground, on which the great *Scipio* had incamped, when he invested *Carthage*. It is easy to judge of the consternation the *Carthaginians* were in, when they beheld so terrible an army in their neighbourhood, and were at the same time informed, that war had been declared against them, notwithstanding the submissions they had made. They sent deputies to the consuls to expostulate with them, and to learn their intentions. The *Roman* generals received them with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. They ordered all their soldiers to stand to their arms; and the deputies passed through two long lines of men drawn up on each side of them, colours flying, and were conducted by sound of military instruments from the gate of the camp to the consul's quarters. There the two colleagues received them, sitting upon two high thrones, and surrounded by their chief officers, who were divided from the croud by a bar, within which the ambassadors themselves were not suffered to enter. As soon as the noise of the trumpets ceased,
- c the head of the embassy made a long speech, in which he complained of *Rome* for sending an army into *Africa* after the *Carthaginians* had delivered up their estates, lands, and possessions, to the *Roman* senate at discretion. In the close of his speech, he desired the consuls, in a most submissive manner, to acquaint him with the real intentions of the senate. *Marcus* answered, that he would gradually communicate to them the orders he had received, beginning with that which required most dispatch; and then added, since you are under the protection of *Rome*, and sincerely desire peace, what occasion have you for that vast number of arms with which your magazines are filled? Bring them hither, and thereby give us a fresh proof, that your love of peace is not feigned. The ambassadors, stunned with this demand,
- d knew not at first what to answer. But at length recollecting themselves, remonstrated to the consul, that *Carthage* had other enemies to contend with besides the *Romans*; and therefore could not safely be without arms; that she was in danger of being attacked by *Asdrubal*, who being condemned to die for having offended *Rome* by his late war with *Masinissa*, had made his escape, and drawn together an army of twenty thousand men. To this the consul briskly replied, Be easy, *Carthaginians*; *Rome* will provide for your safety. Obey, and be in no concern about any thing else. What could they do but submit? *Carthage* wanted the necessary store of provisions to sustain a siege; and had neither auxiliaries nor mercenaries; all the flower of her youth had been destroyed in the late battle with *Masinissa*; her fleet was not
- e fitted out, and that of the *Romans* was stronger, and barred up the harbour. The *Carthaginians* therefore, without any fraud, delivered up their arms and engines of war to the *Roman* quaestors sent to *Carthage* for that purpose. The *Romans* were surprised, when they saw the long train of carts, loaded with arms, which were brought to the camp by the *Carthaginians* themselves. Some historians say, they were sufficient to have armed all *Africa*. At least it is certain, that there were put into the consul's hands two thousand *catapultæ*, two hundred thousand complete suits of armour, and an infinite number of swords, darts, javelins, arrows, and of beams armed with iron, which were thrown from the ramparts by the *ballistæ*. This convoy of arms was attended by the most venerable old men, and the priests in their sacred
- f attire, who were well qualified by their character and age to mollify the *Romans*. The consuls received them sitting on their tribunal; and *Marcus*, who had more eloquence than his colleague, putting on a serious and majestic air, addressed himself to them thus: We are well pleased with these first instances of your obedience, and therefore cannot help congratulating you upon them. I have now but one thing more to require of you in the name of the *Roman* people. I will therefore, without further preamble, plainly declare to you an order, on which the safety of your republic, the preservation of your goods, your lives and liberty depends. *Rome* requires that you abandon your city, which we are commanded to level with the ground. You may build yourselves another where you please, provided it be ten miles from the
- g sea, and without walls or fortifications. A little courage and resolution will get the better
- They deliver up their arms to the Romans.*
- The Roman consuls command the Carthaginians to demolish their city.*

The Carthaginians resolve to sustain a siege.

better of the affection, which attaches us to our old habitations, and is founded more in habit than in reason. At these words the *Carthaginian* deputies were thunderstruck. Some of them swooned away; others expressed their sorrow in cries and lamentations; and all were in the utmost consternation. Even the *Roman* soldiers were affected with so moving a sight; but the consuls, without shewing the least concern, These sudden fits, said they, wear off by degrees; time and necessity teach the most unfortunate to bear their calamities with patience. The *Carthaginians*, when they recover their senses, will chuse to obey. While the others, in the height of their grief, rage, and despair, were uttering imprecations against the *Romans*, one *Hanno*, a venerable old man, and more composed than the rest, endeavoured in a long speech to move the consuls to compassion, and concluded by earnestly intreating them at least to allow the *Carthaginians* time to make fresh applications to the senate of *Rome*. But the consuls were inflexible; they would neither recede from the sentence they had passed, nor suspend the execution of it. The deputies returned to *Carthage*, and made their report; and then the whole city was nothing but horror and confusion. The people, as actuated by so many furies, broke into the senate-house, and vented their rage on those who had advised the giving of hostages, and the delivering up the arms, which they now wanted for their defence. They did not spare even the deputies themselves; but dragged them through the streets with ignominy, as inauspicious messengers. However, among this great number of raving people, a few, less transported than the rest, acted with some appearance of reason. They took care to shut the gates of the city, and gathered together on the ramparts great heaps of stones to serve them instead of other arms in case of a surprise. At length, when the first commotion was a little abated, the senators assembled, and resolved to sustain a siege. They were stripped of their arms, and destitute of provisions; but despair raised their courage, and made them find out expedients. They began with taking the malefactors out of prison, giving the slaves their liberty, and incorporating them in the militia. Then a pardon was granted to *Ajdrubal*, who had been sentenced to die only to please the *Romans*; and he was invited to employ the twenty thousand men he had raised, in the defence of his country. Another *Ajdrubal* was appointed to command in *Carthage*; and all seemed resolute, either to save their city, or perish in its ruins. They wanted arms; but what cannot despair compass? By order of the senate, the temples, portico's, and all public buildings, were turned into work-houses, where men and women were continually employed in making arms. As they encouraged one another in their work, and lost no time in procuring to themselves the necessaries of life, which were brought to them at stated hours, they every day made a hundred and forty-four bucklers, three hundred swords, a thousand darts, and five hundred lances and javelins. As to balistæ and catapultæ, they wanted proper materials for them; but their industry supplied that defect. Where iron and brass were wanting, they made use of gold and silver, melting down the statues, vases, and even the utensils of private families; for on this occasion the most covetous became liberal. As tow and flax were wanting to make cords for working the machines, the women, even those of the first rank, freely cut off their hair, and joyfully dedicated to that use the finest ornament of their heads. Without the walls *Ajdrubal* employed the troops under his command in getting together provisions, and conveying them safe into *Carthage*; so that there was as great plenty there as in the *Roman* camp^a.

In the mean time the consuls delayed drawing near to *Carthage*, not doubting but the inhabitants, whom they imagined destitute of necessaries to sustain a siege, would upon cool reflection submit; and this delay cost the *Romans* many battles, and much blood. At length, finding themselves deceived in their expectation, they came before the place, and invested it. As they were still persuaded, that the *Carthaginians* had no arms, they flattered themselves that they should easily take the place by assault. Accordingly, they approached the walls, in order to plant their scaling ladders; and then, to their great surprise, they discovered a prodigious multitude of men on the ramparts, shining in the armour they had newly made. The legionaries were so terrified at this unexpected sight, that they drew back, and would have retired, if the consuls had not led them on to the attack; which however proved unsuccessful, the *Romans*, in spite of their utmost efforts, being obliged to give over the enterprise, and lay aside all thoughts of taking *Carthage* by assault. In the mean time

^a Liv. in epit. POLYB. legat. 142. APPIAN in Plin.

- a *Asdrubal*, having drawn together from all places subject to *Carthage*, a prodigious number of troops, came and incamped within reach of the *Romans*, and soon reduced them to great straits for want of provisions, their parties not daring to venture out of the camp to forage, for fear of the *Carthaginian* cavalry, which was superior to that of the *Romans*. As *Marcus* was posted near a marsh, for the two consuls incamped separately, the exhalations of the stagnating waters, and the heat of the season, infected the air, and caused a general sickness among his men. *Marcus* therefore ordered his fleet to draw as near the shore as possible to receive his troops, and transport them to a healthier place, but still within reach of *Carthage*. *Asdrubal*, who commanded in the city, having notice of this motion, ordered all the old barks in the harbour to be filled with faggots, tow, sulphur, bitumen, and other combustible materials; and then taking advantage of the wind, which blew towards the enemy, let them drive upon their ships, which were for the most part consumed. After this disaster, *Marcus* was called home to preside at the elections, and *Manilius* ordered to continue the war in *Africa*. The *Carthaginians*, looking upon the removal of one of the consuls as a happy presage of their speedy deliverance, made a brisk sally in the night, and would have surprised the consul's camp, had not *Æmilianus*, with some squadrons, marched out of the gate opposite to the place where the attack was made, and riding full speed round the camp, attacked the enemy, who expected nothing less, in the rear, and obliged them to return in disorder into the city. *Asdrubal* had posted himself under the walls of a city, named *Nepheris*, but twenty-four miles distant from *Carthage*, and situated on a high mountain, which seemed inaccessible on all sides. From thence the *Carthaginian* general made incursions into the neighbouring country, intercepted the *Roman* convoys, fell upon their detachments sent out to forage, and even ordered parties to insult the consular army in their camp. Hereupon the consul resolved to drive *Asdrubal* from this advantageous post, and, contrary to the opinion of *Æmilianus*, who was well apprised of the difficulty of the enterprise, set out on his march for *Nepheris*. As he drew near the hills, *Asdrubal* all on a sudden appeared at the head of his army in order of battle, and fell upon the *Romans* with incredible fury. The consular army sustained the attack with great resolution, and *Asdrubal* retired in good order to his former post, hoping the *Romans* would attack him there. But the consul, being now convinced, that his design could not be pursued without endangering the whole army, resolved to retire; and accordingly began to march back. This *Asdrubal* no sooner perceived, than he came down from the mountains, like a torrent, and falling upon the enemy's rear, cut a great many of them in pieces. All authors agree, that the whole army would have been lost, if it had not been for the bravery and prudent conduct of *Scipio Æmilianus*, who being at this time only a legionary tribune, renewed the famous exploit of *Horatius Cocles*. At the head of three hundred horse he sustained the attack of all the forces commanded by *Asdrubal*, and covered the legions, while they passed a river in their retreat before the enemy. Then he and his companions threw themselves into the stream, and swam across it. The *Romans* lost in this rash enterprise a great number of men, and among the rest three legionary tribunes, who had been the most sanguine in promoting it, contrary to the opinion of *Æmilianus*. When the *Romans* had crossed the river, they perceived that four manipuli were wanting, and were soon after informed, that these brave men, being surrounded on all sides by the enemy, had posted themselves on an eminence, resolved at least to sell their lives dear. This news raised the compassion of *Æmilianus*, who, taking with him a chosen body of horse and provisions for two days, returned across the river, and flew to the deliverance of his countrymen. He seized a hill over-against that on which the four manipuli were posted, and after some hours repose marched against the *Carthaginians*, who kept them invested, fell upon them at the head of his squadron with the boldness of a man who was determined to die or conquer, and in spite of all opposition opened a way for his fellow-citizens to escape. On his return to the camp, the soldiers, who had given him for lost, carried him to his quarters in a kind of triumph; and the manipuli he had saved gave him a crown of *gramen*, or grass, gathered on the spot where he had signalized his valor, which was deemed more honourable than the richest presents. By these and many other glorious exploits, *Æmilianus* in this unfortunate campaign gained such reputation, that *Cato*, who is said never to have commended any body before, could not refuse the young tribune the praises he deserved, which however he mixed, after his usual manner, with severe reflections on the other officers of the army in *Africa*. This rigid philosopher

The Romans
repulsed in the
first attack.

Part of the
Roman fleet
destroyed.

Scipio Æmi-
lianus saves the
Roman army.

died soon after at the age of eighty-four or eighty-five: he is said to have foretold, ^a before he expired, that *Carthage* would never be reduced till *Scipio Æmilianus* was employed in that expedition ^b.

The Roman
arms un-
successful in Spain.

IN *Spain* the Roman arms were yet more unsuccessful than in *Africa*. The prætor *Vetilius*, who commanded ten thousand in the *further province*, lost four thousand of them in a battle against the *Lusitanians* under the conduct of one *Viriatbes*, who was first a famous hunter, afterwards a captain of banditti, and at last commander in chief of the *Lusitanian* rebels. The prætor himself was taken prisoner; but the soldier who took him, seeing him old, and fancying no body would purchase him, killed him without knowing who he was. Upon the news of this disaster, the republic immediately sent *C. Plautius* into *Spain* with a reinforcement of ten thousand foot, ^b and thirteen hundred horse. These, being joined by great numbers of *Spaniards*, who continued faithful to the republic, made a formidable army. But *Viriatbes*, after having cut in pieces by a stratagem a detachment of four thousand Romans, ventured to engage them in a pitched battle, which he conducted with such dexterity, that the prætorian army was intirely defeated, and forced to shut themselves up all the summer in the neighbouring cities; so that the brave *Lusitanian*, being now master of the field, laid the whole country under contribution ^c.

Macedon re-
volts.

THESE were not the only losses the republic sustained this year. In *Macedon* one *Andriscus*, who pretended to be the son of *Perfes* by one of his mistresses, and had taken the name of *Philip*, being assisted by the *Thracians*, obliged the *Macedonians* to ^c own him for their king, and conquered part of *Thessaly*. *Scipio Nasica*, whom the senate sent into *Greece* to learn the true state of affairs, by the assistance of the *Achaïans*, drove the false *Philip* out of *Thessaly*. But the prætor *Juventius Thalna*, who succeeded *Nasica*, having attempted to force his way through the narrow passes into *Macedon*, lost in that rash undertaking both his life and the legion he commanded. By this means *Philip* reduced all *Thessaly*, and settled himself on the throne of *Macedon*.

Æmilianus
gains over the
general of the
Carthaginian
cavalry.

AT *Rome* *Sp. Posthumius Albinus Magnus*, and *L. Calpurnius Piso Cæsonius*, being chosen consuls for the new year, the conduct of the war in *Africa* fell by lot to the latter. But as he did not hasten to his province, *Manilius*, who continued to command ^d the army in quality of proconsul, endeavoured to repair the faults he had committed during his consulate. He frequently sent out *Æmilianus* with strong parties to pillage the neighbouring country, and intercept the enemy's convoys, and the tribune was always attended with uncommon success. He took several castles, and among the rest *Tezaga*, a place of great strength. In one of these expeditions he found means to have a private conference with one *Phameas*, general under *Asdrubal* of the *Carthaginian* cavalry, and brought him over together with two thousand two hundred of his horse to the Roman interest. *Phameas* was an able commander, who by his bravery and skill in war had exceedingly distressed the Roman army; so that the gaining of his friendship was reckoned an important acquisition. The proconsul sent ^e him soon after with *Æmilianus* to *Rome* to receive the honours and rewards he deserved from the republic. At the same time *Manilius* wrote a letter to the senate, wherein he acknowledged himself indebted to *Æmilianus* for whatever successes he had met with during the campaign ^d.

IN the mean time the consul *Calpurnius Piso* and the prætor *Mancinus* arrived in *Africa*, the former to command the land-forces, and the other the fleet. These two generals formed a very different plan for the campaign from that of *Marcus* and *Manilius*. For instead of pursuing the siege of the capital, they applied themselves wholly to the reducing of some other cities on the *African* coast, which they attacked both by sea and land. They first invested *Clupea*, but were obliged to abandon the ^f enterprise with shame and confusion, the inhabitants having in several sallies killed great numbers of their men. From *Clupea* the consul went to vent his rage on a city newly built, and thence called *Neapolis*, which professed a strict neutrality, and even had a safeguard from the Romans. However, the consul plundered the place, and stript the inhabitants of all their effects. After this he laid siege to *Hippagreta*, which employed the Roman fleet and army the whole summer. When the winter drew near, the consul raised the siege, and returned with his fleet and army to *Utica*, without having performed one valiant action during the whole campaign. In the mean

^b Liv. lib. l. PLUT. in Cæ. APPIAN. in Punic. OROS. l. iv. c. 11. ZONAR. l. ix.

^c APPIAN. in Iberic.

^d APPIAN. in Punic.

- a time the *Carthaginians* sent deputies to the new king of *Macedon*, encouraging him to continue the war against *Rome*. But the prætor *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, who now commanded the *Roman* forces in *Macedon*, having defeated this mock king in two pitched battles, obliged him to shelter himself in the court of one of the petty kings of *Macedon* re-conquered. *Tbrace*, who afterwards delivered him up to the *Romans*. He was scarce reduced, when another impostor started up, who called himself *Alexander*, and pretended likewise to be the son of *Perfes*. But as his followers were rather a confused rabble than an army, they were easily dispersed, as we have related at length in the history of *Macedon*.

- AND now the time of the elections drawing near, the people considering that the republic wanted great generals, resolved to have regard to nothing but merit; and as *Scipio Æmilianus* was, in their opinion, the only man who could retrieve the reputation of the *Roman* arms in *Africa*, they dispensed with the *Villian* law in his favour, which required every candidate for the consulship to be forty-three years old, and raised him to the consular dignity at the age of thirty-seven. Neither would they suffer him to draw lots with his colleague, *C. Livius Drusus*, for the conduct of the *Carthaginian* war; but appointed him by a special decree to succeed *Piso*. The new consul immediately set sail for *Sicily*, taking on board with him *Polybius* the historian, for whom he had a great esteem, and *Lælius*, whom he appointed his lieutenant-general. This *Æmilianus* was the son of the other, whom *Scipio Africanus* had so tenderly loved, and *Æmilianus* in imitation of that hero entered into as strict a friendship with *Lælius* the son, as the first *Scipio* had done with the father. It is said, that *Æmilianus* and his friend *Lælius* were the authors of the comedies, which are commonly ascribed to the poet *Terence*. With *Polybius* and *Lælius Æmilianus* set sail from *Sicily*, and entered the port of *Utica* with his fleet under the command of the prætor *Serranus*, when three thousand five hundred of the *Roman* army were in imminent danger of being cut in pieces before *Carthage*. These, during *Piso's* absence, who had penetrated far into the inland country with his army, had seized *Megalia*, one of the suburbs of the city. But as they had not furnished themselves with provisions to subsist there, and could not retire, being closely invested on all sides by the enemy's troops, the prætor *Mancinus*, who commanded this detachment, seeing the danger, into which he had brought himself, dispatched in the dusk of the evening a light boat to *Utica* to acquaint the *Romans* there with his danger. The messenger delivered the prætor's letter to the new consul, who had landed his troops a few hours before. *Æmilianus* immediately flew to the relief of the invested *Romans*, obliged the *Carthaginians* to retire within their walls, and putting the three thousand five hundred men on board his ships, conveyed them safe to *Utica*. He then dispatched a messenger to *Piso* to inform him of his arrival, and to order him to draw near to *Carthage* with his army. The proconsul obeyed, and *Æmilianus*, having taken upon him the command of the troops, applied himself wholly to the taking of *Carthage* alone, as the only means to reduce at once the *African* republic. He first attack was upon *Megalia*, which he carried by assault, the *Carthaginian* garrison retiring into the citadel of *Byrsa*. *Asdrubal*, who had commanded the forces of the republic in the field, and was now governor of *Carthage*, was so enraged at the loss of *Megalia*, that he caused all the *Roman* captives, taken in the two years the war had lasted, to be brought upon the ramparts, and to be thrown headlong, in the sight of the *Roman* army, from the top of the wall, after having, with an excess of cruelty, commanded their hands and feet to be cut off, and their eyes and tongues to be tore out. As he was of a temper remarkably inhuman, he is said to have taken pleasure in seeing some of those unhappy men flayed alive. While *Asdrubal* was thus venting his rage on the *Roman* captives, the consul was busy in drawing lines of circumvallation and contravallation cross the neck of land, which joined the isthmus, whereon *Carthage* stood, to the continent. By this means all the avenues on the land-side to *Carthage* being shut up, the city could receive no provisions that way. His next care was to raise a mole in the sea in order to block up the old port, the new port being already shut up by the *Roman* fleet; and this great work he effected with immense labour. The mole reached from the western neck of land, of which the *Romans* were masters, to the entrance of the port, and was ninety foot broad at the bottom, and eighty at the top. The besieged, when the *Romans* first began this surprising work, laughed at the attempt; but were no less alarmed than surprised, when, contrary to their expectation, they beheld a vast mole appearing above water, the continent carried a great way into the sea, and by that means the port rendered inaccessible to ships, and quite useless. And now emulation

The besieged
dig a new basin,
and build a
fleet.

A bold and
successful at-
tempt of the
Carthaginians.

Æmilianus
forces the in-
trenchments of
the Carthagi-
nians.

emulation and despair prompted the *Carthaginians* to attempt and execute what a seemed altogether impossible, and would appear utterly incredible, if it were not attested by the historian who has given us the most particular account of the siege of *Carthage*^c. With miraculous and incredible industry they in a short time dug a new basin, and cut a passage into the sea, by which they could receive the provisions that were sent them by their troops in the field. With the same diligence and expedition they built and fitted out a fleet of fifty triremes, which, to the great surprise of the *Romans*, appeared suddenly, advancing into the sea through this new canal, and even ventured to give the enemy battle. The action lasted the whole day, and was glorious both for the besieged and the besiegers, little advantage being gained on either side. The day after the engagement the consul attempted to make himself master of a terrace, which covered the city on the side next the sea; and on this occasion the besieged signalized their resolution in the most remarkable manner. Great numbers of them naked and unarmed went into the water in the dead of the night with unlighted torches in their hands, and having partly by swimming, partly by wading, got within reach of the *Roman* engines, they struck fire, lighted their torches, and threw them with fury against the machines. The sudden appearance of these naked men, who looked like so many monsters started up out of the sea, terrified the *Romans*, who guarded the machines, to such a degree, that they began to retire in the utmost confusion. The consul, who commanded this detachment in person, and had continued all night at the foot of the terrace, endeavoured to stop his men, and even ordered those who fled to be killed. But the *Carthaginians*, perceiving the confusion the *Romans* were in, threw themselves upon them like so many wild beasts, and having put them to flight only with their torches, they set fire to the machines, and intirely consumed them. This however did not discourage the consul; he renewed the attack a few days after, carried the terrace by assault, and lodged four thousand men upon it. As this was an important post, because it pent *Carthage* in on the sea-side, *Æmilianus* took great care to fortify and secure it against the sallies of the enemy; and then winter approaching, he suspended all further attacks upon the place, till the return of good weather^f.

Æmilianus did not continue idle in his trenches during the cold season. The *Carthaginians* had a very numerous army under the command of one *Diogenes*, strongly incamped near *Nepheris*, whence convoys of provisions were sent by sea to the besieged, and brought into the new basin. To take *Nepheris* therefore was to deprive *Carthage* of her chief magazine. This *Æmilianus* undertook, and succeeded in the attempt; for he first forced the enemy's intrenchments, put seventy thousand of them to the sword, and made ten thousand prisoners, all the inhabitants of the country, who could not retire to *Carthage*, having taken refuge in this camp. After this the consul laid siege to *Nepheris*, which was protracted longer than he expected. However, *Æmilianus* made himself master of this important place, after he had been twenty-two days before it. In this enterprize the *Romans* were greatly assisted by a body of *Numidian* horse under the command of *Gulussa*, who had succeeded his father *Masinissa* in the kingdom of *Numidia*. *Masinissa* himself had lent the *Romans* no assistance in this war, being justly piqued at their having undertaken it without imparting their design to him. *Asdrubal*, being disheartened by the defeat of the army, and touched with the misery of the besieged, now reduced to the utmost extremity for want of provisions, offered in the name of the *Carthaginians* to submit to what conditions the *Romans* pleased, provided they would only spare the city. But the consul absolutely refusing to recede from his instructions with regard to the demolition of *Carthage*, *Asdrubal*, assuming the air and gesture of a bully, No, said he, no, the sun shall never see *Carthage* destroyed, and *Asdrubal* alive^e.

In the mean time the consular year being expired, the republic chose *G. Cornelius Lentulus* and *L. Mummius* consuls. But *Æmilianus* was continued general of the army in *Africa*, till such time as he should finish the great work he had undertaken. Early in the spring he renewed the siege of *Carthage*; and in order to open himself a way into the city, he ordered *Lælius* to attempt the reduction of *Cotbo*, a small island, which divided the two ports. The proconsul himself made a false attack on the citadel, in order to draw the enemy thither. This stratagem had the desired effect; for the citadel, known by the name of *Byrsa*, being a place of the utmost importance, most of the

^c APPIAN. in Punic. N. 75. ^e LIV. in epit. APPIAN. in Punic. N. 78. POLYB. in excerpt. apud Valerium.

^f LIV. APPIAN. & POLYB. ibid.

- a *Carthaginians* hastened thither, and made their utmost efforts to repulse the aggressors. But in the mean time *Lælius*, having, with incredible expedition, built a wooden bridge over the channel, which divided *Cotbo* from the isthmus, entered the island, scaled the walls of the fortress which the *Carthaginians* had built there, and made himself master of that important post. The proconsul, who was engaged before *Byrsa*, no sooner understood by the great shout the *Romans* gave, that they had got possession of *Cotbo*, than he abandoned the false attack, and unexpectedly fell on the neighbouring gate of the city, which he broke down, notwithstanding the showers of darts that were incessantly discharged upon his men from the ramparts. As night coming on prevented the proconsul from proceeding farther, he made a lodgment within the gate, and waited there for the return of day, with a design to advance through the city to the citadel, and attack it on that side, which was but indifferently fortified. Pursuant to this design, at day-break he ordered four thousand fresh troops to be sent him from his camp; but did not think it lawful to proceed in the attempt, till he had performed a religious ceremony then practised by the *Romans* before the taking and sacking of great cities. This was to evocate the tutelary gods of the place, that is, to intreat them to abandon a place which was unworthy of their presence and protection. When this ceremony was over, the proconsul solemnly devoted the inhabitants of *Carthage* to death, and to the gods of hell, in these words: *O formidable Pluto, and ye infernal manes, let loose against the Carthaginian people fear, terror and vengeance. Let the nations and cities, which have taken up arms against us, be overcome and destroyed. I devote and deliver up to you, furies, all the enemies of my republic, in my own name, and in the name of the senate and people of Rome. But as for our legions and auxiliary troops, guard them from death, and the accidents of war.*
- b THE proconsul had no sooner performed this ceremony, than he began to advance at the head of his men through the streets of the city in order to attack the citadel. *Polybius* the historian, who marched by his side, advised him to throw caltrops and planks full of nails with the points upwards in the streets through which he passed, to prevent his being surprised in the rear. But the brave general replied, *You are over cautious, Polybius; there is nothing to be feared from a city which is full of confusion, and already taken.* This said, he advanced to the market-place, from whence three exceeding steep streets led to the citadel. The houses on both sides were very high, and filled with *Carthaginians*, who overwhelmed the *Romans*, as they advanced, with darts and stones; so that they could not proceed, till they had cleared them. To this end the proconsul in person at the head of a detachment attacked the first house, and made himself master of it sword in hand. His example was followed by the officers and soldiers, who went on from house to house, putting all to the sword they met with. As fast as the houses were cleared on both sides of the streets, the *Romans* advanced in order of battle towards the citadel, but met with a vigorous resistance from the *Carthaginians*, who on this occasion behaved with uncommon resolution. From the market-place to the citadel two bodies of men fought their way every step, one above, on the roofs of the houses, the other below in the streets. The slaughter was inexpressibly great and dreadful. The air rung with shrieks and lamentations. Some were cut in pieces, others threw themselves down from the tops of the houses; so that the streets were filled with dead and mangled bodies. But the destruction was yet greater, when by order of the proconsul fire was set to that quarter of the town, which lay next to the citadel. Incredible multitudes, who had escaped the swords of the enemy, perished in the flames, and by the fall of the houses. After the fire, which lasted six days, had demolished houses enough for the proconsul's purpose, he ordered the rubbish to be removed, and a large area to be made, where all his troops might have room to act. Then he appeared with his whole army before *Byrsa*, which so terrified the *Carthaginians*, who had fled thither for refuge, that first of all, twenty five thousand women, and soon after thirty thousand men, came out of the gates in such a condition as moved pity. They threw themselves prostrate before the *Roman* general, asking no favour, but life. This the proconsul readily granted, not only to them, but to all who were in *Byrsa*, except the *Roman* deserters, whose number amounted to nine hundred. The wife of *Asdrubal* earnestly intreated her husband to suffer her to join the suppliants, and carry with her to the proconsul her two sons, who were yet very young. But the barbarous governor denied her request, and rejected the remonstrances of his wife with menaces. The *Roman* deserters, seeing themselves excluded from mercy, resolved to die sword in hand, like brave
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The island of Cuthoraken by the Romans. and one of the gates of the city.

The proconsul sets fire to one of the quarters of the city.

Asdrubal delivers himself up to the Roman general.

men, rather than to deliver themselves up to the vengeance of Rome. Asdrubal, finding them all to a man determined to defend themselves to the last breath, committed to their care his wife and children, and then gave a most remarkable instance of cowardice, and Carthaginian inconstancy. This very governor, who had braved death, when it was at a distance, and protested that the sun should never see him survive Carthage; this fierce Asdrubal was so mean-spirited, as to come alone, and privately throw himself at the conqueror's feet. The general was well pleased to see his proud rival humbled, but granted him his life, and kept him to grace his triumph. The Carthaginians in the citadel no sooner understood that their commander had abandoned the place, than they threw open the gates, and put the proconsul in possession of Byrsa. The Romans had now no enemy to contend with but the nine hundred deserters, who, being reduced to despair, retired into the temple of Æsculapius, which was as a second citadel within the first. There the proconsul attacked them; and those unhappy wretches, finding there was no way to escape, set fire to the temple. As the flames spread, they retreated from one part to another, till they got to the roof of the building. There Asdrubal's wife appeared in her best apparel, as if the day of her death had been a day of triumph to her; and after having uttered the most bitter imprecations against her husband, whom she saw standing below with Æmilianus, *Base coward, said she, the mean things thou hast done to save thy life, shall not avail thee; thou shalt die this instant, at least, in thy two children.* Having thus spoke, she drew out a dagger, stabbed them both, and, while they were yet struggling for life, threw them from the top of the temple, and leaped down after them into the flames.

Carthage plundered.

So many scenes of horror drew tears from the eyes of the Roman general, and cast him into a pensive silence, which he broke at length with two verses out of Homer, wherein the destruction of Troy was foretold: *The day will come, when proud Troy shall fall a prey to the flames, and the sword shall mow down Priam and his people.* As the proconsul sighed in repeating these lines, Polybius, who was always near him, took the liberty to ask him, What he meant by Troy, and the people of Priam? Æmilianus, without naming Rome, gave him sufficiently to understand, that he feared his own country would meet with the same fate as Troy and Carthage. The greatest states, said he, have their periods, after which fortune overturns what she took pleasure in raising. The proconsul delivered up the city to be plundered, but in the manner prescribed by the Roman military law. The soldiers were allowed to appropriate to themselves all the furniture, utensils, and brass-money they should find in private houses. But all the gold and silver, the statues, pictures, &c. were reserved to be put into the hands of the quæstors. On this occasion the cities of Sicily, which had been often plundered by the Carthaginian armies, recovered a great number of statues, pictures, and other valuable monuments; among the rest, the famous brazen bull, which Phalaris had ordered to be cast, and made use of as the instrument of his cruelty, was restored to the inhabitants of Agrigentum (S). The proconsul put part of the spoils on board a galley, which he dispatched to Rome to acquaint the senate, that Carthage was taken, and the war in Africa finished. At the same time he desired new instructions from the conscript fathers as to the demolition of the walls, temples, and houses of Carthage, his good-nature and compassion inclining him to spare what yet remained of that stately metropolis. The joy of the people at Rome was inexpressibly great on the news of the reduction of Carthage. They anticipated the decree of the senate, and meeting by tribes of their own accord, crowded to the temples to thank the gods for the success of their arms. Upon the report which the messenger sent by Æmilianus made to the senate, the conscript fathers, after having spent some time in deli-

* APPIAN. *ibid.* & in SYRIAC. PLUT. in *apoph.* VAL. MAX. l. iii. c. 1. OROS. l. iv. c. ult. LIV. in *epit.* † POLYB. *apud* APPIAN. EUTROP. l. iv.

(S) Among the curiosities which Æmilianus gave to his friends, and to several lords of Numidia, Salust mentions some libraries (30), which the general, who knew the value of so rich a treasure, preserved from the flames. He bestowed all the books on the sons of Micipsa, except twenty-eight volumes, which treated of agriculture, and were said to have been wrote by one Mago a Carthaginian. This work the

Roman senate thought so useful, that they ordered some able persons to translate it out of the language of the country into Latin: so very sensible were the Romans of the advantages of husbandry, the most illustrious men among them applying themselves seriously to that employment, and looking upon it as the chief resource of the state.

(30) Salust. *de bell. Jugurth.*

- a berations and debates, dispatched the following instructions to their general : 1. The city of *Carthage* with *Byrja* and *Megalia* shall be intirely demolished, and no traces of them left. 2. All the cities, that have lent *Carthage* any assistance, shall be dismantled. 3. The territories of those cities which have declared for the *Romans*, shall be enlarged with lands taken from the enemy. 4. All the lands between *Carthage* and *Hippo* shall be divided among the inhabitants of *Utica*. 5. All the *Africans* of the *Carthaginian* state, both men and women, shall pay an annual tribute to the *Roman* people at so much *per head*. 6. The whole country, which was subject to the *Carthaginian* state, shall be turned into a *Roman* province, and be governed by a prætor in the same manner as *Sicily*. Lastly, *Rome* shall send commissioners into *Africa*, there to settle jointly with the proconsul the state of the new province. This decree was carried by the ten commissioners, and strictly executed. But before the proconsul destroyed *Carthage*, he performed all those religious ceremonies which were required on such occasions : He first sacrificed victims to the gods, and then caused a plough to be drawn round the walls of the city. After this the towers, ramparts, walls, and all the works which the *Carthaginians* had raised in the course of many ages, and at a vast expence, were levelled with the ground. Lastly, fire was set to the edifices of this proud metropolis, which consumed them all, not a single house escaping the flames. Though the fire began in all quarters at the same time, and burnt with incredible fury, it continued for seventeen days together before all the buildings were consumed ; and hence we may judge of the vast extent of that metropolis. When the city was intirely demolished, and the affairs of the new province settled, the proconsul imbarqued his troops, and returned to *Rome*, where he was honoured with a magnificent triumph, and the glorious surname of the *Second Africanus*. After his triumph he deposited in the capitol an urn full of the ashes of the capital of *Africa*, which he thought an agreeable offering to *Jupiter Capitolinus*. *Asdrubal* and *Bytbias* the general of the *Carthaginian* horse, after having been led in chains before the triumphant victor's chariot, were, at the request of *Emilianus*, allowed to enjoy both life and liberty. *Appian* is the only author, who tells us, that *Asdrubal* killed himself to avoid the shame of being carried in triumph. The rest of the prisoners were sold to the best bidder, or perished in the various prisons, to which they were confinedⁱ. Thus ended one of the most renowned cities in the world, both for command and riches, after it had subsisted near seven hundred years, given law to many distant provinces, and for the space of a hundred years rivalled *Rome* herself, and reduced her once to the utmost extremity.

Carthage intirely destroyed, Year after the flood 2858. Before Christ 141. Of Rome 607.

- Carthage* was not the only great and wealthy city which the *Romans* destroyed in this remarkable year. *Corinth* had the same fate, after it had flourished at least nine hundred years. But as we have given in our history of the *Achæans* a very particular account of this memorable event, we shall not trespass upon our readers patience by repeating the same transactions, but follow the victorious arms of the republic in the conquests they made after the reduction of *Greece* and *Africa*, which were both now become *Roman* provinces.

Corinth destroyed.

ⁱ APPIAN. in PUNIC. EUTROP. l. iv. FLOR. l. ii. c. 15. ZONAR. l. ix.

C H A P. VIII.

The history of Rome from the destruction of Carthage to the end of the sedition of the Gracchi.

AFTER the destruction of *Carthage* and *Corinth* *Rome* had no enemy to contend with either in *Greece* or *Africa*, the imperious republic having put it out of the power of the conquered people to raise new disturbances. However, she was not yet in a condition to lay down her arms, and suffer her citizens, after so many labours, to enjoy

Viriathus gains
great advan-
tages over the
Romans in
Spain.

enjoy at home the sweets of peace. She had still a troublesome war to maintain in ^a Spain, where the brave *Viriathus* had gained great advantages over all the generals, who had been sent against him, during the late *Punic* war. After the defeat and death of *Vitellius*, of whom we have spoken above, the *Lusitanian* had augmented his forces, and defeated in three pitched battles the prætors *Caius Plantius Hypsæus*, and *Claudius Unimanus*, though they led against him very numerous armies. As he had been victorious for six years together, putting the *Romans* to flight where-ever he met them, he had drawn off whole nations from *Rome*, and laid waste the countries of her most faithful allies. The senate therefore thought it necessary to send a consul of reputation with a consular army, into *Further Spain*, and chose for that expedition *Q. Fabius Æmilianus*, who had been just raised to the consulate with *L. Hostilius Mancinus*. ^b The latter had commanded the *Roman* fleet in *Africa*, two years before, in quality of prætor; the former was brother to the second *Africanus*, and son to *Paulus Æmilius*, but adopted into the *Fabian* family, whence he had the name of *Fabius*, and the surname of *Æmilianus*. While he continued at *Rome* to raise two new legions, *C. Lælius*, the friend of the second *Africanus*, to whom *Hither Spain* had fallen by lot, imbarqued without delay, and passing from his own province into *Further Spain*, convinced the *Lusitanian* general, that he was not invincible; and this is all we learn from history of this expedition. Some months after *Fabius* arrived, but spent the whole summer in inuring his new troops to the toils of war and discipline. The next year, when *Ser. Sulpicius Galba*, and *L. Aurel. Cotta*, were consuls, *Fabius*, who was continued in the ^c command of the army in *Spain*, gained two victories over *Viriathus*, and made himself master of two important places, which had been long in the hands of the rebels. However, on his return to *Rome* the senate did not judge his victories worthy of a triumph, which at this time was granted to such generals only as had killed at least five thousand of the enemy in one battle ^d.

But is defeated
by Q. Fabius.

Metellus gains
the ascendant
over Viriathus.

THE next year, *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, and *Appius Claudius Pulcher*, were raised to the consulate, and the former with the prætor *Q. Pompeius* appointed to carry on the war against *Viriathus*. *Pompeius* reached *Spain* before *Metellus*, and attacked *Viriathus* with some success. But he was afterwards worsted by the *Lusitanian*, driven out of the field, and obliged to shut himself up in *Corduba*. Soon after *Metellus* arrived, and offered ^d the enemy battle, which *Viriathus* declined; and then the consul, entering the country of the *Arevaca*, who had lately revolted, obliged the whole nation to submit upon his own terms. *Metellus* was an officer of great experience and personal bravery, very severe in keeping the soldiers to their duty, and the author of the famous saying, since put into the mouths of many generals, *If he thought that his coat could be privy to his designs, he would burn it* ^e. While *Metellus* was signalising himself in *Spain*, his colleague, who commanded an army in *Cisalpine Gaul*, forced the *Salassi* into a rebellion. This nation inhabited a province near the head of the *Po*, and had frequent disputes with their neighbours the *Insubres* about the *Druria*, which watered their country before it reached the borders of *Insubria*. This river then brought down ^e gold mixed with its sand, and the *Salassi* used several arts to gather the particles of this precious metal, before they were carried by the stream into the country of the *Insubres*. Of this the *Insubres* complained to the consul, who hereupon immediately entered the country of the *Salassi* in a hostile manner, and obliged them, contrary to their inclinations, to have recourse to arms in their own defence. The consul was defeated in a pitched battle, and lost five thousand of his men. Upon the news of this defeat the *Sibylline* books being consulted, the decemvirs declared, that all the forms of religion had not been observed in this hasty war with the *Salassi*. Hereupon the general was ordered to offer a sacrifice on the borders of the enemy's country. He obeyed, and then, the prejudices of religion giving the superstitious soldiery new courage, ^f he fought a second battle, defeated the *Salassi*, and killed five thousand of them in his turn. As soon as the campaign was ended, the consul returned to *Rome*, and demanded a triumph for having killed five thousand of the enemy in a pitched battle, which was the present rule: But as he had lost five thousand legionaries in a former battle, his petition was rejected. Hereupon the consul decreed himself that honour, and was the first who entered *Rome* triumphantly in spite of the senate and people. As he was advancing towards the capitol, a tribune of the people attempted to bring the victor down from his chariot. But his daughter *Claudia*, a vestal, whom he car-

The Salassi de-
feat the Ro-
mans, but are
in a second bat-
tle defeated by
them.

^a *AFRICAN. in Iberic.* ^b *Author. de vir. illustr. Plur. spoph.*

- a ried in the chariot with him, opposed the tribune, who after some altercations gave way, and in the person of *Claudia* shewed his regard both for her sex and profession. The conduct of the vestal was highly applauded by the people, but the consul was loaded with curses ^m.

THE following year, when *Q. Fabius Servilianus*, and *L. Cæcilius Metellus*, were consuls, *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, who was continued in *Spain* in quality of proconsul, pursued the war there, and displayed his strict regard to discipline among his own troops, and his humanity to the conquered, in so glorious a manner, that it is not easy to decide which did him most honour. As he could not bring *Viriathus* to a battle, he applied himself to the recovering of those places, which had sided with the *Lusitanian*.

- b He first laid siege to *Contrebia*, and having made a breach in the wall, appointed five manipuli to mount it. These were repulsed; but the general ordered them to renew the attack, without being reinforced; and then the shame of their former cowardice inspired them with such resolution, that they fought like lions, and in spite of all opposition carried the place. He then invested *Nertobrigia*, where he gave a remarkable instance of his humanity and good nature. A chief lord of the country, named *Rhetogenes*, came out of the place, and surrendered himself to the *Romans*. But as he had left in the city his wife and children, the inhabitants, enraged at his desertion, placed them in the breach, which the legionaries were to mount. Hereupon the good-natured general, finding he could not attack the city without spilling their blood, abandoned a certain conquest, and raised the siege. The fame of an act of

- c such humanity being soon spread through all *Tarragonian Spain*, the inhabitants of the revolted cities strove who should first submit to him. *Metellus* received them, and among the rest the *Nertobrigians*, into an alliance with *Rome*; and at length recovered the whole country except *Termantia* and *Numantia*ⁿ, of which cities we shall speak hereafter. Metellus recovers all Tarragonian Spain.

- ON the other hand, the consul *Servilianus*, who was engaged with *Viriathus* in *Further Spain*, gained at first some advantages over that brave commander; but in the end was defeated by him with the loss of three thousand legionaries. The *Lusitanian* would have taken the *Roman* camp, if he had not been prevented by a young *Roman*, The consul Servilianus defeated by Viriathus.
d named *Caius Fannius*, son-in-law to *Caius Lælius*, who putting himself at the head of the legionaries, sustained the attack of the enemy, till night coming on put an end to the conflict ^o.

- WHEN the time came for the great elections, *Q. Pompeius*, a man of a mean, if not of an infamous birth, was raised to the consulate in preference to *Caius Lælius*, though supported by the interest of his inseparable friend *Scipio Æmilianus*. The colleague given him was *Cn. Servilius Cæpio*, a patrician. In the same comitia *Servilianus* was appointed to continue the war in *Spain* as proconsul; whereas *Metellus* was only Metellus recalled.
e allowed to command in *Hisber Spain* till the arrival of his successor, though he earnestly solicited the favour, formerly granted to others, of finishing the war, which he had so happily begun. When he understood that *Pompey*, a man of no birth or merit, and besides, his personal enemy, was to succeed him, he resolved to make the best use of his time, and signalize himself by some great action before the arrival of his worthless successor. With this view he marched out of his quarters in the depth of the winter, entered the *further* province, and taking his rout towards *Lusitania*, where *Viriathus* had cantoned his troops, endeavoured, before he left *Spain*, to draw that His success in Spain.
f famous commander to a battle. But *Viriathus*, though proud and enterprising against others, kept himself wholly upon the defensive against *Metellus*, who thereupon overran great part of the country, and brought back *Escadia*, *Gemella*, *Obolcula* (T), and many other considerable cities to their duty. Some of the heads of the revolt were punished with death, and the rest, to the number of nine thousand five hundred, sold to the best bidder. Thus *Metellus* shewed what he could do, and would have done, had he been continued in his province; which was the chief point he had in view.

^m Liv. epit. l. liii. STRAB. l. iv. DIO. CASS. l. liii. ⁿ Liv. ibid. FRONT. Strat. l. iv. c. i. FLOR. l. i. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. ^o Liv. in epit. l. xxxv. EUTROP. l. iv. APPIAN. in Iberic.

(T) All we know of *Escadia* is, that it stood in the neighbourhood of *Bætica* and *Lusitania*. *Gemella*, called by *Pliny* *Tucci* and *Gemella Augusta*, stood, according to *Ambrosius Morales*, in the place where *Marior*, a small city of *Andalusia*, now stands. *Obolcula*, which *Antoninus* and *Ptolemy* call *Obolcula*, was

a city of *Turdetania*, a province of *Bætica*. *Rodericus Carus* is of opinion, that it stood on the spot, where *Castillo de la Monclova* was afterwards built, that is, forty-two miles east of *Seville*. This situation agrees with *Antoninus's* itinerary.

His resentment.

But in the height of his success, news was brought him, that his successor had left ^a Rome; and then his resentment revived; he vented his passion, first, in rash expressions, and then in actions, which were much more blameable. In the height of his passion, he resolved to weaken the army he was to deliver up. With this view he disbanded the flower of his troops, exhausted the magazines, let his elephants die, broke in pieces the arrows which were provided for the *Cretan* archers, and threw them into the river. Thus *Metellus*, famous for the conquest of *Macedon*, whence he had the glorious surname of *Macedonicus*, and one of the best commanders Rome had, sacrificed the good of his country to his own private ambition. On his return he was refused a triumph; the slightest punishment the republic could inflict upon him. But after all the army, which *Metellus* surrendered up to *Pompey*, consisted of thirty thousand ^b foot, and two thousand horse, a sufficient force to have subdued all *Celtiberia*, if the new general had had the conduct and experience of his predecessor. He no sooner appeared in the field, than the *Termantians* and *Numantines*, who had kept themselves in a state of independency, offered him very advantageous terms of peace.

The occasion of the Numantine war.

The Numantines and Termantians gain considerable advantages over the Romans.

But the presumptuous consul imprudently and obstinately insisted upon their delivering up their arms, and thereby kindled a war, which cost the Romans a great deal of blood. The consul, full of confidence, drew near *Numantia*, and invested it; but the *Numantines* having first surrounded and cut in pieces a party of Romans, fell afterwards upon the main body of the army; and so galled them from the neighbouring eminences with showers of darts and arrows, that the consul thought it adviseable to ^c retire. Accordingly, he removed to *Termantia*; but was not attended with better success before this city, than before the other. The very first day the *Termantians* killed seven hundred of his legionaries, took a great convoy, which was coming to the Roman camp, after having put to flight the tribune who escorted it, and not only defeated a considerable body of Roman horse, but forced them to retire from post to post, till they came to the edge of a precipice, where they pushed both men and horses down over one another; so that they were all dashed to pieces among the rocks. The *Termantians* continued in the field all night, in order to engage the rest of the Roman cavalry the next day; which they did accordingly; but the enemy being far superior to them in numbers, they were forced to quit the field, after having kept their ground ^d from break of day to sun-set. The number of the slain was equal on both sides; but the loss, which was a very considerable one to a small nation, was scarce felt by the Romans. However, the consul did not think fit to besiege the city; but marched to *Malia*, a small town, whose inhabitants surrendered to the Romans, after having massacred the *Numantine* garison. From thence the consul advanced to *Lanci*, or, as others call it, *Lagni*, which covered the country of the *Numantines*. The *Numantine* garison, finding that the inhabitants had privately agreed with the consul to sacrifice them, entered their houses in the night, and made a dreadful slaughter of them. The consul, taking advantage of this intestine war, gave orders for the assault, and made himself, without opposition, master of the defenceless city. *Pompey*, seeing ^e himself in possession of the place, thought it necessary to signalize his clemency and severity: but unluckily he misapplied them both; for he put the *Lancians* to the sword, and gave quarter to the *Numantian* garison. Such were the exploits of *Pompey*, after having kindled the *Numantian* war, and exasperated a brave people, whom he might have reduced upon terms very advantageous for his republic.

IN Further Spain the proconsul *Servilianus* opened the campaign with success, having obliged *Viriathus* to raise the siege of *Baccia*, and taken some castles in that neighbourhood. This encouraged the consul to lay siege to *Erisana*, a strong city in *Lusitania*. But *Viriathus* having by long marches reached the place, and got into it with a strong detachment in the night, before the lines of circumvallation were finished, ^f made a vigorous sally upon the Romans, and drove them to a place where the rest of his army lay in ambush. There they were surrounded on all sides, and so hemmed in, that the only choice they had left was death or slavery. The brave *Lusitanian*, having now the proconsul and the whole Roman army in his power, instead of putting them all to the sword, as he might have easily done, sent a deputation to *Servilianus*, offering to conclude a peace with him on this single condition; That he should continue master of the country now in his power, and that the Romans should remain possessed of the rest of Spain. The proconsul, who expected nothing less than

• APPIAN. *ibid.* VAL. MAX. l. ix. c. 3.
c. 4. FRONT. *Strat.* l. iv. VAL. MAX. l. ii. c. 3.

• APPIAN. *ibid.* DIODOR. SICUL. in *eclog.* OROS. l. v.

death

- a death or slavery, thought these very favourable and moderate terms; and therefore without hesitation concluded a peace, signed it, and got it soon after ratified by the Roman senate and people. Thus *Viriathus* at length put in execution the glorious design he had always had in view, which was to erect himself a kingdom in the vast country he conquered from the republic.^a And indeed, had it not been for the treachery of the Romans, he would have become, as an ancient author calls him, the *Romulus of Spain*.^c He would have founded a monarchy capable of counterbalancing the power of Rome, or at least of setting bounds to her conquests in those parts.
- THE next year C. *Lælius* was promoted to the consulate with Q. *Servilius Cæpio*. The latter was a man of no probity or honor; but however, it fell to his lot to command in Further Spain, while *Lælius*, a general of experienced wisdom, equity and valor, continued inactive in Rome. Pompey was continued general in Hither Spain; but the republic sent a certain number of senators to regulate his conduct, and temper his fire. Before they arrived, he undertook the mad project of reducing *Numantia*, by turning the stream of the *Durius*, which supplied it with water. This gave the inhabitants an opportunity of harassing his troops, and cutting off such numbers of them, that he was at length obliged to abandon the enterprize, and retire from before the place. And now the great army he had received from *Metellus*, being reduced to a very small number of troops, he began to reflect seriously on his misconduct; and in order to screen himself from censures, very artfully brought about a peace with the *Numantians* on worse terms than they had before offered him; for they only agreed to deliver up the Roman deserters, and pay the republic thirty talents at different times. However, this peace was approved of, and signed both by Pompey and the senators, who had been sent from Rome to be of his council. In the mean time Q. *Servilius Cæpio*, to whose lot Further Spain had fallen, being desirous to revenge the disgrace the Romans had suffered the last year before *Erisana*, pressed the senate to order him to break the peace with *Viriathus*. The letters he wrote after his arrival in Spain, and his continual remonstrances, made such impressions on the senate, that they basely directed him to exasperate the *Lusitanian* by mean artifices, and force him by repeated affronts to commit the first acts of hostility. Pursuant to this order, which was so unworthy of a great and powerful people, the consul did all he could to pick a quarrel with *Viriathus*; but he overlooked the affronts offered him, protesting, that he would inviolably observe the conditions of the peace granted him by the Roman senate and people. The consul, finding he could not by any means stir up the *Lusitanian* to an open breach, made fresh applications to the senate; and the conscript fathers, to the eternal shame of their republic, ordered him to declare war; and proclaimed *Viriathus*, who had not given them the least provocation, an enemy to Rome. The consul was no sooner impowered to begin the war, than he put his troops in motion, and having made himself master of *Arsa*, a city of *Bætica*, he pursued *Viriathus* into the country of the *Carpetani*, and there reduced him to great straits.
- c But the *Lusitanian* made a most glorious retreat, and though the consul believed him shut in among the hills and rocks on all sides, he disappeared with his troops so suddenly, that the Romans, when they returned to their camp, turned the affair into ridicule, and were very severe in their jests on their general. *Cæpio* seeing himself thus deluded by the enemy, entered the country of the *Vestones*, and committed there most dreadful devastations. He then marched in quest of *Viriathus*, whom he reduced so low, having an army far superior in number to his, that the *Lusitanian* was forced to sue again for peace, and even to comply with the hard preliminary imposed upon him, which was to sacrifice all those who had caused any cities to revolt from the Romans, among whom was his wife's father. He put some of them to death in his own camp, and the rest he delivered up to the severity of the consul, who cut off their right hands. He hoped, that this blind obedience would soften the consul. But to his great surprise, the next order he received was to disarm his troops; this the whole army rejected with great indignation, and hostilities were renewed, during which *Viriathus* continued his negotiations with the consul, being wholly bent on founding a new kingdom in Spain, and settling himself on the throne. The persons he employed to treat with *Cæpio* were *Audax*, *Ditalco*, and *Minur*, in whom he reposed an intire confidence. But the consul finding them, after some private conferences, to be men wholly devoted to their own interest, and capable of any crime, by which

The proconsul
Servilianus
forced to make
peace with Vi-
riathus.

A peace with
the Numan-
tians.

The baseness
and injustice of
the Romans.

^a APPIAN. LIV. DIODOR. SICUL. *ibid.*

^c FLOR. l. ii. c. 17.

The infamous
conduct of
Cæpio.

they could promote it, engaged them by rich presents and great promises basely and treacherously to murder their general and their friend in his sleep. Thus the Romans now began to have no regard to the law of nations, to public faith, or to humanity itself. The assassins, after they had committed the execrable murder, fled to the consul's camp, informed him, that they had dispatched his rival, and demanded the promised reward. But they found by experience, that traitors are hated even by those who profit by their treachery. For the consul told them, that all he would do for them was to give them protection, adding with a reproachful air, that the Roman magistrates were not very ready to reward those who murdered their own generals. The Lusitanian troops were inconsolable for the loss of their commander, who was, without all doubt, the greatest man Spain ever bred, and deemed invincible by Rome herself. After his death the Lusitanians appointed one Tantalus to command them, who having rashly undertaken the siege of Saguntum, was surprised by Cæpio, defeated, and forced to surrender himself and his whole army at discretion. And thus an end was put to this troublesome war, after it had lasted fourteen years. However, the senate had still so much honour left, as to refuse a triumph to the infamous consul, though they enjoyed the fruits of his villainy, and even continued him in the command of the army another year in Further Spain with the title of proconsul.

The war in
Further Spain
ended.

THE next year, when Lucius Calpurnius Piso, and M. Popilius Lænas, were consuls, the republic basely and unjustly broke the treaty, which Pompey had concluded with the Numantians, though the proconsul had received from those unfortunate people the deserters, hostages, and money stipulated. The following year, P. Scipio Nasica, and D. Junius Brutus, were advanced to the consulate, and the latter appointed to govern Further Spain, where he executed the orders he brought from Rome, of settling some of the veterans in a colony with Viriatus's soldiers. This new colony he called Valentia, which in process of time became a place of great renown. After this he attacked the banditti, who ravaged his province, in their own country, which not only the men, but likewise the women, defended with unparalleled bravery. However, the consul at length reduced, and in regard of their courage, pardoned them. In the mean time Popilius, now proconsul, pursuant to the orders he received from the senate, broke the treaty of peace with Numantia, and marched against that city. But he no sooner appeared before it, than the Numantians, sallying out, put the whole Roman army to flight, and made such a slaughter of them, that they were not in a condition to make any further attempts, during the whole campaign. In the following consulate of M. Æmilius Lepidus, and C. Hostilius Mancinus, Brutus passed the Minus in Further Spain, and entered the country of the Bracarini, where the women, intermixed with all their troops, fought with astonishing bravery. They engaged the legionaries without betraying the least fear, killed many of them, and were themselves cut in pieces without a shriek. Nevertheless Talabrisia and other cities surrendered; and the consul, rather by his clemency, than by his sword, gained over the whole country to the interest of Rome.

The Romans
defeated before
Numantia.

DURING these expeditions of Brutus in Further Spain, the consul Mancinus took upon him the command of the army, which was delivered up to him by Popilius in Hiber Spain, and drew near to Numantia. But as those brave legionaries, who were the terror of the whole world, trembled at the very sight, nay, at the bare name of a Numantine, the consul thought it adviseable to decamp, and move farther off in the night. But the Numantines, being informed of their motions, pursued them, and having first seized the camp, which they had abandoned, came up with the flying legions, and made a dreadful havock of them. The consular army consisted of at least thirty thousand, whereas the Numantines were not above four thousand. Nevertheless, this small body, as strange as it may appear, killed in the pursuit twenty thousand of the Romans, and put the rest to a disorderly flight. At the return of light the consul saw himself surrounded by heaps of dead bodies, and shut in on all sides by the enemy in a rough and mountainous country. But in this sad situation, instead of giving himself up to despair, he acted as prudence and the present necessity seemed to require. As there was no way left for him and the poor remains of his army to escape, the prudent consul began a negotiation with the enemy, offering to conclude a peace with them upon reasonable terms. This was what the Numantines had long desired; but nevertheless, the bad success of their agreement with the consul

The Numantines
intirely
defeat the Ro-
man army.

* APPIAN. in Iberic. DIODOR. SICUL. apud VALES. Auth. de vir. illustr. BRAT. l. iii. c. 17. APPIAN. ibid.

* LIV. in epit. FRONT.

- a *Pompeius* deterred them from entering into a treaty with a *Roman* general. They therefore desired to treat only with *Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus*, who was then *quæstor* in the consular army, and greatly esteemed for his probity even by the enemy. With him the conferences were begun, and a peace concluded upon these terms: 1. That the *Numantines* should suffer the *Romans* to retire unmolested: 2. That the inhabitants of *Numantia* should maintain their independence, and be reckoned among the friends of the *Roman* people. The consul, the *quæstor*, and all the chief officers of the *Roman* army, bound themselves by a solemn oath inviolably to observe the second article. By this means the lives of ten thousand citizens were saved to the republic; so that the *quæstor* hoped to make a merit of his negotiation with the *Roman* people.
- b The *Numantines*, soon after the treaty was concluded, gave an instance of the sincerity of their intentions. When they plundered the *Roman* camp, they had taken among other things the *quæstor's* books of accòmpts; and *Gracchus* went into the city to demand them. The *Numantines* received him with great civility and politeness, restored him his books, and even offered him all the booty they had taken in the camp. But the *quæstor*, charmed with the generosity and good-nature of the *Numantines*, rejected the offer, and accepted only of a small box, which belonged to him, and was full of the incense which he used to burn in honour of his domestic gods.

They conclude
a peace with
the Romans.

- WHEN news of the peace concluded with the *Numantines* was brought to *Rome*, the shocking injustice and baseness of the *Romans* towards so generous an enemy appeared anew. The *Numantines* had saved the lives of ten thousand *Romans*, who were in their power, when the peace was concluded; but though the senate and people were glad to reap this advantage from the treaty, yet they resolved to break it; and therefore would not admit the *Numantine* ambassadors, on their first arrival, within the walls of the city. 'Tis true, that when the new consuls, *P. Furius Philus*, and *Sex. Atilius Serranus* were chosen, they granted them an audience, when one of the ambassadors made a speech in the senate, which would have affected them, if they had had any sense of justice or humanity. But as these virtues had now forsaken *Rome*, the senate and people basely and unjustly resolved to break the peace, and extirpate that generous and innocent people, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the consul, the *quæstor*, and all the officers of the army who had served in *Spain*. They pretended to make the injured *Numantines* satisfaction, by ordering the consul *Mancinus* to be carried, bound hand and foot, to one of the gates of *Numantia*, and be there delivered up to the enemy, stripped of his arms and cloaths.

The baseness
and injustice of
the Romans.

- DURING these transactions at *Rome*, *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, who had been sent to succeed *Mancinus* in *Hither Spain*, began an unjust war with the *Vaccæi*, purely for the sake of finding himself work. But while he was preparing to besiege *Palantia*, their capital, deputies came from *Rome* with a decree of the senate, ordering him to desist. However, *Æmilius* persisted in his design, till the *Vaccæi*, by intercepting his convoy, obliged him to decamp for want of provisions. The *Romans* left their camp in the night, and the *Vaccæi*, knowing in what confusion they retired, pursued them, and in the pursuit put six thousand legionaries to the sword. Nevertheless, *Æmilius*, on his return to *Rome*, was treated with more lenity than he expected, being condemned only to pay a fine. And now the consul, *P. Furius Philus*, being arrived in *Spain* with orders to renew the war with the *Numantines*, thought it necessary in the first place to deliver up to them the victim he had brought from *Rome*. It was an affecting sight to see a consular man, who had lately appeared guarded by lictors, at the head of a flourishing army, now deprived of all the marks of a *Roman* citizen, stripped naked to the waist, and formally committed to the care of a *secialis*, who was to put him into the hands of the enemy, for having, as was pretended, imposed upon them by a false peace, and an unlawful oath. But the *Numantines*, not thinking the blood of one man a sufficient atonement for the breach of the most solemn engagements, shut their gates, declaring that they would not accept of *Mancinus*, unless they had the whole army with him. So that after he had lain a whole day at the gate of the city, the consul *Furius*, agreeable to the equity of the *Romans* of that time, thinking this a sufficient satisfaction to the injured people, brought him back to his camp, entertained him with respect, and restored him to all the rights of a *Roman* citizen; nay, he was afterwards admitted to his place in the senate. The war with the *Numantines*, though already declared, was not renewed while *Furius* continued in *Spain*, his commission

The Romans
defeated by the
Vaccæi.

Mancinus de-
livered up to
the Numan-
tines, who re-
fuse to accept
him.

* LIV. in epit. PLUT. in Gracch. APPIAN. in Iberic.
VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. OROS. l. v. c. 5. CIC. de off. l. iii.
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W PLUT. in Gracch. APPIAN. in Iberic.

Brutus makes
great conquests
in Lusitania.

being, it seems, confined to the delivering up of *Mancinus*. But the next year, *a*
Q. Calpurnius Piso, who was chosen consul with *Ser. Fulvius Flaccus*, was ordered to
carry on the war with vigor against the *Numantines*. But he not caring to engage so
brave and resolute an enemy, contented himself with besieging *Palantia* in the coun-
try of the *Vaccæi*, and did not so much as appear before *Numantia*. But *Brutus* made
great conquests in *Lusitania*, and penetrated into the country of the *Callaici* or *Gallaci*,
where he engaged an army of sixty thousand *Spaniards*, killed fifty thousand of them
on the spot, made six thousand prisoners, and almost extirpated the whole nation.
Hence he acquired the surname of *Callaicus*, and was continued in his government,
till the war should be ended. This year the *Vardæi*, a people of *Illyricum*, rebelled,
and rejected all amicable measures. Whereupon the consul *Flaccus* was sent with an *b*
army to reduce them; which he did so effectually, that *Rome* at his return honoured
him with a triumph *.

Scipio Afri-
canus sent
against the
Numantines.

IN the mean while the time for the elections being come, *Scipio Africanus* offered
his nephew *Fabius Buteo* as a candidate for the questorship, when to his great surprise
the tribes demanded to have *Scipio* himself for their consul, saying, that he only could
destroy *Numantia*, who had destroyed *Carthage*. A law had been made some years
before, enacting, that the same person should not be twice promoted to the consular
dignity. The tribunes of the people therefore, in order to honour *Scipio* with the fasces
a second time with the approbation of the senate, proposed to the comitia, that *Scipio*
should have a special privilege granted him for his promotion, and that this privilege *c*
should not be made a precedent. The people accepted the proposal with joy, and
nominated him consul for the next year with *C. Fulvius Flaccus*. *Scipio* was ordered,
without drawing lots, to carry on the war against the *Numantines*, but was not allowed
to raise any new levies, the senate telling him that there were soldiers enough in
Spain, and that they only wanted a good general. However, he drew together a
body of about five hundred volunteers, all horsemen, whom he called the *squadron of*
his friends, and borrowed about four thousand men of the cities in *Italy*. In the
number of the former, was, according to *Velleius Paterculus*, the famous poet *Lucilius*.
He also wrote to *Micipsa*, king of *Numidia*, to send him succours, and then made all
haste to his province, where he wisely spent the first summer in reforming his troops, *d*
till he had altered them to his wish; and frugality, vigilance, and a love of duty,
had taken place of effeminacy, laziness, and indolence, which had long prevailed
among the officers as well as the soldiers. Neither did he spare, but rather increase
their labours, during the winter. He obliged every man that went out of the camp,
to carry his tools, and bring back some stakes with him. When the soldiers com-
plained of this hardship, he told them, that he would oblige them to bring palisades
to fortify the camp, till they had learnt to fortify it with their swords †. At this time
he received a reinforcement of cavalry, elephants, and slingers from *Numidia*. They
were a choice body, but what most distinguished them was the young prince, who
commanded them, by name *Jugurtha*, a prince with whom the *Romans* will be but *e*
too well acquainted hereafter. Young *Marius* made on this occasion his first cam-
paign, and the brave prince entered into so strict a friendship with him, that he was
inseparable from him, little suspecting that *Marius* would one day become his most
cruel enemy, and his conqueror.

AND now *Scipio's* consulship expired; but he was continued in the command of
the *Roman* army in *Spain*, till such time as *Numantia* should be reduced. The new
consuls chosen were *P. Mucius Scævola* (U), and *L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi*. *Sicily* fell
by lot to the latter, where he was to make war with the revolted slaves; and *Italy* to
the former, who continued in the capital to calm, if possible, the spirit of sedition,
which began to appear there. *Scipio*, as soon as the season would permit, sent out *f*
large detachments to ravage the country round *Numantia*; for his scheme was to
reduce the place, not by force, which would have cost *Rome* much blood, but by
famine. After he had found that his troops were no longer afraid of the enemy, but
boldly faced them, and even put them to flight, he began to put some confidence in

† FLOR. l. ii. c. 18. OROS. l. v. c. 5. LIV. epit. l. lvi. * FLOR. l. ii. c. 18. APPIAN. ibid. PLUT.
in apoph.

(U) This is the same *P. Mucius Scævola*, whom
Cicero extolls in several places of his works, as one
of the most able civilians, and most virtuous citizens

of *Rome*. Several of the same name have been fa-
mous for their virtue and probity, which seem to
have been hereditary in the *Mucius* family.

his

a his legionaries, and resolved to begin the siege, or rather, the blockade, without delay.

Numantia stood on a hill of a difficult access, and had large fields within its walls, Numantia besieged. which were about three miles in compass. The inhabitants, able to bear arms, are said

to have been only four thousand men, at least when the place was first invested by *Scipio*, whose army consisted of three-score thousand well disciplined troops, *Romans* and *Spaniards*. These the proconsul divided into two bodies, the one commanded by himself, the other by his brother *Q. Fabius*, and drawing near to the city, began his works. The *Numantines*, alarmed at the sight of so formidable an army, made again proposals of peace; but the proconsul insisting upon their delivering up, by way

b of preliminary, their city, their persons, and their arms, to be disposed of at pleasure, they resolved to prefer a glorious death to an ignominious slavery. After they had taken this resolution, they marched out of the city in good order, insulted the *Romans* in their trenches, and with a boldness, which despair alone could inspire, offered the *Roman* general battle. But he declined it, saying to his soldiers, who began to complain of his conduct, that an able general ought never to hazard a battle, unless necessity compels him, or such an opportunity offers as makes the victory certain. The *Numantines*, said he, are actuated by despair; their ruin is inevitable; to engage them would be only giving them the pleasure of shedding your blood. *Scipio*, having thus restrained the impetuosity of his troops, surrounded the place with a wide and deep

c ditch, six miles in compass. Without this he drew another; and behind that raised a rampart, which he secured with palisades, and supported with a wall eight foot broad, and ten foot high, with towers at proper distances. Then to prevent any communication with the city by water, he stopped the navigation of the *Durius*, which washed the walls of the city, with a kind of *steccado*, which was flanked with two wooden castles on the two banks. When the works were finished, he guarded them carefully night and day. The ramparts were lined with legionaries, the towers filled with archers and slingers, and men posted all the way from the circumvallation to his camp, with orders to give notice by shouts on which side the alarm was given. When any of the works were attacked by the besieged, the commander on the post attacked,

d hung out a red standard by day, and made a great fire by night; upon which notice the general, who kept always twenty thousand men in a readiness to march, sent them immediately strong reinforcements to drive back the enemy. *Scipio* gave no rest to the besieged, nor relaxation to his own troops. He visited each post every day, and took a view of all the parts of this vast circumvallation. But notwithstanding all the precaution he could use, six of the besieged made their way through his camp, and eluding the vigilance of the centries, got safe to the neighbouring cities, which they endeavoured to stir up against the *Romans*. But *Lulia* was the only place, which did more than pity the unfortunate *Numantines*. The youth of this city, touched with concern for their distressed countrymen, resolved to march to their relief. But the old men in the place, having more at heart their own safety, than that of the *Numantines*, acquainted *Scipio* with the resolution and designs of their youth. Hereupon the general, without delay, flew to *Lulia* in person with some light-armed troops, marched three hundred furlongs in eight hours, and arriving, when least expected, at *Lulia*, demanded the rash young men to be delivered up to him. The inhabitants, unwilling to comply with his request, and part with their children, concealed them, and pretended they had made their escape. But *Scipio*, threatening to pillage the city, they thought it adviseable to obey, and delivered up to him four hundred of the young men, who had been the chief promoters of the late resolution. The proconsul no sooner had them in his power, than he caused their right hands to be

f cut off, and returned to his camp by sun-rising.

AND now famine and despair increasing together in the besieged city, five embassadors came out to *Scipio*, intreating him in the name of their countrymen, either to let them end their days, like brave men, in a general action, or save their liberty by an honourable capitulation. *Abarus*, who was at the head of the embassy, suggested to *Scipio*, that it was for his honour, either to shew clemency to a people, who had so bravely signalized their love for liberty, or at least not to destroy them otherwise than with the sword. But they received this short answer; I will hearken to no proposals, till you have absolutely surrendered up to me your city, your persons, and

Numantia reduced to great straits.

your arms, without any reserve. Then the fury of the besieged first vented itself on the deputies, whom they cut in pieces for bringing them nothing but ill news. Afterwards, being pressed by want, they resolved to make a last effort in order to break through the barriers, which confined them; accordingly, they marched out in good order by two gates, and fell upon the works with a fury not to be expressed. Their fixed resolution to die or escape, made them insensible of the many wounds they received. In spite of the continual showers of stones, darts, and arrows, which were discharged upon them from the ramparts and towers, they would have forced their way through the enemy's camp, had not *Scipio* himself, at the head of twenty thousand men, hastened to the relief of the troops that defended the posts attacked by the enemy. They were then, after a sharp dispute, forced to give way to numbers, and retire, which they did in good order. But their returning into the city was only changing one kind of death for another. For they were now reduced to such straits as to feed first on the flesh of their horses, afterwards on that of their dead companions, and lastly, to kill and devour one another. Thus did these poor citizens, who were formerly so firmly united in carrying on their common interest, make war on themselves in a much more cruel manner, than any common enemy could have done. In this deplorable condition they held a consultation, wherein it was resolved, that they should have recourse to the proconsul, and make an absolute surrender, since they could by no means hold out any longer. However, this resolution was not universally approved. Great numbers chose rather to die, than to give up their liberty; and shutting themselves up in their houses, there calmly waited for the fate, which hunger soon brought upon them. The rest sent a deputation to *Scipio*, who was touched with compassion at the sight of those unhappy men. There was something inexpressibly wild in their air, and a savageness even in the manner they addressed him. As soon as they mentioned the word *surrender*, the proconsul received them graciously, and ordered them to bring all their arms to a place appointed the next day. But they demanded a longer time, which being granted, they set fire to their houses, as some historians tell us, reduced their city to ashes, and either killed one another, or perished in the flames; inasmuch, that not one of them remained alive to grace the proconsul's triumph. But *Appian*^a assures us, that two days after the time allotted, a considerable number of those unhappy wretches came to the place appointed, and surrendered their arms, and that *Scipio*, having reserved fifty of them for his triumph, sold the rest to the best bidder. Be that as it will, thus much may be said in honour of those brave *Spaniards*, that though they were few in number, no other people so long resisted the Roman forces, so often defeated the consular armies, or brought so much disgrace both on the generals and senate of *Rome*. *Numantia*, though infinitely inferior both to *Carthage* and *Corinth*, was much more glorious in her fall, than either of these proud cities. *Scipio* took *Carthage* sword in hand; but did not think it possible to reduce *Numantia* otherwise than by famine. With this city fell all the hopes of the revolted *Spaniards*; so that the whole country immediately submitted to the Roman yoke. Then the senate sent ten of their body to settle the new province. But the *Spaniards* were too great lovers of liberty to continue long quiet. We shall see them often taking up arms, and renewing the war, till the emperor *Augustus* intirely reduced them, and settled them in *Spain*, as well as the rest of the then known world, in peace and tranquillity. *Scipio* on his return to *Rome* was honoured with a triumph; and on this occasion the Roman people added the surname of *Numantinus* to that of *Africanus*.

Numantia, while in being, had brought numberless disasters upon *Rome*; but in some sense, proved still more fatal to her after her destruction. Her ashes, if we may be allowed the expression, stirred up the first sedition, which polluted the capitol with blood, and was a prelude to those cruel civil wars, which afterwards broke out successively in the republic, and cost her the lives of more citizens than the conquest of the world. We mean the sedition raised by *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, which it may not be improper to trace up to its first source. The *Sempronian* family, from which *Tib. Gracchus* was descended, was, though plebeian, one of the most illustrious in the commonwealth. *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, the father of this *Gracchus*, had been twice raised to the consulate, was a great general, and had been honoured with two triumphs. But he was still more renowned for his domestic virtues and probity, than for his birth or valor. He married the daughter of the first *Africanus*, that famous *Cornelia*, who

Numantia utterly destroyed.
Year after the
flood 2871.
Before Christ
128.
Of Rome 620.

The birth and
education of
Tib. Sempro-
nus Gracchus.

^a FLOR. l. ii. c. 12. OROS. l. v. c. 7.

^b APPIAN. in Iberic.

- a was the pattern of her sex, and the prodigy of her age, and had by her several children, of whom three only arrived to maturity of age, *Tiberius Gracchus*, *Caius Gracchus*, and a daughter, named *Sempronia*, who was married to the *Second Africanus*. *Tiberius* the eldest was deemed the most accomplished youth in *Rome*, with respect to the qualities both of body and mind. His extraordinary talents were heightened by a noble air, an engaging countenance, and all those winning graces of nature which recommend merit. He made his first campaigns under his brother-in-law, and distinguished himself on all occasions by his courage, and the prudence of his conduct. When he returned to *Rome*, he applied himself to the study of eloquence, and at thirty years old was accounted the best orator of his age. He married the daughter
- b of *Appius Claudius*, who had been formerly consul and censor, and was then prince of the senate. He continued for some time in the sentiments both of his own and his wife's family, and supported the interest of the patricians; but without openly attacking the popular faction. We have observed above, that he discharged the office of quæstor in *Spain*, whither he attended the consul *Mancinus*, and shared with him the misfortunes of that unhappy campaign. He was the chief author and negotiator of that shameful, but necessary peace with the *Numantines*. The senate, with the utmost injustice, disannulled the treaty, and condemned the consul, the quæstor, and all the officers, who had signed it, to be delivered up to the *Numantines*. The people indeed, out of esteem for *Gracchus*, would not suffer him to be sacrificed; but however, he
- c had just reason to complain both of the senate and people for passing so scandalous a decree against his general and himself, and breaking a treaty, whereby the lives of so many citizens had been saved. But as the senate had chiefly promoted such base and iniquitous proceedings, he resolved in due time to shew his resentment against the party which had most contributed to his disgrace. In order to this, he stood for the tribuneship of the people, which he no sooner obtained, than he resolved to attack the nobility in the most tender part. They had usurped lands unjustly; cultivated them by slaves to the great detriment of the public, and had lived for about two hundred and fifty years in open defiance to the *Licinian law*, by which it was enacted, that no citizen should possess more than five hundred acres. This law
- d *Tib. Gracchus* resolved to revive, and by that means revenge himself on the patricians. But it was not revenge alone which prompted him to imbarque in so dangerous an attempt. It is pretended, that his mother *Cornelia* animated him to undertake something worthy both of his and her family. *I am commonly called*, said she, *by way of honour, the mother-in-law of the Second Africanus. Why don't they style me the mother of Gracchus? It is because your name is not so illustrious as to reflect any honour upon me. For your own sake then, and for your mother's, make yourself famous by some great attempt.* These reproaches of his mother, the authority of some great men, namely of his father-in-law *Appius Claudius*, of *P. Crassus* the *Pontifex Maximus*, and of *Mucius Scævola*, the most learned civilian in *Rome*, and his natural thirst after glory, joined
- e with an eager desire of revenge, conspired to draw him into this most unfortunate scheme. The law, as he first drew it up, was very mild; for it only enacted, that those who possessed more than five hundred acres of land, should part with the overplus, and that the full value of the said lands should be paid them out of the public treasury. The lands, thus purchased by the public, were to be divided among the poor citizens, and cultivated either by themselves, or by freemen, who were upon the spot. *Tiberius* allowed every child of a family to hold two hundred and fifty acres in his own name, over and above what was allowed to the father. Nothing could be more mild than this new law; since by the *Licinian* he might have absolutely deprived the rich of the lands they unjustly possessed, and made them accountable for the profits
- f they had received from them during their long possession. But the rich patricians could not so much as bear the name of the *Licinian law*, though thus qualified. Those chiefly of the senatorial and equestrian order exclaimed against it, and were continually mounting the rostra one after another in order to dissuade the people from accepting a law, which, they said, would raise disturbances, that might prove more dangerous than the evils which *Tiberius* pretended to redress by the promulgation of it. Thus the zealous tribune was obliged day after day to enter the lists with fresh adversaries; but he ever got the better of them both in point of eloquence and argument. He often intermixed with his solid arguments such topics as were most proper to make impressions on the multitude. *The wild beasts*, said he, *have dens and caverns to retire to; while the citizens of Rome have not so much as a roof or a cottage to shelter them from*

*He undertakes
the revival of
the Licinian
law.*

The Sempronian law.

the inclemency of the weather ; nay, not so much as ground enough to serve them for a grave. ^a
 On the other hand, the rich insisted on the length of their possession, on the debts they had contracted by purchasing these lands, and on the strange confusion which such a change would occasion in families, since these estates were settled on their wives and children. But *Gracchus* answered all their objections so clearly and fully as left no room for any reply. *Cicero*, who read the speeches of *Gracchus*, tells us, that he admitted them more for the ingenious turns and solid reasons he found in them, than for the purity of the language, which was not yet in its perfection ^b. The people were charmed to hear him maintain the cause of the unfortunate with so much success, and bestowed on him the highest commendations. The rich therefore had recourse to violence and calumny, in order to destroy, or at least to discredit, the tribune. ^b
 It is said, they hired assassins to dispatch him ; but they could not put their wicked design in execution, *Gracchus* being always attended to and from the rostra, by a guard of about four thousand men. His adversaries therefore endeavoured to ruin his reputation by the blackest calumnies. They gave out, that he aimed at monarchy, and published pretended plots laid for crowning him king. But the people, without giving ear to such groundless reports, made it their whole business to encourage their tribune, who was hazarding both his life and reputation for their sake ^c.

Gracchus gains the favour of the people.

WHEN the day came on which this law was to be accepted or rejected by the people assembled in the comitium, *Gracchus* began with haranguing the mighty croud, which an affair of such importance had brought together both from the city and country. ^c
 In his speech he shewed the justice of the law with so much eloquence, made so moving a description of the miseries of the meaner sort of people, and at the same time set forth in such odious colours the usurpation of the public lands, and the immense riches which the avarice and rapaciousness of the great had raked together, that the people, transported with fury, demanded with loud cries the billets, that they might give their suffrages. Then *Gracchus*, finding the minds of the citizens in that warmth and emotion, which was necessary for the success of his design, ordered the law to be read.

Octavius one of the tribunes opposes the law.

But unluckily, one of the tribunes, by name *Marcus Octavius Cæcina*, who had always professed a great friendship for *Gracchus*, having been gained over by the patricians, declared against the proceedings of his friend and colleague, and pronounced the word ^d which had been always awful in the mouth of a tribune of the people, *Veto, I forbid it*. As *Octavius* was a man of an unblamable character, and had hitherto been very zealous for the publication of the law, *Gracchus* was greatly surpris'd at this unexpected opposition from his friend. However, he kept his temper, and only desired the people to assemble again the next day, to hear their two tribunes, one in defence of, the other in opposition to, the law proposed. The people met at the time appointed, when *Gracchus*, addressing himself to his colleague, conjured him by the mutual duties of their function, and by the bonds of their ancient friendship, not to oppose the good of the people, whom they were bound in honour to protect against the usurpations of the great : nay, taking his colleague aside, he addressed him thus ; ^e
Perhaps you are personally concerned to oppose this law ; if so, I mean, if you have more than the five hundred acres allowed, I myself, poor as I am, engage to pay you in money what you will lose in land. But *Octavius*, either out of shame, or from a principle of

Gracchus suspends all the magistrates from their functions.

honour, continued immoveable in the party he had embraced. *Gracchus* therefore had recourse to another expedient, which was to suspend all the magistrates in Rome from the execution of their offices. It was lawful for any tribune to take this step, when the passing of the law, which he proposed, was prevented by mere chicanery. After this he assembled the people anew, and made a second attempt to succeed in his design. When all things were got ready for collecting the suffrages, the rich privately conveyed away the urns, in which the tablets were kept. This kindled the ^f tribunes indignation, and the rage of the people. A thousand confused noises arose in the assembly. The comitium was like to become a field of battle, when two venerable senators, *Manlius* and *Fulvius*, very seasonably interposed, and throwing themselves at the tribune's feet, prevailed upon him to submit his law to the judgment of the conscript fathers. This was making the senators judges in their own cause ; but *Gracchus* thought the law so undeniably just, that he could not persuade himself that they would reject it ; and if they did, he knew that the incensed multitude would no longer keep any measures with them ^g.

Gracchus submits his law to the judgment of the senate.

^a Cic. in Bruto. ^c Liv. epit. l. lviii. PLUT. in Gracch. APPIAN. de bell. civil. l. i. AUL. GELL. l. ii. c. 13. ^b PLUT. in Gracch. APPIAN. de bell. civil. l. i. Liv. epit. l. lviii.

- a THE senate, who wanted nothing but to gain time, affected delays, and came to no resolution. There were indeed some among them, who, out of a principle of equity, were for paying some regard to the complaints of the tribune, and for sacrificing their own interest to the relief of the distressed. But the far greater part would not hear of any composition whatsoever. Hereupon *Gracchus* brought the affair anew before the people, and earnestly intreated his colleague *Octavius* to drop his opposition in compassion to the many unfortunate people, for whom he interceded. *Brings it again before the people.* He put him in mind of their ancient friendship, took him by the hand, and affectionately embraced him. But still *Octavius* was inflexible. Hereupon *Gracchus* took an unjust, say some authors, but a necessary step to remove all opposition, and leave the people at liberty to vote. He resolved to deprive *Octavius* of his tribuneship, since he alone obstinately withstood the desires of the whole body of so great a people. Having therefore assembled the people, he told them, that since his colleague and he were divided in opinion, and the republic suffered by their division, it was the province of the tribes assembled in comitia to re-establish concord among their tribunes. *If the cause I maintain, said he, be, in your opinion, unjust, I am ready to give up my seat in the college. On the contrary, if you judge me worthy of being continued in your service in this station, deprive him of the tribuneship, who alone obstructs my wishes. As soon as you shall have nominated one to succeed him, the law will pass without opposition.* Having thus spoke, he dismissed the assembly, after having summoned them to meet again the next day.
- c AND now *Gracchus*, being foured with the opposition he had met with from the rich, and from his obstinate colleague, and being well apprised that the law would pass in any form, in which he should think fit to propose it, resolved to revive it, as it was at first passed, without abating any thing of its severity. There was no exception in favour of the children in families; or reimbursement promised to those who should part with the lands they possessed above five hundred acres. The next day the people being assembled in vast crowds on this extraordinary occasion, *Gracchus* made fresh applications to *Octavius*; but to no purpose; he obstinately persisted in his opposition. Then *Gracchus*, turning to the people, *Judge you, said he, which of us deserves to be deprived of his office.* At these words the first tribe voted, and declared for the deposition of *Octavius*. Upon which *Gracchus*, suspending the ardor of the tribes, made another effort to bring over his opponent by gentle methods. But all his endeavours proving ineffectual, the other tribes went on to vote in their turns, and followed the example of the first. Of five-and-thirty tribes, seventeen had already declared against *Octavius*, and the eighteenth was just going to determine the affair, when *Gracchus*, being willing to try once more whether he could reclaim his colleague, suspended the collecting of the suffrages; and addressing *Octavius* in the most pressing terms, conjured him not to expose himself, by his obstinacy, to so great a disgrace, nor to give him the grief of having cast a blemish upon his colleague and friend, which neither time nor merit would ever wipe off. *Hearken, dear Octavius, said he, hearken rather to the advice of a faithful friend, than to a factious cabal, who are interested to seduce you. Be persuaded to follow the inclinations of the Roman people. It is still in your power to reconcile yourself to them, and gain their affections for ever.* *Octavius* could not hear these words without concern. He is said to have wept, and to have continued some time in suspense. But having unluckily cast his eyes on the senators there present, he was ashamed to break his word with them; and therefore resuming his former steadiness, he boldly answered *Tiberius*, that he might go on with the work he had begun. At these words, the eighteenth tribe voted, *Octavius* was deposed, and the law passed, as *Gracchus* had proposed it the last time. The deposed tribune was dragged from the rostra by the incensed multitude, who would have insulted him further, had not the senators and his friends facilitated his escape^e. *Octavius deposed, and the law passed.*
- f

THE *Lacian* law being thus revived with one consent both by the city and country tribes, *Gracchus* caused the people to appoint triumvirs, or three commissioners to hasten its execution. In this commission the people gave *Gracchus* the first place, and he had interest enough to get his father-in-law *Appius Claudius* and his brother *Caius Gracchus* appointed to be his colleagues. These three spent the whole summer in travelling through all the *Italian* provinces, to examine what lands were held by any person above five hundred acres, in order to divide them among the poor citizens. When

^e FLUT. & APPIAN. *ibid.*

Gracchus divides the treasures of king Attalus among the people.

Solicits the tribuneship for another year.

Gracchus returned from his progress, he found by the death of his chief agent, that his absence had not abated either the hatred of the rich, or the love of the poor, toward him. As it plainly appeared, that the deceased had been poisoned, the tribune took this occasion to apply himself again to his protectors, and implore their assistance against the violence and treachery of his enemies. The populace more attached, after this accident, to their hero, than ever, declared they would stand by him to the last drop of their blood; and this their zeal encouraged him to add a new clause to the law, viz. that the commissioners should likewise inquire, what lands had been usurped from the republic. This was touching the senators in a most tender point, for most of them had appropriated to themselves lands belonging to the public. But after all, the tribune, upon a strict inquiry, found that the lands taken from the rich would not be enough to content all the poor citizens. But the following accident eased him of this difficulty, and enabled him to stop the murmurs of the malecontents among the people. *Attalus Philometor*, king of *Pergamus*, having bequeathed his dominions and effects to the Romans, *Eudemus* the *Pergamean* brought his treasures to Rome at this time; and Gracchus immediately got a new law passed, enacting, that this money should be divided among the poor citizens, who could not have lands; and that the disposal of the revenues of *Pergamus* should not be in the senate, but in the comitia. By these steps Gracchus most effectually humbled the senate, who, in order to discredit him among the people, gave out, that *Eudemus*, who had brought the king's will to Rome, had left with Gracchus the royal diadem and mantle of *Attalus*, which the law-making tribune was to use when he should be proclaimed king of Rome. But these reports only served to make Gracchus be more upon his guard, and to inspire the people with an implacable hatred against the rich, who were the authors of them. Gracchus, being now, by his power over the minds of the multitude, absolute master of their suffrages, formed a design of raising his father-in-law *Appius Claudius* to the consulate the next year, of promoting his brother *Caius* to the tribuneship, and getting himself continued in the same office. The last was what most nearly concerned him, his person, so long as he was in the office, being sacred and inviolable. As the senate was very active in endeavouring to get such only elected into the college of tribunes, as were enemies to Gracchus and his faction, the tribune left no stone unturned to secure his election. He told the people, that the rich had resolved to assassinate him as soon as he was out of his office; he appeared in mourning, as was the custom in the greatest calamities; and bringing his children yet young into the forum, recommended them to the people in such terms, as shewed that he despaired of his own preservation. At this sight the populace returned no answer but by outcries and menaces against the rich. When the day appointed for the election of new tribunes came, the people were ordered to assemble in the capitol in the great court before the temple of *Jupiter*. The tribes being met, Gracchus proposed his petition, intreating the people to continue him one year longer in the office of tribune, in consideration of the great danger to which he was exposed, the rich having vowed his destruction as soon as his person should be no more sacred. This was indeed an unusual request, it having been long customary not to continue any tribune in his office above a year. However, the tribes began to vote, and the two first declared for Gracchus. Hereupon the rich made great clamours, and some of their faction, who were posted in different places, cried out, *Justice, justice! these men are going to overturn all the laws. No man can hold the office of tribune two years together.* These clamours terrified *Rubrius Varro*, who presided in the college of tribunes that day, to such a degree, that he resigned his place to *Q. Mummius*, who offered to preside in his room. But this raised a tumult among the tribunes themselves, some pretending that the president had no right to dispose of his place, which it belonged to the whole college to do by a majority of votes. As the tribunes began to dispute the legality of this act with great warmth among themselves, Gracchus wisely dismissed the assembly, and ordered them to meet again the next day.

In the mean time the people, being sensible of what importance it was to them to preserve the life of so powerful a protector, not only conducted him home, but watched by turns all night at his door. Next morning by break of day, Gracchus, having assembled his friends, led them from his house, and posted one half of them in the comitium, while he went up himself with the other to the capitol. As soon as he appeared, the people saluted him with loud acclamations of joy. But scarce was he placed in his tribunal, when *Fulvius Flaccus* a senator, and friend to Gracchus,

- a** *Gracchus*, breaking through the croud, came up to him, and gave him notice, that the senators, who were assembled in the temple of *Faith*, which almost touched that of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, had conspired against his life, and were resolved to attack him openly on his very tribunal. Hereupon *Gracchus* tucked up his robe, as it were, to prepare for a battle; and after his example, some of his party, seizing the staves of the apparitors, prepared to defend themselves, and to repel force by force. These preparations terrified the other tribunes, who immediately abandoned their places in a cowardly manner, and mixed with the croud; while the priests ran to shut the gates of the temple for fear of its being profaned. On the other hand, the friends of *Gracchus*, who were dispersed by parties in different places, cried out, *We are ready:*
- b** *What must we do?* *Gracchus*, whose voice could not be heard by all his adherents on account of the tumult, the clamours, and the confused cries of the different parties, put his hand to his head; which was the signal agreed on to prepare for a battle. But some of his enemies, putting a malicious construction upon that gesture, immediately flew to the senate, and told the fathers, that the seditious tribune had called for the crown to be put upon his head. Hereupon the senators, fancying they already saw the king of *Pergamus's* diadem on the tribune's head, and the royal mantle on his shoulders, resolved to give the consul leave to arm his legions, treat the friends of *Gracchus* as enemies, and turn the comitium into a field of battle. But the consul *Mucius Scaevola*, who was a prudent and moderate man, refused to be the instrument
- c** of their rash revenge, and to dishonour his consulate with the massacre of a disarmed people. As *Calpurnius Piso*, the other consul, was then in *Sicily*, the most turbulent among the senators cried out, *Since one of our consuls is absent, and the other betrays the republic, let us do ourselves justice; let us immediately go and demolish with our own hands this idol of the people.* *Scipio Nasica*, who had been all along for violent measures, inveighed bitterly against the consul for refusing to succour the republic in her greatest distress. *Scipio Nasica* was the great grandson of *Cneius Scipio* the uncle of the first *Africanus*, and consequently cousin to the *Gracchi* by their mother *Cornelia*. But nevertheless not one of the senators betrayed a more irreconcilable hatred against the tribune
- d** than he. When the prudent consul refused to arm his legions, and put the adherents of *Gracchus* to death contrary to the usual forms of justice, he set no bounds to his fury, but rising up from his place, cried out like a mad-man; *Since our consul betrays us, let those who love the republic follow me.* Having uttered these words, he immediately walked out of the temple, attended by a great number of senators. *Nasica* threw his robe over his shoulders, and having covered his head with it, advanced with his followers into the croud, where he was joined by a company of the clients and friends of the patricians, armed with staves and clubs. These falling indifferently upon all who stood in their way, dispersed the croud. Many of *Gracchus's* party took to their heels, and in that tumult all the seats being overturned and broken,
- e** *Nasica*, armed with the leg of a broken bench, knocked down all who opposed him, and at length reached *Gracchus*. One of his party seized the tribune by the lappet of his robe; but he quitting his gown, fled in his tunic, and as he was in that hurry of spirits, which is inseparable from fear, leaping over the broken benches, he had the misfortune to slip and fall. As he was getting up again, he received a blow on the head, which stunned him; then his adversaries rushing in upon him with repeated blows, put an end to his life. Some historians pretend, that *Nasica* with his own hand completed the work which had been begun by his advice, and under his conduct. Others say, that *Publius Satureius* and *Lucius Rubrius*, or, as *Plutarch* calls him, *Lucius Rufus*, two of his colleagues, secretly jealous of his glory, gave him the two
- f** blows that dispatched him. However that be, *Rome* was by his death delivered, according to *Cicero*, from a domestic enemy, who was more formidable to her, than even that *Numantia* which had first kindled his resentments. Perhaps no man was ever born with greater talents, or more capable of aggrandizing himself, and doing honour to his country. But his great mind, his manly courage, his lively, easy, and powerful eloquence, were, says *Cicero*, like a sword in the hands of a madman. *Gracchus* abused them, not in supporting an unjust cause, but in conducting a good one with too much violence. He went so far as to make some believe, that he had really something in view besides the interest of the people, whom he pretended to relieve; and therefore some historians have represented him as a tyrant. But the most judicious writers clear him from this imputation, and ascribe his first design of reviving the *Licinian* law to an eager desire of being revenged on the senators for the affront they had
- g**

A fray ensues.

Gracchus is killed.

The cruel death
of Caius Billius.

very unjustly put upon him and the consul *Mancinus*, as we have hinted above. The law he attempted to revive had an air of justice, which gave a sanction to his revenge, without casting any blemish on his reputation. The death of *Gracchus* did not put an end to the tumult. Above three hundred of the tribune's friends lost their lives in the fray, and their bodies were thrown with that of *Gracchus* into the *Tiber*. Nay, the senate carried their revenge beyond the fatal day, which had stained the capital with *Roman* blood. They sought for all the friends of the late tribune, and without any form of law assassinated some, and forced others into banishment. *Caius Billius*, one of the most zealous defenders of the people, was seized by his enemies, and shut up in a cask with snakes and vipers, where he miserably perished. Though the laws prohibited any citizen to take away the life of another before he had been legally condemned, *Nasica* and his followers were acquitted by the senate, who enacted a decree, justifying all the cruelties committed against *Gracchus* and his adherents¹.

Scipio Nasica
is sent into
Asia.

IN the mean time the people, being recovered from their fear, reproached themselves with the death of their tribune, as not having defended him with sufficient courage. They inveighed chiefly against *Scipio Nasica*, the author of the tumult, upbraiding him publicly with murder and sacrilege. Some threatened to murder him; others were for summoning him before the assembly of the people, and trying him for his life. The senate therefore, fearing lest his presence might raise a new sedition, thought proper to remove him; and accordingly sent him, under pretence of an embassy, into *Asia*, though his office of *pontifex maximus* obliged him not to go out of *Italy*. He rambled about a great while in different parts of the *Levant*, till at length, worn out with trouble, he died at *Pergamus*. By his absence the fire of sedition was rather stifled, than extinguished. The people still maintained the law, which *Gracchus* had passed in their favour, and nominated a new commissioner in his room to finish the distribution of the lands which he had begun. The person they pitched upon was, *P. Crassus*, whose daughter *Caius Gracchus*, brother to *Tiberius*, had lately married. On the other hand the patricians, to keep off the execution of the law, found means to bring into the college of tribunes a creature of their own, *Q. Pompeius Rufus*, one of *Gracchus's* most violent enemies. In the mean time the consular year being near expired, the election was made without any disturbance in the usual place, and the supreme magistracy conferred on *Publius Popilius Lanas*, and *P. Rupilius*. It fell to the lot of *Popilius* to continue in *Italy*, and keep the citizens of *Rome* in awe, while his colleague set out for *Sicily* to make war with the revolted slaves in that island. We shall follow him thither, and take a view of the origin and progress of this rebellion, which brought more calamities on the *Sicilians*, than all the ravages and devastations of their old enemies the *Carthaginians*.

The war of the
slaves in Sicily.

IN *Sicily* the great men of the island, or the *Roman* knights, who had the management of the public revenues, having, by degrees, engrossed all the great estates to themselves, out of avarice employed in the culture of their lands slaves instead of freemen, to whom they scarce allowed necessaries; so that those unfortunate men, being obliged to provide for themselves, learnt to live by rapine. As they frequently met together in companies to plunder the houses in the country, or to rob the travellers on the great roads, they came at length to deliberate how to deliver themselves from slavery. They were almost as numerous as the natives themselves, and therefore wanted only a leader to appear at their head, and conduct the conspiracy. A *Sicilian* lord, named *Antigines*, had amongst his slaves one by name *Eunus*, who was very fit for this purpose. He was a native of *Apamea* in *Syria*, and having been taken prisoner in war, had passed through the hands of several masters, till at length he was brought into *Sicily*. He was a vigilant, active man, full of fire, and pretending to have a constant intercourse with the gods by dreams and apparitions, was consulted by his fellow slaves as an oracle. The *Sicilians* in general exercised a kind of tyranny over their slaves; but a citizen of *Enna*, a city in the center of the island, by name *Damophilus*, had made himself more odious than the rest by his cruelties, to a great number of those unhappy wretches who cultivated his immense possessions. They were all marked with a hot iron in their foreheads, shut up every night in close prisons, and led out early in the morning to their daily labour in the fields, though at the same time they were scarce allowed the necessary provisions to support themselves. On the other hand, *Megallis*, the wife of *Damophilus*, was no less cruel towards the slaves of her sex, exact-

¹ PLUT. in Gracch. APPIAN. de bell. civil. l. i. OROS. l. v. c. 8. CIC. de off. l. i. c. 21. & de orat. l. ii.

- a ing their tasks with insupportable rigor, and causing them to be unmercifully whipt for the least fault. These two tyrants had a daughter, who was very different from themselves; though she was very young, she had good-nature enough to pity the afflicted; she often alleviated their sufferings, appealed her furious mother, supplied, as far as she was able, the wants of the necessitous, and, in short, was the only refuge of those unhappy men. We are sorry history has not transmitted to us the name of this humane and virtuous young woman. The oppressed slaves, not being able to bear any longer the unspeakable miseries they groaned under, entered into a plot against the authors of them. But in order to secure themselves success, they first went to consult *Eunus*, who with a solemn prophetic tone, pronounced, that the enterprise
- b was agreeable to the gods, and that it would be attended with success, provided they did not delay the execution of it. He offered to conduct it himself; and the slaves, overjoyed to have such a man at their head, assembled in great haste to the number of four hundred on *Damophilus's* estate, armed with forks, hooks, and other instruments of husbandry, and marching directly to *Enna*, surprised and pillaged it. The slaves in the city joined their comrades, and committed barbarities not to be expressed. The men were massacred, the women dishonoured, and even the children at the breast dashed on the ground, and trod under foot. As *Damophilus* was gone with his wife and daughter to take the air in a garden near the city, *Eunus*, who had taken upon him the office of general, sent a party to seize them, which was done with circumstances of great barbarity. However, they treated the daughter with all the respect which was due to her virtue. So true it is, that good-nature commands regard even from the most furious.

*Eunus heads
the revolted
slaves, and
seizes Enna.*

- Eunus*, being now master of *Enna*, assembled the slaves he commanded in the public theatre; and having erected there a kind of tribunal, ordered *Damophilus* and his wife to be brought before him, in order to be tried. Some of the slaves were accusers, others witnesses, and the multitude judges. *Eunus* presided, and gave the accused leave to speak in their defence. But while *Damophilus* was endeavouring to raise compassion, and some began to shew pity for him, *Hermias* and *Zeuxis*, two of his slaves, whom he had treated with great cruelty, came up to him, and with repeated blows dispatched him. His wife *Megallis* was sentenced to be delivered up to the slaves of her own sex, whom she had treated without mercy. These furies set no bounds to their cruelty, inflicted on their mistress every torment, which revenge could invent; and at length after having satiated their rage, threw her down a precipice, which put an end to her unhappy life. As for the daughter, she was treated with the utmost respect, conducted with the unanimous consent of all to *Catana*, and there delivered untouched into the hands of her relations. In the mean time *Eunus*, finding he could not pretend to assume a perfect authority over such untractable people, without being invested with sovereign power, prevailed upon the multitude to proclaim him king. The first orders the new king gave were very cruel; for he caused all the inhabitants of *Enna* to be barbarously murdered, saying, that there could never be any real concord between freemen and slaves.
- c After this, having got into his power *Antigines* and *Pitbon*, who had successively been his masters, he put them to death with his own hand. He then assumed all the ensigns of royalty, changed his name of *Eunus* into that of *Antiochus*, gave the title of queen to his wife, who was a Syrian, and a slave as well as himself, and applied himself to settle a kind of government among his new subjects. His regulations drew above six thousand slaves to *Enna* in less than three days, armed with such weapons as came first to their hands, viz. spits, axes, saws, poles, &c. At the head of these *Eunus* took the field, and committed every-where most dreadful ravages. The people, whose houses were burnt, and lands laid waste, came in flocks to the Roman prætor, who governed the island, imploring his assistance. *Manlius*, who was governor of Sicily in the year of Rome 615, when this sedition first broke out, marched against the rebels with one legion, the usual army of prætors, who resided in peaceable provinces; but he was defeated, and his camp taken and plundered. The same misfortune happened to the prætors *P. Cornelius Lentulus* and *Caius Calpurnius Piso*, whom the republic sent into the island the two following years. The news of these advantages being spread all over the island, the new king's forces daily increased. Among the rest, one *Cleon*, a native of *Cilicia*, joined him with five thousand men; others

*Eunus pro-
claimed king.*

*He gains great
advantages
over the Ro-
man prætors.*

* Liv. epit. l. lvi. DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. FLOR. l. iii. c. 19.

And takes
Tauromi-
nium.

C. Fulvius sent
against the
slaves.

Taurominium
betrayed to the
Romans;

And also Enna.

Eunus taken
prisoner.

Eunus dies in
prison.

came from the most distant parts of the island at the head of considerable bodies to ^a support, under the banners of *Eunus*, the common cause : infomuch, that when the prætor *L. Plautius Hypsæus* landed in *Sicily*, he found above seventy thousand slaves in arms under the command of *Eunus*, besides those who had assembled under other leaders in different places ; so that the whole number of armed slaves in the island amounted to two hundred thousand. As *Hypsæus* had only eight thousand men in his army, he no sooner appeared in the field, than he was attacked, and intirely defeated. The rebels, elated with this victory, laid siege to *Taurominium*, a city of great strength, and having soon reduced it, made it their magazine of arms, and place of refuge. At length the republic, alarmed at the progress the rebels made in the beginning of the year 619, ordered *C. Fulvius*, colleague in the consulate to the second ^b *Africanus*, into *Sicily*, to suppress this conspiracy, which began now to be formidable. But whether he gained any advantages over the rebels, history has not informed us. In the following year 620, the consul *L. Calpurnius Piso* (W), to whose lot *Sicily* fell, attacked the *Syrians*, for so the rebellious slaves were commonly called, under the walls of *Messana*, which city they had invested, put them to the rout for the first time, obliged them to raise the siege, and killed above six thousand of them on the spot. But though *Piso* conquered the rebels, he had not the glory of intirely reducing them. This was reserved for *P. Rupilius*, who was chosen consul for the present year. He opened the campaign with the siege of *Taurominium*. As this city was situated on a high and steep hill, and difficult of access on all sides, the consul resolved to ^c reduce it by famine. With this view he drew a line of circumvallation round the mountain, and by that means cut off all communication with the neighbouring country. As the garison was very numerous, provisions soon began to fail them ; and then want added to their obstinacy produced many tragical events. They killed and devoured one another, but, as they could expect no pardon, still persisted obstinate. At length the city was betrayed to the *Romans* by a *Syrian* slave, named *Sarapion* ; and the governor with all his garison were, by the consul's orders, thrown down headlong from the top of a rock. From *Taurominium* the consul led his army to *Enna*, where the pretended king had shut himself up with *Cleon*, and the flower of his troops. This place likewise *Rupilius* resolved to reduce by famine ; and accordingly invested ^d it on all sides. The besieged, being soon reduced to great streights, made several sallies, attempting to break through the enemy ; but though they fought like men in despair, they were constantly repulsed by the *Romans*. In one of these sallies, *Cleon* fell alive into the consul's hands, covered with wounds and blood, but did not long survive his captivity. His empaled body was exposed to the view of the besieged to increase their terror. At length *Enna* likewise was treacherously delivered up to the consul, whose troops put all the slaves they found in the place to the sword. We are told, that at the taking of these two cities above twenty thousand of the rebels lost their lives. As for *Eunus*, when he saw the *Romans* masters of the walls, he put himself at the head of his guards, consisting of about six hundred men, forced his way ^e through the legionaries, fled for refuge to a steep rock, and there prepared to sell his life dear. He was pursued close, and surrounded in his retreat by the consular troops ; and then it appeared, that there was more ostentation than true courage in his servile soul. The soldiers of his guard agreed to kill one another. But their king concealed himself among the rocks, and was at last taken alive out of a cave with four of his domestics, and delivered up to the consul, who sent them to *Murgantia*, to be strictly guarded there, till the departure of the *Roman* army. *Rupilius* reserved *Eunus*, not so much to grace his triumph, as to shew the *Romans* the chief they had so much dreaded with so little reason. But he fell sick, and died in prison, wore out with grief, and devoured with vermin ^f. *Rupilius* continued some time in *Sicily* in

^a DIONOR. SICUL. in eclog. FLOR. l. iii. c. 19. FRONT. STRAT. l. iv. c. 1. VAL. MAX. l. ii. c. 7. & l. iv. c. 3. CIC. pro Fonteio, & in Verr. act. 6.

(W) This *Calpurnius Piso* is said to have been the author of the famous law *De repetundis* against the avarice of magistrates, who robbed the public. While he was prætor in *Sicily*, there being a great scarcity of corn at *Rome*, the senate charged him to buy up a great quantity all over that island ; which he did with such disinterestedness as acquired him the glo-

rious surname of *Frugi*, that is, *The Honest*. He remitted to the public treasury a considerable part of the money which had been sent him for this purpose, and managed the rest with such prudence and frugality, as to provide with it for the wants of the public (31).

(31) CIC. in Verr. act. 3.

- a quality of proconsul; retook the cities which were still in the hands of the rebels; restored the fugitive slaves to their masters; and lastly, drew up a new code of laws for the *Sicilians*, which were ever after observed to the great satisfaction of the whole island. Having settled his province in peace, he returned to *Rome*; but refused a triumph, being ashamed to have it recorded in the triumphal tables, that he had overcome slaves. He was one of those great and disinterested men, who had the virtue of the first ages of *Rome*. The only glory he sought was, that of promoting the public good; and the only reward he desired was, the consciousness of having served his country¹.

- DURING the war in *Sicily*, *Andronicus*, the illegitimate son of *Eumenes*, laid claim b to the kingdom of *Pergamus*, which *Attalus* was said to have bequeathed to the *Romans*; and having seized it, put himself in a condition to maintain a war with *Rome*, which we have described at length in our history of the kingdom of *Pergamus*. The next year, *P. Licinius Crassus* and *Valerius Flaccus* were chosen consuls; the former was *pontifex maximus*, and the latter *flamen Martialis*, that is, high-priest of *Mars*; so that *Rome* was now for the first time governed by two persons devoted to the service of the gods. This same year two plebeians, *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, surnamed *Macedonicus*, and *Q. Pompeius*, were chosen censors. It had been an invariable custom in *Rome* for two hundred and twenty years to chuse one of the censors out of the patricians, and the other out of the plebeians. But now the patricians, probably to soften the people, suffered them to raise two of their body to this eminent dignity, which had never happened before. In the census, which these two plebeians took of the citizens of *Rome*, they found 317823 men able to bear arms; and their censorship was famous for a law, which they got passed, obliging all *Romans* to marry at a certain age.

Two plebeians
chosen censors.

- In the mean time the disturbances about the *Sempronian law* were continued by the tribune *Carbo*, who was continually complaining to the people of the chicaneries of the rich in opposing the execution of it. One day he publicly asked the great *Scipio Africanus* what he thought of the murder of *Sempronius Gracchus* his brother-in-law, not doubting but he would condemn the authors of his death? But to his great surprise, *Scipio* answered, that if *Gracchus* had endeavoured to sow discord in the republic, he thought him lawfully put to death. Upon this unexpected answer, the tribune stirred up the people to insult the most venerable man in *Rome*. But *Scipio* assuming an ascendant over the multitude; *Be silent*, said he, *ye untractable people. Think ye that I am afraid of your murmurs, who have been so often unconcerned at the fury of your enemies?* At these words the unruly multitude began to hiss him, which that brave commander not being able to bear, *Miserable wretches*, said he, exalting his voice, *What would have become of you, had it not been for my father Paulus Æmilius, and myself? You would have been enslaved by your enemies, and spent your unhappy lives in a state of subjection. And is this the respect you owe your deliverers? Is this your gratitude?* These words, uttered with that authority, which the long command of armies gives a general, silenced the multitude, and made the most seditious tremble like slaves. The comitia were immediately dissolved, and every one returned home with more esteem, but less affection, for the great *Scipio*. After this the illustrious *Roman* retired to one of his country-houses at *Gaieta* with his dear *Lælius*. There these two inseparable friends, who had discharged with glory the highest offices in the republic, amused themselves with the same little innocent pleasures which had diverted them when children. They walked by the sea-side, entertained themselves with picking up smooth flat stones, and throwing them on the surface of the water, and enjoyed more pleasure in this sweet retirement, than they had done at the head of the republic f and her armies².

New disturbances about
the Sempronian law.

In the mean time *Carbo*, more active than ever in supporting the interests of the people, having prevailed upon them to continue him in his office another year, proposed a law, enacting, that the same persons should hold the tribuneship during the pleasure of the people, without coming to an annual election. But *Scipio* and *Lælius*, upon the report of this new storm, hastening to *Rome*, opposed the law with all their interest, and got it rejected. In the following consulate of *Claudius Pulcher*, and *M. Perperna*, a soldier of fortune, and not so much as a *Roman* citizen, the disturbances in *Rome* were daily increased by the tribunes. *Caius Atinius Labeo*, who was

¹ Cic. in Ver. act. ii.

² Cic. de orat. l. i.

The insolence of
the tribune
Labeo.

at the head of the college, seized *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* the censor, who had refused a him a place in the senate, at noon-day, and immediately pronounced sentence of death upon him, commanding his attendants to throw him headlong from the *Tarpeian* rock. The officers took hold of that venerable magistrate by the throat, and treated him with the utmost barbarity. One of his slaves flew to acquaint his master's relations with the violence offered him. They all came and found the censor half dead wallowing in his blood. As it was not lawful to take even a relation, no not a father, out of the hands of a tribune, they flew with all possible speed, and brought one of *Labeo's* colleagues, who opposed the unjust sentence, and saved the remains of *Metellus's* life. Without this timely assistance, the most considerable magistrate in Rome after the consul, the triumphant victor, and conqueror of *Macedon*, whence he had the glorious surname of *Macedonicus*, would have been executed like a common criminal. *Labeo* was so far from being punished for this cruel insult on *Metellus*, that he had interest enough to get a law passed, enacting, that for the future the tribunes should all have votes in the senate. This law being passed, he went in state to the forum, and there by sound of trumpet ordered all the effects of the great *Macedonicus* to be sold to the best bidder. Such acts of violence were to all discerning men the forerunners of those civil wars which not long after broke out¹.

IN the next consulate of *C. Sempronius Tuditanus* and *M. Aquilius*, fresh troubles were raised on account of the *Sempronian* law. The commissioners for putting it in execution, were continually stirring up the people against the rich by their complaints; and the allies of the republic complained as much of the injustice of the commissioners, who in the distribution of the lands were more favourable to the inhabitants of Rome, whose votes might be of service to them, than to the people of the provinces. *Scipio* therefore took the latter under his protection, and having spoke warmly in favour of these poor allies, got the execution of the law transferred from the three commissioners to the consul *Sempronius*. But the consul, dreading the consequences of civil broils at home, as much as he loved the glory of arms abroad, set out for *Japidia*, one of the western provinces of *Illyricum*, which had fallen to him by lot, to quell some disturbances lately raised there. *Scipio*, thus left alone to stand the hatred of the three commissioners, for the other consul was then settling the kingdom of *Pergamus* in peace, was charged by them with the most odious designs. That indeed of aspiring to the dictatorship was probably true; but it was no manner of just reproach to him, though he was greatly calumniated for it by the commissioners, and their adherents. *C. Gracchus* his brother-in-law told him to his face, *That he ought to be put to death as a tyrant*. *Scipio* calmly replied; *There is scarce any man, who is not an enemy to his country, that desires it*. *Marcus Fulvius Flaccus*, one of the triumvirs, cast the most bitter reflections rage could suggest upon *Scipio*, censured both his public and private conduct, and warmly insisted, that the dictatorship was his point in view, and that he desired this dignity only in order to usurp a perpetual tyranny. But nevertheless, both the senate and people seemed inclined to favour *Scipio's* motion, the partiality of the triumvirs in the distribution of the lands being very palpable. All the senators in a body, and vast crouds both of *Roman* citizens and allies, attended him to his house. In short, Rome seemed determined to nominate him dictator the next day. But in the morning, to the great grief and surprise of all well-wishers to their country, he was found dead in his bed. Those who viewed his body more narrowly, discovered the marks of a violent death about his neck, as if he had been strangled. His death was, upon good grounds, imputed to the triumvirs, *Papirius Carbo*, *C. Gracchus*, and *Fulvius Flaccus*, and to his wife *Sempronia*, the sister of the *Gracchi*, who is said to have conveyed in the night the triumvirs into his room. The authors of the crime took great pains to spread a report, that *Scipio*, finding he could not obtain for the allies the advantages he had promised them, had out of grief and despair laid violent hands on himself. Thus died this illustrious hero, whose talents and exploits were so equal to those of the first *Africanus*, that Rome herself could not determine which was superior in merit. Their characters, their conduct, their tempers, and their honours, were equally great; and to the eternal reproach of their country, one died with grief in a kind of exile, and the other a violent death in Rome. The second *Africanus* died possessed of very little else but the glory of his exploits. For he left to *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, his nephew and heir, having no children himself, scarce

The death of
Scipio.

His character.

¹ AUL. GELL. l. xiv. c. 8. Cic. pro domo sua.

a thirty-two pounds weight of silver, and two pounds and a half of gold. Surprising poverty in a general, who might have enriched himself with the spoils of *Carthage*! The patricians wept for him as for a father. When *Metellus*, who had been all his life-time his rival for glory, heard the news of his death, he shewed the utmost concern, and turning to his two sons, *Go*, said he, *attend the funeral of the greatest man Rome ever bred; you will never see his equal.* The people too lamented his death, and attended in great crouds his body to the funeral pile; but they would not suffer any inquiries to be made after the authors of his death, for fear of finding *C. Gracchus*, who now began to be their darling, concerned in so base and treacherous a murder^r.

WHILE these things were transacting at *Rome*, the consul *Tuditanus* was making war in *Japidia*, where he was attended with such success, that in one campaign he quieted the whole country, and upon his return to *Rome* was honoured with a triumph, as was likewise his colleague *Aquilius* three years after for reducing the kingdom of *Pergamus*, though he did it by poisoning the springs, which supplied the several towns with water; which was a most execrable and inhuman breach of the law of nations. And now there was not the least disturbance or commotion in any of the provinces subject to the *Roman* republic. *Cisalpine Gaul*, *Spain*, *Africa*, *Istria*, *Illyricum*, *Macedon*, and *Greece*, bore the yoke with great submission; so that there was no expedition for the new consuls, *Cn. Octavius*, and *T. Annius*, to undertake within or without *Italy*. The people gave themselves wholly up to pleasures and luxury in this time of tranquillity; which licentiousness greatly increased in the succeeding consulate of *L. Cassius Longinus*, and *L. Cornelius Cinna*. But when *M. Aemilius Lepidus*, and *L. Aurelius Orestes* were raised to the consular dignity, this general tranquillity was a little interrupted by a revolt in *Sardinia*, which province fell to the lot of *Aurelius*; and *Caius Gracchus* was his quæstor. This young *Roman* was become the idol of the people, who after the death of his brother looked upon him as their chief patron and protector. He had indeed some very eminent qualities, and was deemed the best orator in *Rome*. The multitude adored him on account of his favouring the citizens of *Rome* more than the allies in the partition of the lands. He had for some time retired from public life, and applied himself wholly to the study of eloquence. During his

d retirement, the republic enjoyed a profound tranquillity; and it was commonly said, that he had resolved to bury his talents in obscurity for fear of his brother's fate. But after two years retirement, he unexpectedly appeared upon the stage, and stood for the quæstorship, which he obtained, and in that quality attended the consul *Aurelius* into *Sardinia*, where he signalized his courage, and obliged all who depended upon him in the discharge of his office. He gained the affection of his general by his punctuality, ready obedience, and the great services he rendered him in supplying the army with cloaths and provisions by the interest he had among the *Sardinians*, who were greatly taken with his temperance, modesty, and obliging carriage. But the senate in the mean time, growing jealous of the popularity *Gracchus* acquired in the army, and dreading the consequences of it, ordered all the troops in *Sardinia* to be recalled, and fresh ones to be sent in their room. The next year the patricians had the mortification to see *Fulvius Flaccus*, who had been one of the triumvirs for the partition of the lands, raised to the consulate. His colleague was *Plautius Hypsæus*, a patrician of a mild and pacific disposition. The plebeian consul was no sooner entered upon his office, than he proposed a law, enacting, that the right of *Roman* citizenship should be granted to all the *Italian* allies, to whom the triumvirs had not been able to assign any share in the divided lands. He had, when one of the triumvirs, exasperated the people in the provinces, by not admitting them to an equal share of lands with the inhabitants of *Rome*; and now by this law he endeavoured f to reconcile himself to them. He supported it with a fury, which shewed him determined to exasperate the senate. The patricians earnestly intreated him to drop the law, which would not fail to be attended with dangerous consequences, and might kindle a war in the bowels of *Italy*. But the imperious consul did not even vouchsafe to give them an answer; so that there was reason to fear an immediate rupture. But a new incident intervened, which kept the republic for some time in tranquillity. Embassadors came from *Maffilia*, desiring the assistance of the *Romans* against the *Salves*, who had ravaged their country. This gave the senate an opportunity of sending *Enrius* beyond the *Alps*; and he, being greedy of glory, readily accepted the

Caius Gracchus.

He gains the affections of the soldiery.

^r APPIAN. de bell. civil. l. i. CIC. in Lælio, & pro MURÆNA. PLUT. in ROMUL. & GRACCH. DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt.

commission.

commission. His absence, and that of *Gracchus*, might have given the republic an interval of rest, if the seditious consul had not, before he left *Rome*, sown the seeds of a rebellion, which broke out as soon as he was gone. For the *Italian* allies having by his departure lost all hopes of obtaining the right of citizenship, with which he had flattered them, began to enter into cabals against the republic. *Fregellæ*, a city of the *Volsci* on the *Liris*, was the first that openly revolted. But *Numitorius Pullus*, the chief author of the rebellion, being cited before the prætor, and frightened into a discovery of the whole plot, a *Roman* army was sent against the city, which by the advice of *Numitorius* submitted; but nevertheless was immediately razed. *Numitorius* himself was pardoned, but all his accomplices condemned to die, and executed. The exemplary punishment of the *Fregellani* checked the boldness of the malecontents, and stifled the sedition for some time ^a.

Fregellæ rebels,
and is razed.

C. Gracchus
returns from
Sardinia.

ALL seemed quiet, when *C. Cassius Longinus* and *C. Sextius Calvinus* were raised to the consulate; but this calm was of short duration. *C. Gracchus*, who had been continued, much against his inclination, in *Sardinia*, with the character of pro-quæstor, being weary of his long stay in an island where his talents were buried, and fearing the affections of the people might cool by so long an absence, resolved to run all the hazards of a very bold step. In open defiance to all law, he imbarqued unknown to the consul, left *Sardinia*, and when least expected, appeared at *Rome*. He was therefore accused before the censors, but so far imposed upon his judges by his eloquence, that he was acquitted. The high esteem and great concern which the multitude shewed for him on this occasion, encouraged him to stand for the tribuneship. He flattered himself, that if he could once get possession of this important office, he should easily find means to maintain himself in it, and to execute all his schemes of revenge at leisure. He therefore put himself among the candidates, and solicited the office with the utmost diligence and application. This roused the senate to be more active in opposing him; and his excellent mother *Cornelia* was very pressing with him to desist. She wrote to him from one of her country-houses in *Campania* near cape *Misenum*, whither she had retired after the melancholy death of her eldest son, two very affecting letters upon this subject (X); in which she labours to divert him from his design with such tenderness both for him and her country, as shews her worthy of the statue which

^a Liv. epit. APPIAN. l. i. de bell. civil. VAL. MAX. l. ix. c. 5. JUL. OBSEQ. CIC. de inven. l. ii. de finib. l. ii. in Pison. & ad Heren. l. iv.

(X) Two of these letters have reached our times, and sufficiently shew us the spirit and sentiments of that heroine, in whose praises the ancients often expatiate. In one of them she expresses herself thus: "Son, you have now no partner in the affliction of your mother. *Tiberius* is no more. All my joys and fears now centre wholly in you. The death of your elder brother was owing to his desire of revenge; and will you suffer yourself to be hurried on to your destruction by the impetuosity of the same passion? Avert, ye gods, so fatal a pretage! It will be a satisfaction, you will say, to revenge his murder. I allow it, dear child. I have as strong a sense as you, of the pleasure of revenge. But I can, by force of reason, suppress the first furies which passion raises in my breast. And at present, my concern for the welfare of the public has a greater influence upon me, than my grief at the loss of my son. Ah, *Gracchus*! remember, that with the same blow which wounds your country, you will strike deep into your mother's breast. But what am I saying! You will yourself sink under the weight of this rash attempt. I shall lose you; but your enemies will remain. Unfortunate mother! let what will happen, the ill effects of the civil broils, in which you are preparing to engage, will fall upon me, and be more than I shall be able to bear (32)".

Gracchus paid no regard to the representations of his mother, his rage against the senate getting the better of her wholesome advice. This drew from her a second letter in the following words: "Un- dutiful child! next to the murderers of *Tiberius*,

"I have not a more cruel enemy in the world than you. Have I had any reason to expect, that my only surviving son should bring me nothing but bitterness in my old age? To what can I impute this disobedience, but to my continual indulgence, and too great compliance with your inclinations? And is it too much to desire an equal return of deference and respect? Impious wretch! will you never be at rest till you have destroyed the republic? Shall I have the mortification, before I die, to see that you have overturned it? Do not, *Gracchus*, do not act over again the tragical scenes of my unfortunate family! Wait at least till my eyes are closed, before you stand for the tribuneship; and then my ashes will not feel the misfortunes which you will bring upon yourself. In the midst of your distress you will perhaps invoke the manes of your father and mother: but will they then be affected with your tears? The time to believe and obey them, is while they live. O great Jupiter! suffer not my son to persist in a design, which must be the destruction of himself, his country, and his mother (33)". From these small remains we may judge whether this incomparable matron could have any hand in the base assassination of the second *Africanus*, which some writers have, without any grounds, laid to her charge. She loved her children, but had at the same time a tender regard for her country; and therefore the senate, notwithstanding their resentment against her two sons, suffered the people to erect a statue to her with this inscription on the base; To *Cornelia the mother of the Gracchi*.

(32) Ex frag. Cornel. Nepotis ab Andrea Scotto collectis.

(33) Idem ibid.

- a the senate permitted the people to erect to her memory. But neither her intreaties nor commands could prevail; he pursued his point, and succeeded. There was this circumstance peculiar to his election, that for want of room in the *campus Martius*, ^{is chosen tribune.} a great number of citizens got up on the roofs of the houses round it, and from thence voted for *Gracchus* with shouts and acclamations. His graceful person, noble air, fine features, and modest deportment, prepossessioned every spectator in his favour before he spoke; and when he did speak, their ears were no less charmed; for a more complete orator had never ascended the rostra (Y) ². Soon after the election of *Gracchus* to the tribuneship, his fellow triumvir *Fulvius Flaccus* returned from *Gaul* to second him in his attempts. He was a furious plebeian, a declared enemy to the senate and the rich, and ready to imbarque in any bold and desperate undertaking. *Gracchus* procured him a triumph for an expedition of little importance, in order to bring new honour and strength to his party by the addition of a consular man, and a triumphant victor ³.

- THUS all things seemed to tend to a sedition in *Rome*, when *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* and *T. Quinctius Flaminius* were chosen consuls. The former was sent into the *Balearic* islands to quell an insurrection there, and the latter continued at *Rome*, where *Gracchus* was daily inventing new schemes to depress the senate, and exalt the people. He got his brother's law confirmed, relating to the division of the lands of *Italy* between the citizens of *Rome*, and the indigent allies; and for the more speedy execution of it, he caused himself to be nominated one of the commissioners for the said partition, in conjunction with *Fulvius Flaccus*, and *Licinius Crassus*, who seems to have been the brother of his wife *Licinia*. With the assistance of these he undertook and performed several works in favour of the people. For the convenience of travellers, he repaired the great roads, built a great many bridges, erected the first *military columns*, or columns at the end of each mile, and placed stones at proper distances for the ease of travellers in mounting their horses. These public works gained him the hearts of the people; but the two following laws, which he got passed in spite of the senate, were far more agreeable to the multitude than any public works. The first was, that public granaries should be built at *Rome*, and filled with corn at the public expence; the second, that monthly distributions should be made from thence to every citizen who wanted corn, at a very low price. In order to enable the treasury to bear this expence, he got duties laid on all the goods imported into *Asia* at the ports devised to the republic by king *Attalus*. He passed several other laws relating to the service and cloathing of the troops, which were so agreeable to the people, that the tribune gained an absolute ascendant over them, and became in a manner despotic master of *Rome*. This could not but raise the hatred and jealousy of the patricians, who united all their interest to crush him as soon as his office should expire. To prevent this, *Flaccus* pressed him to solicit the tribuneship a second time; ^{His new laws.} which he did accordingly, and succeeded in spite of the utmost efforts of the senate, and the whole body of the nobility ⁴.

WHILE *Gracchus* was thus humbling the senate, the consul *Metellus*, landing in the *Balearic* islands, subdued them, and treated those poor helpless barbarians with such cruelty, that out of thirty thousand, he scarce left one thousand of them alive. After this bloody and easy victory, the consul built two cities in the larger island, one to the east, called *Palma*, now *Majorca*; the other to the west, named *Pollentia*, now no longer in being. To people these two places, the consul brought three thousand

* Cic. l. ii. de orat.

2 PLUT. in Gracch. APPIAN. ibid.

3 PLUT. in Gracch. SALUST. in frag.

(Y) *Cicero*, a good judge in point of oratory, tells us, that a more complete orator than *Caius Gracchus* never appeared in the rostra. His graceful person, noble air, fine features, and expressive action, charmed all who saw or heard him. His voice, which was strong and melodious, reached and affected the most distant auditors. The only fault imputed to him was too much vehemence, when he suffered passion to transport him. The orator, who was himself well apprised of this defect, chose out from among his slaves an excellent musician, whom he kept con-

stantly behind him, when he was speaking. If in a fit of passion the orator happened to raise his voice too much, the slave with a sort of flageolet brought him back to his proper key. So much care did the Romans take, when they spoke in public, to give their speeches all possible graces. But *Gracchus* never appeared more eloquent, than when he lamented the tragical end of his brother. As he was affected with it himself, his descriptions were so strong and lively, that they drew tears from every eye (34).

(34) Cic. de orat. l. iii.

And the Salves
in Transalpine
Gaul.

Aquæ Sextiæ
or Aix founded.

The knights
made judges in
all private
causes.

Gracchus is
opposed by the
consul C. Fannius.

Romans from the colonies on the continent of Spain. After this the consul returned a to Rome, where he triumphed, and was honoured with the surname of *Balearicus*, as his father had been with that of *Macedonicus*. At the same time the proconsul *Sextius*, who had been continued in *Transalpine Gaul*, having gained a complete victory over the *Salves*, found no difficulty in subduing the whole nation. He besieged their capital, which stood at a small distance from *Maffilia* or *Marseilles*, took it, and reduced the inhabitants to slavery. When the conquered came to be sold, the proconsul, being informed that one of them, by name *Crato*, had suffered much from his countrymen on account of his affection to the Romans, not only gave him his liberty, and restored to him all his effects; but allowed him to chuse out nine hundred among his countrymen, who were, at his request, set at liberty r. After this the proconsul, to b secure his new conquest, founded a colony in the place where he had gained his victory, chusing a spot of ground for this purpose, which abounded both with hot and cold springs. Here he built a new city, which, from the springs and his own name, he called *Aquæ Sextiæ*. This place, now known by the name of *Aix in Provence*, he peopled with a colony, which Rome had formerly planted at *Fabrateria*, in the country of the *Volsci*. *Sextius*, having thus settled the Romans in *Transalpine Gaul*, returned to Rome, and triumphed; an honour which he better deserved than his predecessor *Fulvius Flaccus* had done.

THE consul, on his return to Rome, found the republic in great confusion on account of the innovations of *Gracchus*. The seditious tribune saw with concern, that the c Roman knights, who were the most wealthy of the citizens, inclined more to the side of the nobility, than to his; so that the plebeian party was made up only of the indigent populace. The knights were indeed reckoned a part of the plebeian body; but as they were the richest of that order, they made alliances with the patricians, and, upon a division, generally sided with them. *Gracchus* therefore, in order to draw them off from the senate, and bring them into his measures, drew up a law for making six hundred of them senators; but this law the crafty tribune proposed only to pave the way for another, which was in appearance more moderate, but in effect raised the knights above the senators. This was, to transfer from the senators to the knights the cognizance of all private causes, civil and criminal. The senators used d their utmost efforts to get this law rejected; but *Gracchus* was absolute master of the suffrages of the people, so that the following *plebiscitum* passed by a vast majority, Let the judging of all private causes belong to the knights, exclusive of the senators. The tribune was so elated with this success, that he cried out in a transport of joy, I have at length humbled the senate. The favour which the people shewed him on this occasion, emboldened him to proceed so far, as to solicit for the consulship, in such terms as led the people to conclude, that he intended to appear for it himself; but when the day of the elections came, he entered the *campus Martius*, leading his friend *C. Fannius Strabo* by the hand, whom he recommended to the favour of the people, saying, with a very engaging air, which he knew how to assume when he pleased, If you confer the consulship on my friend, it is the same thing as if you conferred it upon me. This was enough, *Fannius* was declared consul with *Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus*. It fell to the lot of the latter to carry on the war beyond the Alps, and to the former to continue in Italy. And now *Gracchus*, being raised to such a pitch of power and authority over the people of Rome, as the most absolute monarchs have over their subjects, in order to shew his contempt for the senate, caused the seats in the comitium to be changed. The plebeians had hitherto been so placed, that the orators who harangued them, at the same time faced the senate, and addressed themselves to that venerable body as well as to the people; but *Gracchus*, by altering the situation of the plebeians, contrived it so, that, when he harangued the people, he turned his back to the senators. This f was a glaring proof, that he acknowledged no aristocratical power in the republic, but thought the whole authority lodged solely in the people. This last outrage roused the senators, and put them upon contriving expedients to check the insolence of the daring tribune. As the consul *Domitius* was absent, they applied themselves to his colleague *C. Fannius*, whom, to their great joy and surprize, they found to be in his heart a steady republican, and a sincere friend to his country, not to be corrupted, and determined not to sacrifice the interest of the public to his private gratitude. Soon after his election, the popular tribune revived a prohibition formerly given to the

r AMMIAN. MARCEL. l. xv. VEL. PATERC. l. i. c. 15. DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. Vales. l. iv. VEL. PATERC. l. i. FLOR. l. iii. c. 2.

* STRABO,

judges,

- a judges, *Not to put in execution a capital sentence on a Roman citizen, without the consent and order of the people.* This law met with no opposition; but when he proposed the following edict, *That the allies should be upon the same foot with the citizens of Rome as to a right of suffrage, even in the acceptance or refusal of laws,* the consul *Fannius*, thinking this a monstrous innovation, to the great surprize of his benefactor, openly declared against him, and mounting the rostra, harangued the people with great zeal, expatiating on the evil consequences that would infallibly attend the passing of the law proposed by the tribune. By this means the republic was divided between her two chief magistrates, and the debates grew every day warmer and warmer. One was supported by the senate, the other by the multitude, and both carried matters to great extremities.
- b *Gracchus* was for giving the right of citizenship and suffrage to all the *Italian* allies of *Rome*, from the most eastern parts of *Italy* to the foot of the *Alps*, which drew vast crouds of those people to the capital. The senate, alarmed at this prodigious concourse of strangers, engaged the consul to forbid all those, who had not yet a right of suffrage, to continue in the city, or within five miles of it. This order gave rise to a warm dispute between the consul and the tribune in point of jurisdiction. *Fannius* insisted, that these new-comers should leave *Rome*; *Gracchus* encouraged them not to obey an order, which the consul had no right to publish. On one side were enacted consular edicts; and on the other ordinances of the tribune directly contrary to them. At length the boldest man succeeded: *Fannius*, who was a better
- c soldier than orator, thinking it necessary to make use of force, sent his lictors to seize some of those pretenders to the citizenship of *Rome*, and caused them to be dragged through the streets, and driven out of the city. *Gracchus*, either out of cowardice, or, as he said, for fear of giving rise to a civil war, suffered his friends to be thus treated, without offering to assist them; and this too great tameness was the first thing that lessened his credit, and made his partizans somewhat diffident.

- BUT it was not enough for the senate to have thus checked the exorbitant power of the tribune; they aimed at nothing less than his destruction: but as they could not compass their design without gaining over one of his brother tribunes, they applied themselves to *Livius Drusus*, judging him the most proper person in the college for their purpose. He was in the flower of his age, of an illustrious family, tho' plebeian, in point of manners blameless, skilled in business, a good orator, and capable of a laudable emulation. As he had nothing more at heart than the welfare of his country, and the service of his fellow citizens, he came readily into the measures of the conscript fathers; but they, remembering the misfortunes of *Octavius*, who had opposed the attempts of *Tiberius*, directed *Livius* to pursue quite different measures from those which that tribune had taken, and taught him a conduct so refined, and so well-judged, that historians commend it as a master-piece of policy. They did not desire him to oppose the novelties which *Gracchus* daily introduced, but, on the contrary, to court the favour of the people, by attempting to surpass *Gracchus* himself in popularity; a
- d scheme finely laid, and executed with still more address. If *Gracchus* proposed any law agreeable to the people, and displeasing to the senate, *Livius* immediately proposed another which was more so, and by that means brought himself into great favour with the multitude. This game was so artfully played, as not to be suspected even by the most sagacious of the adverse party. *Gracchus* could not see without concern the good-will of the people divided between him and *Livius*; and being sensible that his interest was daily lessened among the multitude, he began to shew some respect to the fathers, who returned it with great civilities, and pretended to be upon very good terms with him. But their master-piece was yet behind: they prevailed on *Rubrius*, another tribune, to propose a law for raising six thousand *Romans* to rebuild and re-
- e people *Carthage*. The law being passed, *Rubrius*, under pretence of doing honour to *Gracchus*, named him in the first place to be the leader of the colony, his seditious friend *Fulvius Flaccus* in the second place, and himself in the third. *Gracchus* fell into the snare, and crossing the sea, spent some months in *Africa*, and began to build there a new city on the ruins of *Carthage*, which he called *Junonia*, from the name of the goddess, who had always been the protectress of the old city. At the end of two months, *Gracchus* returned to *Rome*, where he met with a very indifferent reception even from the most zealous of his party. *Livius*, during his absence, had got the ascendant, and gained the affections of the people to such a degree, that *Gracchus*

The senate gain over *Livius*, one of the tribunes.

The artifice of the senate.

A decree passed for rebuilding *Carthage*.

* PLUT. & APPIAN. *ibid.*

Gracchus
stands for the
tribuneship a
third time.

was now almost quite forgot by the unsteady multitude. The popular tribune was so sensible of this, that his friends had much-ado to keep up his drooping spirits. However, he took some steps to prevail on the people to elect him tribune the third time, which was his last game; but at the same time he very imprudently affronted the rest of his colleagues, by ordering a scaffold to be pulled down, which they had erected to see more conveniently a shew of gladiators (Z). *Gracchus* pretended, that the scaffold

(Z) The combats of gladiators passed from *Greece*, or, as others will have it, from the *Asiatic* provinces, to *Hetruria*, and from thence to *Rome*. This cruel custom was first introduced into the world to supply the room of human victims, which the pagans offered at the funeral piles, or near the tombs of their ancestors, from a superstitious notion, that the souls or manes of the deceased were rendered propitious and highly pleased with human blood. This monstrous persuasion prevailed even among the more civilized nations. They generally believed, that the effusion of human blood was a tribute which the dead required of the living; but, to disguise their impious barbarity with the specious shew of pleasure and voluntary combat, they introduced gladiators; that is, men destined by the state to cut one another's throats. These combats were, in their first rise, confined to the funerals of great men; but in a short time became common at the obsequies of private persons. Those who could afford it, never failed to allot in their wills a certain sum for a combat of gladiators, this being a sure way of drawing a great concourse of people together, and having their obsequies performed with great solemnity. The first shew of gladiators, called by the *Latins* *munus gladiatorum*, was exhibited at *Rome*, according to *Valerius Maximus* (35), by *M. and D. Brutus* upon the death of their father, in the year of the city 490. Several years after, that is, in the year of *Rome* 537, upon the death of *Marcus Æmilius Lepidus* the augur, who had been thrice honoured with the consulate, his three sons, *Lucius, Marcus* and *Quintus*, entertained the people with the cruel pleasure of seeing twenty-two couple of gladiators fight in the forum. In the year of *Rome* 547, the first *Africanus* diverted his army at *New Carthage* with a shew of gladiators, which he exhibited in honour of his father and uncle, who had begun the reduction of *Spain*. On this occasion two young *Spaniards*, of an illustrious birth, and cousin-germans, who contended for the sovereignty of a city named *Lacilis*, obtained leave of *Scipio* to end their quarrel by single combat; which they did accordingly, and their example was followed by several other *Spaniards* of distinction, who fought either to end their personal quarrels by duels, or purely to gain some glory by conquering. In process of time the *Romans* grew so fond of these bloody entertainments, that not only the heir of any great and rich citizen lately deceased, but all the principal magistrates, presented the people with shews of this nature, to procure their esteem and affection. The *ædiles*, *prætors*, *consuls*, and above all, the candidates for offices, made their court to the people, by entertaining them frequently with these fights. As for the emperors, it was so much their interest to ingratiate themselves with the populace, that they obliged them with combats of gladiators almost upon all occasions. As these bloody solemnities were increased, so was the number of the combatants. At the first shew exhibited by the *Brutii*, only three couple of gladiators fought; but *Julius Cæsar*, in his ædileship, diverted the people with three hundred and twenty couple (36). *Titus* exhibited a shew of gladiators, wild beasts, and representations of sea-fights, which lasted a hundred days; and *Trajan* continued a so-

lemnity of this nature a hundred and twenty-three days, during which time he brought out a thousand couple of gladiators. The number of gladiators was so great even in the time of the republic, that when the conspiracy of *Cataline* broke out, the senate ordered them to be dispersed about the strong-holds, and secured, lest they should join the disaffected party. The famous *Spartacus*, who put *Rome* under no small apprehension, was himself a gladiator, and of the same condition were the greater part of his troops, with which he defeated the two *Roman* generals *Claudius* and *Vatinus*. As to the condition of the gladiators, they were commonly slaves, or captives purchased by the *lanista*, that is, by persons who made it their profession to teach them how to manage their arms, and brought them up for public shews. The *lanista* hired them out at a great price to the person who was at the expence of the shew, and led them armed to the amphitheatre like so many victims. Before they entered the lists, their masters, or the *lanista*, engaged them, by the most dreadful oaths, never to give ground, but to fight to the last extremity. The form of this oath is still preserved in the fragments of *Petrone*. When brought to the place set apart for these bloody shews, they were ranged into classes, and divided into couples; so that each had his adversary. They fought with the utmost fury, and pursued one another without mercy, their masters sparing neither threatenings nor blows to stir up the cowardly. If either of the two combatants, exhausted with fatigue and loss of blood, or struck with horror at the approach of death, begged quarter, he held up his finger, and laid down his arms, to shew that he had recourse to the mercy of the people present, from whom he expected the decision of his fate. It often happened, that the spectator took a cruel pleasure in giving up the suppliant to the fury of his adversary; and then, *Recipio ferrum, Stab him, stab him*, was the cry from all parts of the theatre. Sometimes the multitude declared their pleasure, by holding up, or, as others will have it, by bending back their thumbs, which was the fatal sign of condemnation. The cowardly scarce ever met with any favour from the populace, who were deaf to their cries and prayers. On the other hand, those who shewed a generous contempt of death, were generally favoured by the people, and saved.

As soon as the mournful sound of the trumpets proclaimed the death of one of the gladiators, his body, covered with wounds and blood, was ignominiously dragged with a crook, through one of the gates of the amphitheatre to a place adjoining, called *Spoliarium*, where the conquerors stripped the dead of their cloaths and arms, and inhumanly dispatched them, if they still breathed. *Pliny* tells us (37), that many of the common people often crowded round the dying, and clapping their mouths, without the least concern, to their trembling limbs, drank their warm blood, as it streamed from their wounds, out of a persuasion, that it was a sovereign remedy for the falling-sickness. If the people shewed an inclination to favour the vanquished, the *lanista* still retained his right to them, and kept them for other combats. The reward of the conqueror was only a crown of mastie, and a palm branch, which he received

(35) *Val. Max.* l. ii. c. 6.

(36) *Dio Cass.* l. lxxviii.

(37) *Plin.* l. xxviii.

- a scaffold raised by the tribunes left no room for the common people to see the shew. By this bold action he ingratiated himself with the mob, but provoked the whole col-

received from the hands of the magistrates, to which was added sometimes, but very rarely, a small sum of money.

The greatest of all the advantages the gladiators ever gained by their victories, and after many years of service, was the recovery of their liberty. In this case, the prætor declared them for ever free from the hard fate of being subjected to an avaricious and merciless master. A kind of foyl, called by the *Latins rudis*, was put into their hands, as a pledge of their enfranchisement, and on their heads a sort of bonnet, named *pileus*, which was given to all those, who from slaves became free. When they were thus set at liberty, they consecrated their arms to *Hercules*, the tutelary god of the *gymnasia*, or military schools.

The gladiators were, as we have hinted above, commonly prisoners taken in war, or refractory and ungovernable slaves; for it was a common custom for masters to sell such servants to the lanistæ, or the instructors of the gladiator; but in process of time free men often fought for hire as gladiators; whence they had the name of *auctorati*. Some young persons, of good families, after they had spent their estates in debauchery, were not ashamed to hire themselves out as gladiators; nay, the knights and noblemen, and even the senators themselves, often took up this infamous profession, to keep themselves from starving, after they had squandered away their patrimony; insomuch that *Augustus* was obliged to publish an edict, forbidding any of the senatorial order to turn gladiators. Not long after, he laid the same restraint on the knights (38). But these prohibitions were so little regarded by the following princes, that, in one shew exhibited by *Nero*, four hundred senators, if the numbers in *Suetonius* are not corrupted, and six hundred of the equestrian order, fought in the arena as common gladiators (39). Nay, even women of distinction frequently engaged in these public encounters, particularly under *Nero* and *Domitian*, and are on that account elegantly exposed by *Juvenal* in the following verses:

*Quale decus verum, si conjugis auctio fiat,
Buteus, & manica, & crista, crurisque sinistræ
Dimidium tegmen? vel si diversa movebit
Prælia, tu felix, ocreas vendente puella.
Hæ sunt quæ tenui sudant in cyclade, quarum
Delicias & panniculus bombycinus urit.
Apice quo fremis monstratos perferas ictus;
Et quanto galea curvetur pondere; quantum
Poplitibus sedas, quam densa fuscina libro (40)!*

Thus englished by Mr. Dryden:

*Oh! what a decent sight 'tis to behold
All thy wife's magazine by auction sold!
The belt, the crested plume, the several suits
Of armour, and the Spanish-leather boots:
Yes these are they that cannot bear the heat
Of figur'd silks, and under sarfenes sweat.
Behold the strutting Amazonian whore,
She stands in guard, with her right-foot before,
Her coats suck'd up, and all her motions just,
She stamps, and then cries, Hah! as every thrust.*

But the most ridiculous set of combatants were the dwarfs, who encountering one another, or engaging with the women, afforded the people great diversion. They are described with a great deal of humour by *Statius* (41), to whom we refer our readers.

There were several kinds of gladiators, distinguished by different appellations, which they took from their country, their arms, their way of fighting, or from such-like circumstances. The most famous and most frequently mentioned by the ancients, are the *Retiarii*, the *Secutores*, the *Myrmillones*, the *Thracians*, the *Samnites*, the *Pinnirapi*, the *Essedarii*, and the *Andabata*. The *Retiarius* was dressed in a short coat, having a *fusina* or trident in his left-hand, and a net in his right, with which he endeavoured to entangle his adversary, that he might the more easily dispatch him with his trident. The *Secutor*, who was always matched with the *Retiarius*, was armed with a buckler and a helmet, on which was engraved a fish, in allusion to the net. If the *Retiarius* failed in casting the net, he fled round the place of combat, till he had got it ready for a second throw. In the meantime his antagonist pursued him to prevent his design; and from thence was called *Secutor*, or *Follower*. In the several motions, which the *Retiarius* made while he was attempting to catch the head of his adversary in his net, he repeated the following words, recorded by *Festus*: *Non te peto, piscem peto; quid me fugis, Galle? Why do you fly from me, Gaul? my aim is not at you, but at your fish.* The *Secutor's* weapon was a *falx supina*, or kind of scymiter. *Juvenal* gives us a very particular account of this sort of combat, in speaking of a young nobleman, who scandalously took up the profession of a *Retiarius* in the reign of *Nero* (42). The *Myrmillo* was, as is pretty plain from *Juvenal*, the same as the *Secutor*. However, *Lipsius* will have the *Myrmillones* to be a distinct order of gladiators, who fought completely armed. The *Thracians* used a *sica*, or dagger, and a *parma*, or little round shield. Some writers think they were called *Thracians*, because they were natives of *Thrace*; others pretend they were so named from their weapons, which were peculiar to the *Thracians*. As to the *Samnite* gladiators, *Livy* tells us, that the *Campanians*, bearing a great hatred to the *Samnites*, armed some of their gladiators after the fashion of that country, and called them *Samnites*. Such was their original. What their arms were, he tells us in another place; they wore, says he, a shield, broad at the top to defend their breasts, and narrow at the bottom, that it might be moved with greater ease; they wore a belt over their shoulders, a greave on their left-foot, and a crested helmet on their heads. Hence it is plain, that the *Amazonian* combatant described above by *Juvenal*, had assumed the armour and duty of a *Samnite* gladiator. The *Pinnirapi*, who always entered the lists against the *Samnites*, were so called, from the *pinna* or crest, which adorned the *Samnite's* helmet. These *pinna* they used to catch at, and carry them off in triumph, as marks of their victory; and hence the name of *Pinnirapi*, made up of the two *Latin* words *pinna* and *rapiere*. The *Essedarii* engaged one another in chariots, called *essedæ*. The *Andabata* fought on horseback, armed with a helmet, which covered their face, and even their eyes, so that they struck at a venture; and hence *Andabatarum more pugnare* is, among the *Latins*, to fight blind-fold.

We shall take our leave of the gladiators, with an observation out of *Petronius Arbitr*, who tells us, that the combats of gladiators were introduced out of superstition, but maintained out of policy; a cruel policy indeed! but the republic found her account in it. The *Roman* youth being accustomed to look on blood and slaughter as matter of diversion, learned to despise death, which was become familiar to them, and to brave the greatest dangers.

(38) *Dio Cass. l. xlviii. & Suet. in August. c. 43. vi. ver. 254. & seq.*

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(41) *Stat. l. vi. ver. 57. & seq.*

(39) *Suet. in Ner. c. 11.*

(42) *Juv. sat. viii. ver. 199.*

(40) *Juv. sat.*

But is disappointed.

A lictor killed in the capitol by one of Gracchus's domestics.

The consul Opimius seizes the capitol.

lege of the tribunes, who soon found an opportunity to shew their resentment; for a few days after, when the election came on, the old tribunes, whose business it was to collect the votes, so counted them, that the majority was declared to be against *Gracchus*, tho', in all likelihood, the greatest number of suffrages was for him. To complete his misfortune, his professed enemy, *L. Opimius*, was chosen consul, with *Q. Fabius Maximus Æmilianus*, nephew to the second *Africanus*. It fell to the lot of *Fabius* to make war in *Gaul*, where *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, who had continued there with the character of proconsul, had gained great advantages, which we shall take notice of hereafter. As for *Opimius*, he continued in *Italy*, and made it his business to humble in his turn the great adversary of the senate, and his own personal enemy; for *Gracchus* had got him formerly excluded from the consular dignity, because he would not come into his measures. The idol of the people, being thus reduced to the condition of a private man, and consequently exposed to the persecutions of his enemies, had recourse to the law for rebuilding *Carthage*, and, together with *Fulvius Flaccus*, his inseparable friend, raised six thousand men for that purpose. When they had made the necessary preparations for passing over into *Africa*, they were informed, that the law would be repealed. This news brought them back to *Rome*; for they were then busied in getting together on the sea-coast a sufficient number of vessels for the transporting of their men. Upon their arrival, they found, that the senate had given the tribune *M. Minucius* instructions for that purpose; and that his chief argument to the people was built on some pretended prodigies, which were said to have happened at *Carthage*, when the workmen first began to mark out the circumference of the new city. To disprove this pretence, *Gracchus* mounted the rostra once more, but both spoke and acted like a madman. Among other things he said, *That, if the senate reported, that heaven obstructed the rebuilding of Carthage by prodigies, the senate lied.* *Gracchus*, who was naturally of a mild disposition, would never have carried things to this extremity, if he had not been led to it by the advice of his friend *Fulvius*, who, tho' advanced in years, still retained all the fire of youth. On the day appointed for the comitia to meet about the confirming or repealing of the law, *Fulvius*, early in the morning, posted some of his faction in the area of the capitol, where the assembly was to be held; and *Gracchus*, with a numerous guard, took possession of one of the porticoes of the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, there to wait for the result of the comitia. In the mean time the consul *Opimius*, having offered a sacrifice to *Jupiter* in his temple on the capitol, one of the consul's lictors, by name *Antillius*, as he was bringing out the intrails of the victim, after they had been presented on the altar, insulted *Gracchus* and his friends, crying out, *Take care, rioters; make way for the faithful servant of the republic.* Upon this one of *Gracchus's* domestics drew a dagger, and laid *Antillius* dead at his feet. This unhappy accident, together with a violent storm, dispersed the croud, every one retiring in great consternation to his own house. As the author of the murder was not known, the greater part imputed it to *Gracchus* himself, tho' no one, even of the adverse party, was more affected with it than he; for he knew, that his enemies waited for an opportunity to lay on him the blame of a civil war, which they were resolved to begin. He passed the night in great uneasiness, dreading the evil consequences of that rash action; but *Fulvius*, who, from his earliest years, had been bred up in a camp, behaved in a very different manner. He retired to his house attended with a strong guard, and there made a great entertainment for his friends, drinking hard, and causing wine to be freely distributed among those who attended him. He did not retire till it was very late, and then slept sound, till the outcries of his guard, and the noise that was heard in all the streets of *Rome*, awakened him. The consul *Opimius* had taken possession of the capitol with his consular troops before day, and thereby made himself master of a post which commanded the city. After this, he had assembled the senate at break of day in the temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*, and caused the dead body of *Antillius* to be exposed to public view, in order to stir up the multitude against *Gracchus* and his adherents. The senate in great haste drew up a decree, empowering the consul to do whatever he should judge proper for the public good; which was in effect creating him dictator. Hereupon *Opimius*, resolving to repay his old enemy all the evils the republic and himself had suffered from him, ordered the *Roman* knights to take up arms, and each to bring with him two domestics well armed. On the other hand *Fulvius*, upon the first notice of these extraordinary proceedings, ran like a madman about the streets; and having raised the mob, flew, with his two sons, and a confused multitude, to take possession of

- a of mount *Aventine*; so that the two extremities of *Rome* to the east and west were like two camps, whence two armies were ready to march against each other. *Gracchus*, foreseeing that much blood would be shed in this quarrel, shewed a great reluctance to follow *Fulvius* to mount *Aventine*. However, he resolved at length to go and join his friend; but left his house more like a magistrate, who was going to put an end to a civil contest, than a warrior who was marching to battle. He neither changed the habit, which he usually wore in the city, nor took any other arms than a dagger under his robe, to defend himself in case he was attacked. As he was just going out of his house, his wife, who tenderly loved both her husband and her country, ran, all in tears, to stop him. She seized him by his robe, and holding in her arms his son, the only pledge of their mutual affections; *Whither are you going, said she, so early? Can you be ignorant, that the murderers of your brother are preparing the same fate for you? You are going to put yourself at the head of a vile rabble, who will basely abandon you at the sight of the least danger. If you have any affection either for me or your dear child, take care of a life which is to us so dear.* She was going on, when *Gracchus*, pierced to the heart with grief, and not having power to answer her, broke away from between her arms; but she, holding him by the robe, followed him, till at length, bore down with the weight of her grief, she fainted, and fell down in the street, whence she was carried to the house of *Licinius Crassus* her brother, who had intirely devoted himself to *Gracchus's* party. *Gracchus*, at his arrival on mount *Aventine*, found there a confused multitude of people, no-ways in a condition to withstand the consular troops, and the whole body of the nobility, who, with their clients and domestics, formed a very powerful party. He therefore summoned the chief men of his party to a council of war, when they unanimously resolved to fortify the temple of *Diana*, to invite the slaves to join them, with a promise of granting them their liberty, and lastly, to offer a treaty before they began hostilities. *Gracchus* prevailed on *Fulvius* to send to the consul his youngest son, a child scarce twelve years old, but of extraordinary beauty, and admired by all for his understanding, which was much above his years. When young *Fulvius* appeared before *Opimius* with a *caduceus*, the symbol of peace, in his hand, the consul, in derision to the embassy, received the young ambassador with great pomp and ceremony, and then ordered him to return to mount *Aventine*, and inform those who had sent him, that, if they would obtain peace, they must come themselves, and submit to the judgment of the senate. *Take care, child, said the consul, after he had returned that answer, take care you don't appear here a second time. Their sending an ambassador of your age can be done only to insult us.* Hereupon young *Fulvius* withdrew, and returning to mount *Aventine*, made his report. Then *Gracchus* himself, to prevent the spilling of Roman blood, offered to come down from the hill in person, to hear the proposals of the senate; but the multitude would not suffer him, fearing to be deprived of their leader. As nobody else cared to charge themselves with this commission, *Fulvius* had the imprudence to send his son a second time to the consul, who, without so much as hearing him, tho' he appeared before him with a great air of modesty, cried out in a violent rage, *It is too much to insult us in this manner. Let the child be carried to prison, not so much to punish the son, as to chastise the insolence of the father.* The order was immediately put in execution, and no further mention made of treaties. The consul resolved, without loss of time, to fall upon the rebels, and force them from their post. Accordingly he marched down the capitol, and arriving at the foot of mount *Aventine*, began the attack with the prudence of an experienced officer. *Fulvius*, whose bravery had been honoured with a triumph, made a vigorous resistance. And now Romans engaged for the first time with Romans, and consuls with consuls, within the very walls of *Rome*. There had been, before this time, several frays; but this was a formal battle, both parties being commanded by generals of great experience. *Opimius* ordered a body of archers, armed with bows and arrows, after the *Cretan* manner, to march up the hill, under the command of *Decimus Brutus*, and charge the rebels. On the other hand, *Fulvius* came down the hill like a torrent, and fell upon the archers with incredible fury. In this first attack *Lentulus*, the prince of the senate, was dangerously wounded, and many persons of distinction lost their lives; for in the engagement the senators and knights were confounded with the common soldiers, and the people with their magistrates. The consul, meeting with a more vigorous opposition than he expected, proclaimed an amnesty for all those, who should lay down their arms, and at the same time set a price on the heads of *Gracchus* and *Fulvius*, promising

And Fulvius
mount Aven-
tine.

Gracchus joins
Fulvius.

The consul O-
pimius rejects
the terms of
accommodation
offered by Grac-
chus and Ful-
vius.

A battle in
Rome.

ing to give their weight in gold to any one who should bring them to him. This a proclamation had the desired effect; the populace slipped away one by one, and, deserting their leaders, returned silently to their own houses. *Fulvius*, seeing himself thus abandoned all on a sudden, fled for refuge, with his eldest son, to a friend's house, and concealed himself in an old bathing-room, which was very private, and no longer in use. In the mean while his enemies, greedy of the reward set upon his head, made a diligent search after him, and not finding him, tho' they knew he could not be far off, threatened to burn down the whole neighbourhood. This terrified the owner of the house, to which *Fulvius* and his son had retired; however, he would not betray his friend himself, but directed another to shew where he was. Hereupon armed men entered the house, and killing both the father and the son, cut off their heads, with b a design to present them to the consul when the action was over *.

Fulvius killed.

In the mean time *Gracchus*, who had not engaged in the battle, for fear of imbruing his hands in Roman blood, fled for refuge to the temple of *Diana*; but *Licinius Crassus*, his brother-in-law, and *Pomponius*, a Roman knight, who attended him, advised him to make his escape through the gate *Tergemina*. He followed their advice, and passing through the centre of the city, got to the bridge *Sublicius*, where his enemies, who pursued him close, would have overtaken and seized him, if his two friends, *Licinius* and *Pomponius*, with as much intrepidity and resolution, as *Horatius Cocles* had formerly exerted in the same place, had not opposed their fury. They defended the bridge against all the consular troops, till *Gracchus* was out of their reach; c but at length, being overpowered by numbers, and covered with wounds, they both expired on the bridge, which they had so valiantly defended. In the mean while *Gracchus* fled to a sacred wood, dedicated to the *Furies*, and there ordered a generous slave, by name *Euphorus*, or, as others call him, *Philostratus*, who had attended him, to put an end to his life. The faithful slave, resolving not to outlive his master, stabbed himself with the same dagger, which he had plunged into the breast of *Gracchus*, and expired with him. Others tell us, that *Gracchus* being overtaken by those who pursued him, *Euphorus*, embracing his master, covered him with his body; so that his enemies could not hurt him, without first killing the faithful slave, who, after receiving many wounds, breathed his last over *Gracchus*, whom the rabble soon dispatched. d As soon as he was dead, one of the multitude cut off his head; but as he was carrying it like a trophy to the consul, *Lucius Septimuleius*, who had always professed a strict friendship for *Gracchus*, snatched it out of his hand, and basely went with it to the consul, to get the reward set upon it, which was its weight in gold; but first he privately poured melted lead into the skull, and then delivered it to *Opimius*, who was so taken with the present, that he paid seventeen pounds and a half for it, without discovering the cheat. The body of *Gracchus* was first thrown into the *Tiber*, and afterwards carried to his mother *Cornelia*, who paid it all funeral honours. It is not agreed, whether *Caius Gracchus* had any thing in view prejudicial to the public liberty in courting the favour of the people, and publishing so many e laws to the disadvantage of the senate. Some are of opinion, that he aimed at the sovereign power; others, that his design was only to establish an equilibrium in the republic, and deliver the common people from the oppressions of the rich. His whole conduct seems to confirm the latter opinion; but thus much however must be allowed, that the methods he took were seditious, and that ambition and desire of revenge carried him beyond the bounds of justice. He so far altered the constitution of the commonwealth, and disturbed the public peace, particularly by the disunion of patrons and clients, that the Roman state became very unsettled, and liable to any new revolution. Tho' his intentions might have been upright, yet there was room to fear, that ruin would be the effect of such disturbances in so corrupted a commonwealth. f The people, instead of supporting their protector, deserted him in his greatest danger, and were not sensible of their loss, till it was too late to retrieve it; but afterwards they erected statues to the *Gracchi*, worshipped them as gods, and instituted festivals in their honour *.

Cruelty of Opimius.

ON the other hand, the consul *Opimius*, not satisfied with the death of *Gracchus*, of *Fulvius*, and of above three thousand of their party, who had been slain in the engagement on mount *Aventine*, imprisoned and condemned to die all the friends and adherents of the *Gracchi* whom he could discover. His severity towards

* PLUT. in *Gracch.* APPIAN. de bell. civil. l. i. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. Auth. de vir. illust. w PLUT. & APPIAN. ibid. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 7.

- a young *Fulvius* was highly blameable, and deservedly condemned even by those of his own party. The child had, notwithstanding the consul's prohibition, thought it his duty to obey his father, and return a second time with terms of accommodation. This act of obedience and filial duty the brutish consul looked upon as a great crime, and accordingly sent a lictor to the young *Roman* in prison, to acquaint him, that he must die, and to offer him in his name the liberty of chusing what kind of death he thought the easiest. The innocent youth, at this unexpected message, burst out into tears; which an *Ætrurian* aruspex observing, who was shut up in the same prison, *Why all this bustle*, said he, *in parting with life? I will shew you how easy a thing it is to die.* He had scarce uttered these words, when he took a leap, and dashed
- b his head against one of the lintels of the door with such violence, that he died upon the spot. Young *Fulvius* followed his example, and, by a like death, put the inhuman consul's orders in execution. After this, *Opimius* commanded the bodies of those who had been killed on the *Aventine*, to the number of three thousand, to be thrown into the *Tiber*, confiscated their goods, and published an edict, forbidding their widows and relations to put on mourning for them. *Licinia*, the wife of *Gracchus*, was even deprived of her dowry. The cruel consul, after having shed so much blood, was not ashamed to build a temple to *Concord*, as if he had, by pacific measures, brought his fellow citizens to an union. The people never saw this temple but with horror, and looked upon it as a monument of the cruelty of *Opimius*. As
- c for the senate, they made it their chief business to extinguish even the memory of the laws published by the *Gracchi*. With this view they gained over one of the commissioners, and prevailed upon him to represent in the assembly of the people, that he met with unsurmountable difficulties in the inquiry after, and partition of, the lands; but that, to relieve the people, he would take care that every proprietor of such lands should pay a certain rent, proportionable to the quantity he possessed; and that the money arising from these rents should be distributed among the poor citizens, who enjoyed no share of those public lands. He added, that, in consideration of this payment, he was of opinion, that those who possessed such lands, should be acknowledged the lawful proprietors of them, with a discharge from all claims for the future; and that they should be allowed afterwards to alienate and dispose of these inheritances as they pleased; but the said lands should be always subject to the rent that should be agreed upon. The people, seduced with the hopes of this advantage, passed the law, which absolutely destroyed that of the *Gracchi*. Soon after, the rents, which the owners of the lands were to pay to the people, were suppressed, one of the tribunes of the people pretending, that the rich paid a sufficient tribute to the public, by being at the charge of supporting the dignity of the commonwealth in the magistracies, with which they were invested. Thus the people were again reduced to their former wants, and subjected to the authority of the senate, and the oppressions of the rich; a just punishment for their inconstancy, and ingratitude to their benefactors, whom they basely abandoned in their greatest danger *.
- d
- e DURING these troubles at home, the late consul *Domitius* was spreading with great success the terror of the *Roman* arms in *Transalpine Gaul*. He had, during his consulship, intirely settled the country of the *Salyes* in peace; a work happily begun by *C. Sextius Calvinus* three years before; but the *Allobroges*, whose country bordered on that of the *Salyes*, being uneasy at the settlements of the *Romans* in their neighbourhood, began to rise, with a design to fall upon the *Roman* colony at *Aquæ Sextiæ*. Hereupon *Domitius*, who was now only proconsul, having been succeeded by *Q. Fabius Maximus* the colleague of *Opimius*, to prevent the *Arverni*, a powerful people, from joining the *Allobroges*, entered into an alliance with their neighbours the *Ædui*, one of the most considerable nations in *Transalpine Gaul*. Upon this the *Arverni* began
- f hostilities with the *Ædui*, who complained to *Domitius*; and the *Roman* general took occasion from thence to force himself a passage into the country of the *Arverni*. He had scarce entered it, when the king of the *Arverni*, named *Bituitus*, or, according to the *Celtic* orthography, *Bitultick*, sent a deputation to the proconsul, which was quite a new scene to the *Romans*. The head of the embassy was very richly dressed, and followed by a great number of attendants; but his chief guard consisted of a company of huge dogs, that followed him in good order, like regular troops. By his side walked a *bard*, that is, according to *Festus*, a priest, who being a skilful

The Gracchian laws repealed. Year after the flood 2883. Before Christ 116. Of Rome 632.

The success of the Romans in Transalpine Gaul.

* PLUT. APPIAN VELL. PATERC. ibid.

v

versifier in the language of his country, sung the praises of his king, his people, and the ambassador. The proconsul received the ambassador with great civility, who assuming an imperious air, commanded him, in the name of his master, to forbear molesting the *Allobroges*, and to retire forthwith from all *Gaul*. *Domitius*, who was not a man to be terrified by such rhodomontades, turned his back upon the ambassador and his bard, without deigning to give them an answer, and immediately led his troops into the fruitful plains of the *Cavari*. While he was incamped there near a village called *Vindasia*, not far from the place where the *Sulga*, now the *Sorgue*, falls into the *Rhone*, an innumerable multitude of *Allobroges* came to attack him; but were easily routed by the proconsul's regular and well-disciplined troops. We are told, that twenty thousand *Gauls* were killed on the spot, and three thousand made prisoners of war.

The Allobroges defeated with great slaughter.

THE defeat of the *Allobroges* put the powerful nation of the *Arverni* in motion. *Bitultick* raised an army of two hundred thousand men, and marched against the *Romans*, whom they found incamped in the country of the *Cavari*. The *Roman* army, thirty thousand strong, was commanded by *Q. Fabius Maximus*, who came from *Rome* during the troubles raised by *Gracchus*, but was now become proconsul, *P. Manilius* and *C. Papirius Carbo* having been raised to the consulato. *Domitius* had surrendered the command to *Fabius*, but still continued in the camp to assist the general with his advice. *Bitultick*, who placed too great confidence in his numbers, when he saw the *Roman* camp, despised so weak an enemy, and turning to those who attended him, *This handful of men*, said he, *will scarce be sufficient to feed the dogs that follow me*. When he began the attack, the proconsul *Fabius*, who had a quartan ague, was in the height of one of his fits; however, he drew up the legions himself, and being carried through the ranks, encouraged his soldiers to behave like true *Romans*. The *Gauls*, who were utterly undisciplined, and without experience, were soon put to the rout, and vast numbers of them slain. And then *Domitius*, desirous to share the glory of the day with *Fabius*, sent to invite the king of the *Arverni*, who had not yet left the field of battle, to an interview. The credulous *Gaul* accepted the invitation, and came to meet *Domitius* with a small attendance at the place appointed; but, to his great surprize, saw himself all on a sudden surrounded by *Domitius's* guards. The betrayed king called for vengeance from the gods, protectors of faith, but in vain; the base *Roman* telling him, that he must go to *Rome*, to give an account of his conduct to the senate. Accordingly he was sent under a strong guard to *Marseilles*, and there put on board a vessel, which conveyed him to *Rome*. The *Allobroges*, upon the news of the victory gained by *Fabius* over their friends the *Arverni*, immediately submitted. As for the *Arverni*, the captivity of their king, and the loss they had sustained in the battle, which is said to have amounted to an hundred and twenty thousand men either killed or drowned in the *Rhone*, so disheartened them, that they sent ambassadors to solicit a peace; which was granted them upon very reasonable terms, the proconsul only requiring of them, that they should continue at home, and not disturb the *Ædui*, or any of the neighbouring nations. *Fabius* and *Domitius*, having thus settled the eastern part of *Gaul* in peace, returned to *Rome*, where the senate approved of the baseness of *Domitius*, and not only detained the injured *Bitultick*, and exposed him in the triumphs of his conquerors, but, by a fresh act of injustice, ordered the consul, *P. Manilius*, who was then setting out for *Gaul*, to send *Congeniatius*, the son of *Bitultick*, to *Rome*. The young prince indeed was entertained and educated at *Rome* in a manner suitable to his rank; and therefore, when returned to his dominions, maintained to the last a great friendship and esteem for the *Romans*, by whom he had been educated. As for the unhappy *Bitultick*, after he had been basely obliged by the senate to grace the triumphs of *Domitius* and *Fabius*, he was confined to the city of *Alba*, where he spent the rest of his days, the senate being afraid lest he should renew the war, if they allowed him to return to his own dominions. Thus were all rules of equity, and even the law of nations, shamefully neglected and trod under foot by the senate, when they came in competition with the interest of their republic.

And the Arverni.

The treachery of Domitius.

The Allobroges and Arverni submit. Year after the flood 2684. Before Christ 115. Of Rome 633.

Opimius accused before the people.

THIS year ended with a remarkable trial: *P. Decius Mus*, one of the tribunes of the people, accused the late consul *Opimius*, and cited him to appear before the comi-

7 STRABO. l. iv. FLOR. l. iii. c. 2. VELL. PATERC. l. iii. APPIAN. SPUD FULVIUM. OROS. l. v. c. 13. APPIAN. IN CÆTIC. VELL. PATERC. l. ix. c. 6. FLOR. l. iii. c. 2. VELL. PATERC. ibid. JUL. CÆS. COMMENT. l. i. DIODOR. SICUL. SPUD VALENT.

- a tia. The crimes laid to his charge were, his having put to death a great number of citizens on the *Aventine*, and afterwards sentenced others to die, and caused them to be executed, before the people had condemned them; a cause of the utmost importance to both parties, and debated with great warmth. *Decius*, no mean orator, maintained, that *Opimius* had transgressed the law, enacting, *that no citizen should be put to death, but by a decree of the people*; and pretended, that if the people gave up their right in this instance, the defenders of the people would undergo the fate of the *Gracchi*, whenever the senate should think fit. They will declare them, said he, dangerous citizens, and then death will be the reward of their zeal for the interest of the people. On the other hand, the consul *Papirius Carbo* undertook the defence of *Opimius*, and
- b by shewing to the multitude how dangerous it was, and inconsistent with reason, that seditious men and rebels should have no other judges or avengers but themselves, prevailed upon them to acquit *Opimius*, and thereby declare, that it was lawful for a consul, when empowered by the senate, to deliver the republic from a dangerous citizen, without waiting for the consent of the people assembled in comitia. Thus was tranquillity restored to the city. The senate recovered their ancient ascendant over the people, who bore their mild government without complaints; but this tranquillity was soon disturbed by new commotions, which greatly shook the consular state, and paved the way for an absolute monarchy. These civil disturbances, and some foreign wars, together with the rise, progress, declension and total ruin of the imperial state, sinking
- c under the weight of its own greatness, will be the subject of the first chapters of the following volume.
- And acquitted.*

The End of the Fourth Volume.

A N

A N
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ERRATA in this Volume, which have been overlooked by the Corrector:

- Page 19. col. 1. l. 44. for to read lo! p. 20. l. 18. from the Bottom, for קסערה read לסערה : p. 291. l. 33. read invitus invitam, p. 579. l. 31. for vato read veto.